

Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia

Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli
on the occasion of his 65th birthday
on 6th December 2002

edited by
Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi and Elio Provasi

WIESBADEN 2003
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Published with the support of
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia
Università degli Studi di Bologna
Dipartimento di Storia e Metodi per la Conservazione dei Beni Culturali
Sede di Ravenna
Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale
Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza
Dipartimento di Studi Orientali

Layout: Mauro Maggi

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at
<http://dnb.ddb.de>.

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier
(alterungsbeständig – pH7, neutral)

© 2003 Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden
ISBN: 3-89500-329-8

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes
ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbe-
sondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und
die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Druck: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

PREFACE

Gherardo Gnoli was born in Rome on 6th December 1937. He was a pupil of a great generation of orientalists which included among others Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Sabatino Moscati, Antonino Pagliaro, Alessandro Bausani and Giuseppe Tucci and he himself was to have an extraordinarily rapid academic career: on 1st November 1968 he was appointed professor of Iranian studies (Iranistica, later *Filologia iranica*) at the Istituto Universitario Orientale (IUO) of Naples, in 1970 he became Rector of the IUO and in 1979 he was elected President of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), the big public research institution founded by Giuseppe Tucci in 1933, that had formerly been chaired by Giovanni Gentile, Giuseppe Tucci himself and Sabatino Moscati.

As Rector of the IUO (in which post he served till 1978) he was the main promoter of a reform which was bound to transform a highly specialised university-level institution of a 19th-century stamp, that was devoted to Asian and African studies, into a modern university which now counts four distinct faculties, some hundreds of courses and more than 9,000 students. As President of the IsMEO he contributed notably towards the expansion of Italian research work in Asia by increasing both the disciplines and the geographical areas involved, and he was a major solicitor for the unification of the Institute with the Istituto Italo-africano that resulted in the formation in 1995 of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO), which he has chaired ever since.

In 1993, after more than 25 years of distinguished service, he left his appointment in Naples and took up the chair of *Storia religiosa dell'Iran e dell'Asia Centrale* at the University of Rome La Sapienza, where he teaches to the present day.

It was mainly due to Gherardo Gnoli's work and teaching that Iranian philology in Italy was able to grow into a distinct field of studies parallel to that of Persian studies, and is currently represented by as many as seven chairs in different universities (five of which of full professorship level).

His scientific career has seen him engaged mainly in the study of the religious and secular history of the Iranian world as against the general background of studies on Late Antiquity. In this field he has written extensively on Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, the origin of the idea of Iran and the relationship between throne and Zoroastrian church in pre-Islamic Iran. He did not, however, ever forget his early interests for the Semitic world and from 1986 onwards published a number of Early South Arabian inscriptions. More than three hundred titles due to Professor Gnoli have been published so far, including several monographs in different domains of Iranian and Near Eastern studies.

Mention should also be made of Professor Gnoli's commitment to the field of Iranian studies on an international level, e.g. of his active role in the founding of the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Rome, June 1983) and his contribution to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* both as a member of its Advisory Committee and as the author of a number of articles. The high esteem he enjoys on the part of colleagues all over the world is confirmed by the numerous Italian and foreign honours which have been bestowed on him. He is *Socio Corrispondente* of the *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* and of the

Accademia delle Scienze of Turin, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Associé Étranger of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of Paris, and Membre de l'Institut, Membre d'Honneur of the Société Asiatique.

It was in the spring of 2000 that, on the initiative of Mauro Maggi, a number of his pupils and friends decided to offer to Gherardo Gnoli a volume on the occasion of his 65th birthday. Seven of his senior students and friends, Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi, Enrico Morano, Antonio C. Panaino, Andrea Piras, Elio Provasi and Adriano V. Rossi, met on 26th April 2000 in the pleasant setting of the Società Geografica Italiana at Villa Celimontana in Rome to draw up plans for this volume.

Since, due to editorial constraints, a limit had to be set to the number of contributors – a difficult task when editing a volume in honour of one of the leading figures of Oriental studies in Europe – it proved necessary to restrict the scope of the volume to studies in Iranian philology and more specifically to the main interests of the dedicatee, viz. pre-Islamic Iranian religions approached from a historical and philological point of view. Hence (in full agreement with the Publisher) the chosen title *Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia*. We should like to express our gratitude to Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams for accepting the volume for publication in the series “Beiträge zur Iranistik” of which he is editor. It was further decided that an international editorial board with thirteen leading Iranianists should be set up, that Antonio C. Panaino and Adriano V. Rossi should sit on this board, and that the volume should be edited by three of the original project group, whose university positions at the time did not involve particularly time-consuming administrative tasks. Enrico Morano further volunteered to edit Gherardo Gnoli's bibliography together with Mauro Maggi.

This volume benefited from the collaboration and support of many people and institutions. First of all, we are grateful to all the colleagues who have contributed articles. Other colleagues, among whom we should like to mention Professors Mary Boyce and Ehsan Yarshater, though unable to comply with our request for a contribution, expressed their appreciation of the initiative. Unfortunately, the Late Professor Jes P. Asmussen was prevented from contributing for reasons of poor health.

We are also deeply indebted to the colleagues and friends who readily accepted the invitation to join the editorial board of this volume. Unfortunately, the passing away of Ilya Gershevitch, Ronald E. Emmerick and David N. MacKenzie in 2001 deprived the editorial board of three of its more authoritative members and all of us of three dear friends.

It is a pleasure to thank the Fondazione Giorgio Cini of Venice, the Dipartimento di Storia e Metodi per la Conservazione dei Beni Culturali of the University of Bologna,¹ the University of Naples L'Orientale (formerly IUO), and the Dipartimento di Studi Orientali of the University of Rome La Sapienza that, by their generous grants, have made the publication of this book possible. Thanks are also due to Barbara Goss for revising the English of some of the articles.

¹ Project “Interculturalità e interazione culturale, storico-politica e religiosa tra Oriente e Occidente dall'Antichità all'Alto Medioevo” directed by A. C. Panaino and funded by the MIUR.

Since the production of the volume took a little more time than was planned, the volume was presented to Professor Gnoli, on 6th December 2002, in the form of a bound camera-ready copy during a small ceremony that was held in Rome at the seat of the Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. We take the opportunity here to thank its authorities for their generous hospitality.

Carlo G. Cereti
Mauro Maggi
Elio Provasi



Handwritten signature

EDITORIAL BOARD

†Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge (president)

A. D. H. Bivar, London

†Ronald E. Emmerick, Hamburg

Philippe Gignoux, Lésigny

Jean Kellens, Paris

Gilbert Lazard, Paris

†David N. MacKenzie, Ynys Môn

Antonio C. Panaino, Ravenna

Adriano V. Rossi, Napoli

Shaul Shaked, Jerusalem

Nicholas Sims-Williams, London

Werner Sundermann, Berlin

Ehsan Yarshater, New York

CONTENTS

Preface		v
Bibliography of writings of Gherardo Gnoli (1964-2001)		xv
A. D. H. Bivar	Cosmopolitan deities and Hellenistic traces at Kuh-e Khwāja in Sistan (plate 1)	1
François de Blois	Manes' "Twin" in Iranian and non-Iranian texts	7
Alberto Cantera	Phl. <i>xwaddōšagih</i> und die Unterwerfung unter die Autorität im (nach)sasanidischen Zoroastrismus	17
Carlo G. Cereti and †David N. MacKenzie	Except by battle: Zoroastrian cosmogony in the 1st chapter of the Greater <i>Bundahišn</i>	31
Iris Colditz	Altorientalische und Avesta-Traditionen in der Herrschertitulatur des vorislamischen Iran	61
Simone Cristoforetti	"Ā'in-i išan", un lapsus di Kūšiyār e il <i>farwardgān</i> di Abiyāna	79
Ela Filippone	The Mazdean notions of creation and birth: some reflexes in the Iranian languages	91
Richard N. Frye	Cyrus was no Achaemenid	111
Philippe Gignoux	<i>Zamān</i> ou le temps philosophique dans le <i>Dēnkard</i> III	115
Frantz Grenet	L'Inde des astrologues sur une peinture sogdienne du VIIe siècle (planches 2-3)	123
Rika Gyselen	Les grands Feux de l'empire sassanide: quelques témoignages sigillographiques (planche 4)	131
Clarisse Herrenschildt	Démocrite et le mazdéisme: fragments sur l'homme	139
Almut Hintze	When the stars rise: the Avestan expression <i>aīšisrūθri-ma- aibigaiia-</i>	143
Helmut Humbach	The great Surkh Kotal inscription	157
Manfred Hutter	Mār Abā and the impact of Zoroastrianism on Christianity in the 6th century	167
Philip Huyse	Überlegungen zum βαρολαγγο des Kaniška I.	175
Albert de Jong	Vexillologica sacra: searching the cultic banner	191
Judith Josephson	The "Sitz im Leben" of the seventh book of the <i>Dēnkard</i>	203
Jean Kellens	Sur quelques grandes tendances des études avestiques et mazdéennes au XXe siècle	213
Gilbert Lazard	La versification d'un hymne manichéen en parthe	223

Maria Macuch	Zoroastrian principles and the structure of kinship in Sasanian Iran	231
Mauro Maggi	More verses from the Khotanese <i>Book of Vimalakīrti</i>	247
Enrico Morano	Praised and blessed art thou (plate 5)	257
Antonio Panaino	The <i>bayān</i> of the Fratarakas: gods or ‘divine’ kings?	265
Éric Pirart	Énigmes arithmologiques dans la composition du <i>Hōm Stōm</i>	289
Andrea Piras	Simbolismo e mitologia dell’aurora nell’Avesta	295
Elio Provasi	Sogdian <i>farn</i>	305
Christiane Reck	Die Beschreibung der Daēnā in einem soghdischen manichäischen Text (Tafeln 6-8)	323
Adriano V. Rossi	Echoes of religious lexicon in the Achaemenid inscriptions?	339
Gianroberto Scarcia	Sergio/Sorush in Firdusi?	353
Rüdiger Schmitt	Onomastische Bemerkungen zu der Namenliste des <i>Fravardīn Yašt</i>	363
Martin Schwartz	Encryptions in the Gathas: Zarathushtra’s variations on the theme of bliss	375
Shaul Shaked	“Mind” and “power” in the Gāthās: ritual notions or cosmic entities?	391
Nicholas Sims-Williams	A Christian Sogdian polemic against the Manichaeans (plates 9-10)	399
Prods Oktor Skjærvø	Fragments of the <i>Ratnakūṭa-sūtra</i> (<i>Kāśyapaparivarta</i>) in Khotanese (plates 11-12)	409
Werner Sundermann	Jesus’ rulership at the end of the world: a new piece of Manichaean evidence (plates 13-14)	421
Philippe Swennen	Le cocher de Mithra	429
Mario Vitalone	Khosrow of the Immortal Soul in the New Persian Zoroastrian literary tradition	435
Dieter Weber	Μανίαγος	441
Josef Wiesehöfer	“Denn ihr huldigt nicht einem Menschen als eurem Herrscher, sondern nur den Göttern”: Bemerkungen zur Proskynese in Iran	447
Yutaka Yoshida	Buddhist influence on the Bema festival?	453
List of abbreviations		459

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS OF GHERARDO GNOLI (1961-2001)

Edited by Mauro Maggi and Enrico Morano

This is a complete bibliography of the works of Gherardo Gnoli published to the end of 2001. It is based upon a bibliography compiled by Gherardo Gnoli, the first part of which (up to 1977) was published in *Bio-bibliographies de 134 savants*, Acta Iranica 20, Leiden: Brill, 1979, 207-210. However, unlike that bibliography, which has been thoroughly revised here and enlarged by the addition of several bibliographical details, the present one lists separately:

- I. Books (p. xvi),
- II. Editorships (p. xvi),
- III. Articles (p. xvii),
- IV. Book reviews (p. xxvii),
- V. Varia (p. xxix).

Within each section, the works are arranged by year of publication, with the actual year of appearance given in square brackets when differing from that of publication, and the order of the titles under each year is alphabetical. In section III, articles in encyclopaedias are listed last. In section V, the order is: booklets, occasional writings, obituaries, collaborations, forewords, etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale</i> (Napoli)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (Berlin)
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> (Berlin)
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i> (Bloomfield Hills, Mich.)
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London)
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>EIr.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , ed. by E. Yarshater (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul)
<i>EIt.</i>	<i>Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti</i> (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana)
<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West</i> (Roma)
<i>IsiaoRepMem</i>	Reports and memoirs (Roma, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente)
<i>IsmeoRepMem</i>	Reports and memoirs (Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)
<i>MedAnt</i>	<i>Mediterraneo antico</i> (Pisa)
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin)
<i>Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i> (Roma)
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> (Paris)
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> (Roma)
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i> (Roma)
<i>SOR</i>	Serie orientale Roma (Roma, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, formerly Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)
<i>StIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i> (Paris)
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik drevnej istorii</i> (Moskva)

I. BOOKS

1964

1. *Le iscrizioni giudeo-persiane del Ġūr (Afghanistan)*, SOR 30, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1964, ix, 70 pp., viii pls.

1967

2. *Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico*, IsmeoRepMem 10, Roma: IsMEO, 1967, xvii, 155 pp., viii pls.
- 2a. *Historical researches on ancient Sīstān: summary*, Rome: IsMEO, 1967, viii pp.

1980

3. *Zoroaster's time and homeland: a study on the origins of Mazdeism and related problems*, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 7, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1980, xxiii, 279 pp., 1 map.

1985

4. *De Zoroastre à Mani: quatre leçons au Collège de France*, Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle 11, Paris: s.n., 1985, 98 pp.

1989

5. *The idea of Iran: an essay on its origin*, SOR 62, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, xvi, 216 pp.

1993

6. *Inventario delle iscrizioni sudarabiche*, t. 2, *Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa*, Parigi: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1993, 128 pp., 18 pls.
7. *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge G 320, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993, 31 pp.

2000

8. *Zoroaster in history*, Biennial Yarshater Lecture series 2, New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000, xiv, 228 pp.

II. EDITORSHIPS

1979

1. *Iranica*, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 10, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1979, 452, xlii pls. (with A. V. Rossi).

1982

2. *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982, xvi, 505 pp. (with J.-P. Vernant).

1983

3. *Orientalia Romana. Essays and lectures 5: Iranian studies*, SOR 52, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1983, 145 pp.

1985

4. *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, vol. 1, SOR 56.1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985, xx pp., pp. 1-456, pls., 1 portr. (with L. Lanciotti).
5. *Orientalia Romana 6. The First European Colloquium of Iranology (Rome, June 18th-20th, 1983)*, SOR 57, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985, xxi, 115 pp.

1987

6. *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, vol. 2, SOR 56.2, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1987, viii pp., pp. 457-1006, pls. (with L. Lanciotti).

1988

7. *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, vol. 3, SOR 56.3, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988, viii pp., pp. 1007-1570, pls. (with L. Lanciotti).

1989

8. *Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche: atti del convegno sul tema (Roma, 22-23 aprile 1988)*, SOR 64, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, x, 172 pp.

1990

9. *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Turin, September 7th-11th 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, SOR 67.1-2, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990: pt. 1: *Old and Middle Iranian studies*, vi pp., pp. 1-332, pls.; pt. 2: *Middle and New Iranian studies*, pp. 333-602, pls. (with A. Panaino).

1995

10. *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, SOR 73, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, x, 779 pp., lii pls. (with B. G. Fragner, Ch. Fragner, R. Haag-Iguchi, M. Maggi and P. Orsatti).

III. ARTICLES**1962**

1. "Jewish inscriptions in Afghanistan", *EW* 13 (1962), 311-312.
2. "Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel mazdeismo e nel manicheismo", *AION*, n.s., 12 (1962), 95-128.

1963

3. "Ax'arətəm x'arənō", *AION*, n.s., 13 (1963), 295-298.
4. "Further information concerning the Judaeo-Persian documents of Afghanistan", *EW* 14 (1963), 209-210.

5. "Note su Yasht VIII, 23-25", *SMSR*, 34 (1963), 91-101.
6. "Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione", *AION*, n.s., 13 (1963), 163-193.
7. "La stella Sirio e l'influenza dell'astrologia caldea nell'Iran antico", *SMSR* 34 (1963), 237-245.
8. "The Tyche and the Dioscuri in ancient sculptures from the Valley of Swat: new documents for the study of the art of Gandhāra", *EW* 14 (1963), 29-37, [viii] pls.
9. "Mito e favola. Mondo antico, europeo e islamico. Ai margini del mondo classico: Iran, culture euroasiatiche e protostoria europea[: Iran]", in *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, vol. 9, Venezia, Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1963, 423-425.

1964

10. "Considerazioni sulla religione degli Achemenidi alla luce di una recente teoria", *SMSR* 35 (1964), 239-250.
11. "Italian contributions to the study of Persian drama", *EW* 15 (1964-1965), 79-88.
12. "Note sul 'Kitāb-e gošāyeš wa rahāyeš di Nāšir-e Ḥosraw' in relazione ad alcune analogie con la letteratura religiosa pahlavica", *AION*, n.s., 14 (1964), 191-202.
13. "Simbolo e allegoria. Il mondo antico e extraeuropeo. Oriente antico[: Iran]", in *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, vol. 12, Venezia, Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964, 506-508.

1965

14. "L'Iran e l'ideologia tripartita", *SMSR* 36 (1965), 193-210.
15. "La sede orientale del fuoco Farnbāg", *RSO* 40 (1965), 301-311.
16. "Lo stato di 'maga'", *AION*, n.s., 15 (1965), 105-117.

1966

17. "Airyō-šayana", *RSO* 41 (1966), 67-75.
18. "Ἀῖρῶν: postilla ad *Airyō-šayana*", *RSO* 41 (1966), 329-334.
19. "Un'iconografia sassanide di Zoroastro?", *AION*, n.s., 16 (1966), 275-278.
20. "Zosimo e Zoroastro: a proposito del 'maga'", *AION*, n.s., 16 (1966), 273-274.
21. "Zoroastro", in *I protagonisti della storia universale*, vol. 1, Milano: Compagnia Edizioni Internazionali, 1966, 337-364.

1967

22. "La gnosi iranica: per una impostazione nuova del problema", in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Le origini dello gnosticismo: colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966: testi e discussioni*, Supplement to *Numen* 12, Leiden: Brill, 1967, 281-290.
23. "Lichtsymbolik in Alt-Iran: Haoma-Ritus und Erlöser-Mythos", *Antaios* 8 (1967), 528-549.

1968

24. "A proposito di un aspetto della leggenda di Salomone in Iran", *AION*, n.s., 18 (1968), 79-84.

1969

25. "Manichaeismus und persische Religion: zu den Ursprüngen des Gnostizismus", *Antaios* 11 (1969), no. 3, 274-292.
26. "Ciro il Grande", in *I protagonisti della storia universale*, vol. 2, Milano: Compagnia Edizioni Internazionali, 1969, 274-301.

1971

27. "Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto i Sassanidi", in *La Persia nel medioevo (Roma 31 marzo-5 aprile 1970)*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971, 225-253.
28. "Questioni sull'interpretazione della dottrina gathica", *AION*, n.s., 21 (1971), 341-370.
29. "La religione persiana", in *Storia delle religioni*, 6a ed., vol. 2, Torino: Unione Tipografico-editrice Torinese, 1971, 235-292.

1972

30. "Note su *xšāyaθiya-* e *xšaça-*", in J. Bergman, K. Drynjev, H. Ringgren (ed.), *Ex orbe religionum: studia Geo Widengren oblata*, Supplement to *Numen* 22, Leiden: Brill, 1972, 88-97.
31. "Problems and prospects of the studies on Persian religion", in U. Bianchi, C. J. Bleeker, A. Bausani (ed.), *Problems and methods of the history of religions: proceedings of the study conference organized by the Italian Society for the History of Religions on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the death of Raffaele Pettazzoni*, Supplement to *Numen* 19, Leiden: Brill, 1972, 67-101.

1974

32. "*Arang e Wehrōd, rāy e xwarrah*", in Ph. Gignoux, A. Tafazzoli (ed.), *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1974, 77-80.
33. "Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto gli Achemenidi", in *Gururājamañjarikā: studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, [Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 1], Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1974, 23-88.
- 33a. "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides", in *Hommage universel*, vol. 2, Acta Iranica 2, Téhéran, Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1974, 117-190 [French translation of 33 by J. Duchesne-Guillemin].

1975

34. "Zur Sistān-Hypothese", in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, vol. 1, Acta Iranica 4, Téhéran, Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975, 277-290.

1977

35. "More on the Sistanic hypothesis", *EW* 27 (1977), 309-321.

1979

36. "Ašavan: contributo allo studio del libro di Ardā Wirāz", in G. Gnoli, A.V. Rossi (ed.), *Iranica*, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 10, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1979, 387-452.
37. "Sol Persice Mithra", in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae: Atti del seminario internazionale su 'La specificità storico-religiosa dei misteri di Mitra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia' (Roma e Ostia, 28-31 marzo 1978)*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 80, Leiden: Brill; Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1979, 725-740.

1981

38. "Antico-persiano *anušya-* e gli Immortali di Erodoto", in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, vol. 1, Acta Iranica 21, Leiden: Brill, 1981, 266-280.

- 39-41. Articles in *Lessico universale italiano*, vol. 24, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981: 39. "Zaratustra", 684; 40. "Zoroastrismo", 740; 41. "Zurvanismo", 756.

1982

42. "Le 'fravaši' e l'immortalità", in G. Gnoli, J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982, 339-347.
 43. "'Qut' e le montagne", in *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 19, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1982, 251-261.

1983

44. "Ahuramazdā e gli altri dèi nelle iscrizioni achemenidi", in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Orientalia Romana. Essays and lectures 5: Iranian studies*, SOR 52, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1983, 135-145.
 45. "L'Arachosia e l'Avesta", in H. Koch, D. N. MacKenzie (ed.), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, AMI, Ergänzungsband 10, Berlin: Reimer, 1983, 121-133.
 46. "Le dieu des Arya", *StIr* 12 (1983), 7-22.
 47. "L'évolution du dualisme iranien et le problème zurvanite" [résumé], in "Bulletin de la Société Ernest-Renan, n.s., 32 (1982-1983)", *RHR* 200 (1983), 470-474.
 48. "Problemi delle fonti sulla storia dell'Asia Centrale pre-islamica", *OLZ* 78 (1983), no. 6, 533-542.
 49. "Questioni comparative sull'Ascensione d'Isaia: la tradizione iranica", in M. Pesce (ed.), *Isaia, il Diletto e la Chiesa: visione ed esegesi profetica cristiano-primitiva nell'Ascensione d'Isaia: atti del convegno di Roma, 9-10 aprile 1981*, Brescia: Paideia, 1983, 117-128.

1984

50. "L'évolution du dualisme iranien et le problème zurvanite", *RHR* 201 (1984), 115-138.
 51. "Note sullo 'X'arənah'", in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*, Acta Iranica 23, Leiden: Brill, 1984, 207-218.
 52. "Universalismo e nazionalismo nell'Iran del III secolo", in L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d.C.: atti del convegno internazionale . . . (Venezia 16-18 novembre 1981)*, Civiltà veneziana. Studi 39, Firenze: Olschki, 1984, 31-54.

1985

53. "Ibn al-Muqaffā', Ibn Isfandiyyār e il nome dell'Iran nella 'Lettera di Tansar'", in C. Samelli Cerqua (ed.), *Studi arabo-islamici in onore di Roberto Rubinacci nel suo settantesimo compleanno*, vol. 1, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985 [1988], 327-334.
 54. "The quadripartition of the Sassanian empire", *EW* 35 (1985), 265-270.
 55. "Ragha la zoroastriana", in *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, vol. 1, Acta Iranica 24, Leiden: Brill, 1985, 219-228.
 56. "Verso una cultura nazionale iranica", in M. Mazza, C. Giuffrida (ed.), *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità: atti del convegno tenuto a Catania, Università degli studi, 27 sett.-2 ott. 1982*, Roma: Jouvence, 1985, 587-596.

1986

57. "L'expérience extatique dans l'Iran ancien", *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire* 95 (1986-1987), 206-209.
58. "Mittelpersisch *ēr* 'Iranier'", in R. Schmitt, P. O. Skjærvø (ed.), *Studia grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*, München: Kitzinger, 1986, 115-124.
59. "South Arabian Notes, 1", *EW* 36 (1986), 267-269.

1987

60. "Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀριωνῶν", in G. Gnoli, L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, vol. 2, SOR 56.2, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1987, 509-532.
61. "*Ēr mazdēsn*: zum Begriff Iran und seiner Entstehung im 3. Jahrhundert", in *Transition periods in Iranian history: actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 mai 1985)*, *StIr*, Cahier 5, [Paris]: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1987, 83-100.
62. "South Arabian notes, 2", *EW* 37 (1987), 441-450.
- 63-89. Articles in M. Eliade (ed.), *The encyclopedia of religion*, New York: Macmillan, 1987, 15 vols.: 63. "Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu", vol. 1, 157-159; 64. "Ahuras", vol. 1, 159; 65. "Airyana Vaējah", vol. 1, 161-162; 66. "Amesha Spentas", vol. 1, 234-235; 67. "Anāhitā", vol. 1, 249-250; 68. "Ātēshgāh", vol. 1, 477-478; 69. "Avesta", vol. 2, 16-17; 70. "Chinvat bridge", vol. 3, 334-335; 71. "Daivas", vol. 4, 198-199; 72. "Dakhma", vol. 4, 199-200; 73. "Frashokereti", vol. 5, 412-413; 74. "Fravashis", vol. 5, 413-414; 75. "Haoma", vol. 6, 195; 76. "Iranian religions", vol. 7, 277-280 [= 76a. in R. M. Seltzer (ed.), *Religions of antiquity: religion, history, and culture: selections from the Encyclopedia of religion*, New York: Macmillan, 1989, 122-127]; 77. "Khvarenah", vol. 8, 297; 78. "Magi", vol. 9, 79-81; 79. "Mani", vol. 9, 158-161; 80. "Manichaeism. An overview", vol. 9, 161-170 [= 80a. in Seltzer, *Religions of antiquity*, 286-300]; 81. "Mazdakism", vol. 9, 302-303; 82. "Mithra", vol. 9, 579-580; 83. "Mithraism", vol. 9, 580-582 [= 83a. in Seltzer, *Religions of antiquity*, 301-304]; 84. "Saoshyant", 13, 69-70; 85. "Tucci, Giuseppe", vol. 15, 78-80; 86. "Yazatas", vol. 15, 503; 87. "Zarathushtra", 15, 556-559; 88. "Zoroastrianism", vol. 15, 579-591 [= 88a. in Seltzer, *Religions of antiquity*, 128-147]; 89. "Zurvanism", vol. 15, 595-596.
- 90-91. Articles in *Elr.*, vol. 2, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987: 90. "Ašavan", 705-706; 91. "Aštād", 826.

1988

92. "Cyrus et Zoroastre: une hypothèse", *La commémoration: colloque du centenaire de la Section des Sciences Religieuses de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses 91, Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 1988, 201-210.
93. "A note on the Magi and Eudemus of Rhodes", *A green leaf: papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, *Acta Iranica* 28, Leiden: Brill, 1988, 283-288.
94. "A postscript to 'Manichaeism: an overview' in *The encyclopedia of religion*", *EW* 38 (1988), 293-296.

1989

95. "Arxeologija i problema proisxoždenija zoroastrisma: novye perspektivy", *VDI* 1989, no. 2, 175-178.

96. "Un cas possible de différenciation lexicale entre *dari* et *pārsī*", in C.-H. de Fouchécour, Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard, StIr, Cahier 7*, Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1989, 151-164.
97. "Il contributo di Mircea Eliade allo studio della religione iranica antica", in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche: atti del convegno sul tema (Roma 22-23 aprile 1988)*, SOR 64, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, 68-85.
98. "On Kushan and Avestan Yima", in L. de Meyer, E. Haerinck (ed.), *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, Gent: s.n., 1989, 919-927.
- 99-102. Articles in *Elr.*, vol. 3, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989: 99. "Avestan geography", 44-47; 100. "Babylonia. ii. Babylonian influences on Iran", 334-336; 101. "Bahrām. i. In Old and Middle Iranian texts", 510-513; 102. "Bang. i. In ancient Iran", 689-690.

See also 76a, 80a, 83a and 88a.

1990

103. "Appunti sull'idea di Iran", in G. Gnoli, A. Panaino (ed.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Turin, September 7th-11th 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, pt. 1: *Old and Middle Iranian studies*, SOR 67.1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990, 145-158.
104. "On Old Persian *farnah*-", in *Iranica varia: papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*, Acta Iranica 30, Leiden: Brill, 1990, 83-92.
105. "L'Oriente e Venezia", in G. Curatola, M. T. Rubin de Cervin (ed.), *Le Vie della Seta e Venezia*, Roma: Leonardo, 1990, 11-16.
106. "Remarks on a Manichaean *Kephalaion* of Dublin", *BAI*, n.s., 4 (1990: *In honor of Richard Nelson Frye: aspects of Iranian culture*), 37-40.
107. "South Arabian Notes, 3", *EW* 40 (1990), 283-288.

1991

108. "Aurentes: the Buddhist *arhants* in the Coptic *Kephalaia* through a Bactrian transmission", *EW* 41 (1991), 359-361.
109. "Concezione del tempo e dualismo tra zoroastrismo e manicheismo", *Koinos: gruppo e funzione analitica: rivista semestrale di psicoanalisi di gruppo* 12 (1991: *Spazialità*), 135-153.
110. "Considerazioni sulla concezione del tempo e sul dualismo nell'Iran antico", in *Il tempo e l'uomo: atti della IX Settimana di Seminari Interdisciplinari (Arcavacata 11-14 giugno 1990)*, Cosenza: Brenner, 1991, 9-16.
111. "L'inscription de Šābuhr à la Ka'be-ye Zardošt et la propagande sassanide", in *Religions et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique: sources écrites et documents archéologiques: actes du colloque international du CNRS (Paris, 22-28 novembre 1988)*, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991, 57-63.
112. "Le iscrizioni venute alla luce nella campagna 1989-1990", in A. de Maigret, *Gli scavi della Missione Archeologica nella città minea di Barāqish*, Conferenze IsMEO 3, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1991, 17-19.
113. "More on the Khwarezmian hypothesis", in R. E. Emmerick, D. Weber (ed.), *Corolla Iranica: papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie on the occasion of his 65th birthday on April 8th, 1991*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991, 74-78.
114. "On Professor Rudolph's gnosis book", *EW* 41 (1991), 355-358.

1992

115. "L'Iran antico e lo zoroastrismo", in J. Ries (ed.), *Trattato di antropologia del sacro*, vol. 3: *L'uomo indoeuropeo e il sacro*, Milano: Jaca Book, Massimo, 1992, 105-147 [French translation 1995].
116. "Nouveaux documents sabéens de Barāqish", in *Yemen: studi archeologici, storici e filologici sull'Arabia meridionale*, vol. 1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1992 [1993], 93-98 (with Ch. Robin).
117. "The Tyche and the Dioscuri in Gandharan sculptures: a retrospect", in T. S. Maxwell (ed.), *Eastern approaches: essays on Asian art and archaeology*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, 30-37.

1993

118. "On the Iranian Soma and Pers. *sepand* 'wild rue'", *EW* 43 (1993), 235-236.
119. "Pars i Sagestan v sasanidskoj religioznoj politike", *VDI* 1993, no. 4 (*Pamjati akademika Valerija Pavloviča Alekseeva*), 9-13.
120. "A Sassanian iconography of the *Dēn*", *BAL*, n.s., 7 (1993 [1994]: *Iranian studies in honor of A. D. H. Bivar*), 79-85.
121. "Sulle nuove iscrizioni di Barāqish", in A. de Maigret, *La seconda campagna di scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Barāqish (Yemen 1992)*, Conferenze IsMEO 6, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1993, 23-33.
- 122-126. Articles in *Elr.*, vol. 6, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1993: 122. "Conversion. i. Of Iranians to the Zoroastrian faith", 227-229; 123. "Dahan-e Ġolāmān", 582-585; 124. "Dahyu", 590; 125. "(Vāḥvī) Dāityā", 598-599; 126. "Daivadāna", 602-603.
- 127-152. Articles in G. Filoramo (ed.), *Dizionario delle religioni*, Torino: Einaudi, 1993: 127. "Ahura Mazdā", 14b-15a; 128. "Amesha spenta", 29a-b; 129. "Anāhitā", 31b-32a; 130. "Angra Mainyu", 36b-37a; 131. "Avesta", 71a-73b; 132. "Baga", 80b-81a; 133. "Cinvat", 146a-b; 134. "Daēnā", 189a-b; 135. "Daiva", 190a-b; 136. "Fravashī", 305a-b; 137. "Fuoco (Iran)", 309a-b; 138. "Gayōmart", 313a-b; 139. "Haoma", 356a-b; 140. "Khvarenah", 403a-b; 141. "Magi", 425b-426a; 142. "Mānī", 437b-438b; 143. "Manicheismo", 439a-442a; 144. "Mazdakismo", 456b-457b; 145. "Mithra", 492a-b; 146. "Saoshyant", 674b-675a; 147. "Verethraghna", 785a-b; 148. "Yazata", 796a-b; 149. "Yima", 797b-798a; 150. "Zarathustra", 801a-802b; 151. "Zoroastrismo", 807a-812a; 152. "Zurvān", 812a-813b.
153. "Manicheismo", in *Elr. Quinta appendice, 1979-1992*, vol. 3, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993, 309.

1994

154. "Cachets inscrits de la fin du III^e millénaire av. notre ère à Ra's al-Junaiz, Sultanat d'Oman", *CRAI* 1994, 453-468 (with S. Cleuziou, Ch. Robin, M. Tosi).
155. "Iranic identity as a historical problem: the beginnings of a national awareness under the Achaemenians", in *The East and the meaning of history: international conference (23-27 November 1992)*, Studi orientali 13, Roma: Bardi, 1994, 147-167.
156. "South Arabian notes, 4", *EW* 44 (1994), 429-434.
157. "Sul proemio del *Vangelo vivente*: monoteismo e dualismo nel Codice manicheo di Colonia", in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Ἀρχαὶ ἑλληνικαὶ: studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi*, Roma: L'Erma, 1994, 451-461.

158. "Tendenze attuali negli studi zoroastriani", in Ugo Bianchi (ed.), *The notion of "religion" in comparative research: selected proceedings of the XVI IAHHR Congress*, Roma: L'Erma, 1994, 55-62.
159. "Über die Daēnā: *Haōxt nask* 2, 7-9", in Ch. Elsas et al. (ed.), *Tradition und Translation: zum Problem der interkulturellen Übersetzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene: Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1994, 292-298.
160. "Le religioni dell'Iran antico e Zoroastro", in G. Filoramo (ed.), *Storia delle religioni*, 1: *Le religioni antiche*, Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1994, 455-498.
161. "La religione zoroastriana", in G. Filoramo (ed.), *Storia delle religioni*, 1: *Le religioni antiche*, Roma, Bari: Laterza, 1994, 499-565.

1995

162. "Concerning the Zoroastrian metaphor of the two-legged wolves", *EW* 45 (1995), 311-312.
163. "Cosroe dall'Anima Immortale o della doppia felicità", in *Un ricordo che non si spegne: scritti di docenti e collaboratori dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 50, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1995 [1996], 119-146.
164. "La demonizzazione di Alessandro nell'Iran sasanide (III-VII secolo d.C.) e nella tradizione zoroastriana", in *Alessandro il Grande: storia e mito*, Roma: Leonardo Arte, 1995, 175 and 384.
165. "Einige Bemerkungen zum altiranischen Dualismus", in B. G. Fragner et al. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, SOR 73, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, 213-231.
166. "Un emprunt iranien en araméen ignoré jusqu'à présent", *Au carrefour des religions: mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux*, Res Orientales 7, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1995, 87-93.
- 115a. "L'Iran ancien et le zoroastrisme", in J. Ries, *Traité d'anthropologie du sacré*, vol. 2: *L'homme indo-européen et le sacré*, Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1995, 111-152 [French translation of 115].
167. "Nuove prospettive della ricerca italiana sulla cultura delle steppe euroasiatiche", in A. Carile (ed.), *Teoderico e i Goti, tra Oriente e Occidente: congresso internazionale, Ravenna, 28 settembre-2 ottobre 1992*, Ravenna: Longo, 1995, 53-65.
168. "Once more Zoroaster's time: a Manichaean dating", *EW* 45 (1995), 313-319.
169. "Zoroastro nelle fonti classiche: problemi attuali e prospettive della ricerca", *Studi urbinati*, ser. B, 67 (1995-1996 [1996]), 281-295.
- 170-171. Articles in *Elt. Quinta appendice, 1979-1992*, vol. 5, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995: 170. "Tucci, Giuseppe", 591-592; 171. "Zoroastrismo", 830-832.

1996

172. "Farn als Hermes in einer soghdischen Erzählung", in R. E. Emmerick et al. (ed.), *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang. Vorträge der Tagung "Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung", veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9.-12.12.1994)*, Berlin: Akademie, 1996, 95-100.
173. "More on *astwand ruwān* (KKZ 19 and KNRb 20-21)", *BAL*, n.s., 10 (1996 [1998]: *Studies in honor of Vladimir A. Livshits*), 73-77.

174. "Il nome degli Alani nelle iscrizioni sassanidi: considerazioni linguistiche e storiche sul tema dell'opposizione tra Iran esterno e Iran interno", in *Il Caucaso: cerniera fra culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia (secoli IV-XI)*, 20-26 aprile 1995, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 43, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996, 831-861.
175. "Note kuṣāṇa: a proposito di una recente interpretazione di Pharro", in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo: atti del convegno sul tema, in collaborazione con l'Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma, 9-12 novembre 1994)*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996, 685-702.
176. "Una nuova iscrizione minea di Barāqish sulla confessione dei peccati", in *Alle soglie della classicità: il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione: studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Pisa, Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1996, 1145-1159.
177. "Il pericolo persiano: Ardashir e Shapur I", in *Storia della società italiana*, vol. 3: *La crisi del principato e la società imperiale*, Milano: Teti, 1996, 399-433.
178. "La salvezza secondo Zoroastro", in *Vie alla salvezza: ciclo di conferenze, 27 febbraio-23 aprile 1996*, Torino: Centro Congressi Torino Incontra, 1996, 23-42.
179. "Il sincronismo mineo-persiano", in *Arabia Antiqua: early origins of South Arabian states: proceedings of the first international conference on the conservation and exploitation of the archaeological heritage of the Arabian peninsula, ... Rome on 28th-30th May 1991*, vol. 1, SOR 70.1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1996, 23-34.
180. "Über das iranische **hyarnah*-. lautliche, morphologische und etymologische Probleme: zum Stand der Forschung", *AoF* 23 (1996), 171-180.
181. "Dualism", in *EIr.*, vol. 7, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1996, 576-582.
182. "Introduction [to the chapters on Western Asia in the "Regional section"]", in J. Herrmann, E. Zürcher, *History of mankind: scientific and cultural development*, vol. 3: *From the seventh century BC to the seventh century AD*, Paris: Unesco, 1996, 115-116.
183. "The Iranian tribes and the Persian Empire", in J. Herrmann, E. Zürcher, *History of mankind: scientific and cultural development*, vol. 3: *From the seventh century BC to the seventh century AD*, Paris: Unesco, 1996, 120-124.

1997

184. "Sulla data di Zoroastro nel Proemio di Diogene Laerzio", in *ΜΟΥΣΑ: scritti in onore di Giuseppe Morelli*, Bologna: Pàtron, 1997, 179-195.
185. "Zoroastro", in G. Rossi-Osmida (ed.), *Turkmenistan*, Venezia: Centro Studi e Ricerche Ligabue, [1997], 115-120.
186. "Zoroastro e Mani", in M. Raveri (ed.), *Del bene e del male: tradizioni religiose a confronto*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1997, 125-136.
187. "Zoroastro nella nostra cultura", *Studi urbinati*, ser. B, 68 (1997-1998 [1998]), 205-219.
188. "Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente", in E. M. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 3, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 197-198.

1998

189. "Ebraismo e cultura iranica", *Orientalia Karalitana: quaderni dell'Istituto di Studi Africani e Orientali* [Università di Cagliari] 3 (1998), 103-114.
190. "Further considerations on a Manichaean dating of Zoroaster", in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge, 11th*

- to 15th September 1995, pt. 1: *Old and Middle Iranian studies*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998, 13-20.
191. "L'Iran tardoantico e la regalità sassanide", *MedAnt* 1 (1998), no. 1, 115-139.
192. "Two historical questions relating to the Alans and the mountains", *Studia Iranica et Alanica: Festschrift for Prof. Vassilij Ivanovič Abaev on the occasion of his 95th birthday*, SOR 84, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998, 161-167.
193. "Xerxès, Priam et Zoroastre", *BAI*, n.s., 12 (1998 [2001]: *Alexander's legacy in the East: studies in honor of Paul Bernard*), 59-67.
- 194-195. Articles in *Elr.*, vol. 8, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1998: 194. "Ēr, Ēr Mazdēsñ", 533; 195. "Ērič. Mountain", 558.
196. "Ahura Mazdā", in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 4. Aufl., vol. 1, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998, 2.
197. "Zoroastrismo", in *Enciclopedia delle scienze sociali*, vol. 8, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998, 808-814.

1999

198. "Europa e Iran antico", in A. Piras (ed.), *Lo specchio dell'Europa: immagine e immaginario di un continente*, Rimini: Il Cerchio, 1999, 9-16.
199. "L'Iran preislamico", in A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa: da Zaratuštra a Bahā'u'llāh*, [2a ed.], Cosenza: Giordano, 1998, 9-16.
200. "Nouvelles perspectives sur les contacts culturels irano-mésopotamiens", *CRAI* 1999, 611-614.
201. "Presentazione della storia e identità nazionale nell'Iran antico", in E. Gabba (ed.), *Presentazione e scrittura della storia: storiografia, epigrafi, monumenti: atti del convegno di Pontignano (aprile 1996)*, Como: New Press, 1999, 77-99.
- 202-203. Articles in *Elr.*, vol. 9, New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999: 202. "Evil. i. In ancient Iranian religions", 79-82; 203. "Farr(ah)", 312-319.

2000

204. "La civiltà persiana", *Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei*, ser. 9, vol. 11 (2000), 519-524.
205. "Iran: Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung einer Idee", in W. Seipel (ed.), *7000 Jahre persische Kunst: Meisterwerke aus dem Iranischen Nationalmuseum in Teheran*, Milano: Skira, 2000, 17-21.
206. "Riflessioni su Zaratuštra il Caldeo e sull'Anno cosmico", in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, vol. 3, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series minor, 61, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000, 1573-1588.

2001

- 204a. "La civiltà persiana", in *Antica Persia: i tesori del Museo Nazionale di Tehran e la ricerca italiana in Iran*, Roma: De Luca, 2001, 3-5.
207. "Il pensiero religioso dell'Iran antico", in *Storia della scienza*, vol. 1: [La scienza antica], Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001, 246-249.

IV. BOOK REVIEWS

1961

1. P. Geoltrain, *Le traité de la vie contemplative de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1960), *EW* 12 (1961), 278-280.

1962

2. Th. M. Gaster, *Thespis: ritual, myth and drama in the ancient Near East*, 2nd rev. ed. (Wiesbaden 1961), *EW* 13 (1962), 73-75.
3. G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* (Köln 1960), *EW* 13 (1962), 65-66.

1965

4. M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1963), *RSO* 40 (1965), 334-343.

1967

5. M. Molé, *L'Iran ancien* (Paris 1965), *AION*, n.s., 17 (1967), 363-364.

1971

6. E. Buonaiuti, *I rapporti sessuali nell'esperienza religiosa del mondo mediterraneo* (Piacenza 1969), *Rivista di psicologia analitica* 2 (1971: *Il sogno*), 234-236.

1981

7. M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: their religious beliefs and practices* (London 1979), *AION*, n.s., 41 (1981), 685-690.
8. Ph. Gignoux et al. (ed.), *Pad nām ī Yazdān: études d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'histoire de l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1979), *AION*, n.s., 41 (1981), 690-697.

1984

9. M. Boyce, *Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism* (Manchester 1984), *EW* 34 (1984), 381-382.
10. L. Cirillo, *Elchasai e gli Elchasaiti: un contributo alla storia delle comunità giudeo-cristiane* (Cosenza 1984), *EW* 34 (1984), 370-71.
11. J. Harmatta (ed.), *Studies in the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest 1979), *OLZ* 79 (1984), no. 3, 285-289.
12. H. Humbach, *A Western approach to Zarathushtra* (Bombay 1984), *EW* 34 (1984), 383-384.

1985

13. F. Th. Lankarany, *Daēnā im Avesta: eine semantische Untersuchung* (Reinbek 1985), *EW* 35 (1985), 294-296.

1986

14. L. Cirillo (ed.), *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: proceedings of the international symposium (Rende-Amantea, 3-7 settembre 1984)* (Cosenza 1986), *EW* 36 (1986), 316-320.
15. L. Cirillo, A. Concolino Mancini, A. Roselli, *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: concordanze* (Cosenza 1985), *EW* 36 (1986), 315.

16. G. Kreyenbroek, *Sraoša in the Zoroastrian tradition* (Leiden 1985), *EW* 36 (1986), 308-311.
17. M. Tardieu, J.-D. Dubois, *Introduction à la littérature gnostique*, vol. 1: *Collections retrouvées avant 1945* (s.l. 1986), *EW*, 36 (1986), 320-321.

1987

18. J. M. Cook, *The Persian empire* (London 1983), *EW* 37 (1987), 471-473.
19. S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and medieval China: a historical survey* (Manchester 1985): *EW* 37 (1987), 473-475.

1988

20. J. Ménard [recte K. Rudolph, cf. no. 114 on p. xxii], *De la gnose au manichéisme* (Paris 1986), *EW* 38 (1988), 332-333.
21. S. Pétrement, *Le Dieu séparé: les origines du gnosticisme* (Paris 1984), *EW* 38 (1988), 331-332.

1989

22. D. S. Flattery, M. Schwartz, *Haoma and harmaline: the botanical identity of the Indo-Iranian sacred hallucinogen "soma" and its legacy in religion, language and Middle Eastern folklore* (Berkeley 1989), *EW* 39 (1989), 320-324.

1990

23. *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: atti del secondo simposio internazionale* (Cosenza, 27-28 maggio 1988) (Cosenza 1990), *EW* 40 (1990), 363-365.
24. K. Hoffmann, J. Narten, *Der sasanidische Archetypus: Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen* (Wiesbaden 1989), *EW* 40 (1990), 365-367.

1991

25. M. H. Dodgeon, S. N. C. Lieu, *The Roman eastern frontier and the Persian Wars A.D. 226-363: a documentary history* (London 1991), *EW* 41 (1991), 393-395.
26. M. Hutter, *Mani und die Sasaniden: der iranisch-gnostische Synkretismus einer Weltreligion* (Innsbruck 1988), *EW* 41 (1991), 399-403.
27. J. Ries, *Les études manichéennes: des controverses de la Réforme aux découvertes du XX^e siècle* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), *EW* 41 (1991), 403-405.
28. *Vendidad: la legge di abiura dei demoni dell'Avesta zoroastriano*, trad. da F. A. Cannizzaro, [rist.], con un saggio sulla storia dello zoroastrismo di A. Panaino (Milano 1990), *EW* 41 (1991), 395-397.

1992

29. H. Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the other Old Avestan texts*, in collaboration with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skjærvø (Heidelberg 1991), *EW* 42 (1992), 519-527.
30. J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide: actes du colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987* (Gent 1991), *EW* 42 (1992), 527-530.

1993

31. K. M. Jamaspasa, *The Avesta Codex F1 (Niyāyišns and Yašts)*, facsimile ed. with an introduction (Wiesbaden 1991), *BSOAS* 56 (1993), 596-599.

32. G. Pettinato, *La saga di Gilgamesh*, in collaborazione con S. M. Chiodi e G. Del Monte (Milano 1992), *EW* 43 (1993), 327-329.

1994

33. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Bāfaqīh, *L'unification du Yémen antique: la lutte entre Saba', Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris 1990), *EW* 44 (1994), 525-528.
34. H. Frankfort, *Il dio che muore: mito e cultura nel mondo preclassico* (Firenze 1992), *EW* 44 (1994), 523-524.
35. Ch. Robin, *Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques*, t. 1: *Inabba', Haram, al-Kāfir, Kamna et al-Ḥarāshif* (Paris 1992), *EW* 44 (1994), 528-535.

1995

36. P. Briant, *Darius: les Perses et l'empire* (Paris 1992), *EW* 45 (1995), 411.
37. Sh. Shaked, *Dualism in transformation: varieties of religion in Sasanian Iran* (London 1994), *EW* 45 (1995), 415-422.
38. F. Tessitore, *Schizzi e schegge di storiografia arabo-islamica* (Bari 1995), *AION* 55 (1995), 243-246.
39. J. Wiesehöfer, *Die "dunklen Jahrhunderte" der Persis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v. Chr.)* (München 1994), *EW* 45 (1995), 411-415.

1996

40. W. B. Henning, *Il medioiranico*, ed. italiana a cura di E. Filippone (Napoli 1996), *EW* 46 (1996), 503-504.
41. Ch. Robin (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet: nouvelles données sur l'histoire des arabes grâce aux inscriptions* (= *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61, 1991 [1992], no. 3): *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient* 39 (1996), 54-58.
42. J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien: von 555 v. Chr. bis 650 n. Chr.* (München 1994), *EW* 46 (1996), 501-503.

V. VARIA: BOOKLETS, OCCASIONAL WRITINGS, OBITUARIES, COLLABORATIONS, FOREWORDS, ETC.

1962

1. Contributions on Oriental history and religions in *Universo: la grande enciclopedia per tutti*, Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1962-1970.

1966

2. Intervento sulla relazione di U. Scerrato, "L'edificio sacro di Dahan-i Ghulaman (Sistan)", in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano: atti del convegno sul tema (Roma, 11-14 aprile 1965)*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1966, 471-476.

1974

3. Preface to *Gururājamañjarikā: studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, [Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 1], Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1974, v-vii.

1977

4. Contributions on Oriental history and religions in *Enciclopedia E12*, Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1977-1981.

1979

5. Preface to G. Gnoli, A. V. Rossi (ed.), *Iranica*, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series minor X, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1979, [iii] (with A. V. Rossi).

1982

6. "Presentazione", in G. Gnoli, J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982, 1-4.

1983

7. *Nel cinquantenario dell'IsMEO: discorso tenuto a Palazzo Brancaccio il 16 febbraio 1983*, testo italiano e traduzione inglese, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1983, 42 pp.
8. "The IsMEO's project for the future", *EW* 33 (1983), 9-19.
9. "Foreword", in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Orientalia Romana. Essays and lectures 5: Iranian studies*, SOR 52, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1983, ix.

1984

10. *Giuseppe Tucci: commemorazione tenuta dal Presidente dell'Istituto [Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente] Gherardo Gnoli il 7 maggio 1984 a Palazzo Brancaccio*, Roma: s.n., 1984, 26 p.
- 10a. "Giuseppe Tucci, 1894-1984: public commemoration held by the President of the Institute Gherardo Gnoli on 7th May 1984", *EW* 34 (1984), 10-21 [English translation of 10].
11. "Preface: the Italian contribution of IsMEO to the Mohenjo-Daro research Project", in M. Jansen, G. Urban (ed.), *Interim reports*, vol. 1: *Reports on field work carried out at Mohenjo-Daro, Pakistan 1982-83 by the IsMEO-Aachen-University Mission*, Aachen: German Research-Project Mohenjo-Daro; Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1984, 6 (with M. Tosi).

1985

12. "Foreword" and "Allocution de bienvenue et introduction aux travaux", in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Orientalia Romana 6: The First European Colloquium of Iranology (Rome, June 18th-20th, 1983)*, SOR 57, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985, vii-xv.
13. "Introduzione", in *Giuseppe Tucci: giornata di studio, Ancona, 22 aprile 1985*, Ancona: s.n., 1985, 14-15.
14. Preface to R. Gnoli, *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*, SOR 55, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985, 5.
15. "[Presentazione]", in G. Gnoli, L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, vol. 1, SOR 56.1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985, xi-xii (with L. Lanciotti).

1986

16. "Mircea Eliade, 1907-1986", *EW* 36 (1986), 280-296.
17. "After death", *EW* 36 (1986), 265-266.

1987

18. Introduction to *Advanced technologies for a non-destructive archaeology: Moenjodaro: an Italian contribution*, Karachi: s.n., 1987, 11-17.

1988

19. "Research activities in Arabia: a foreword to the first scientific contribution by the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO in the Yemen Arab Republic", in A. de Maigret (ed.), *The Sabaeen archaeological complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Ḥawlān at-Ṭiyāl, Yemen Arab Republic): a preliminary report*, Ismeo RepMem 21, Rome: IsMEO, 1988, ix-xiii.
20. "Mario Bussagli, Siena, 23rd September 1917-Frosinone, 14th August 1988", *EW* 38 (1988), 317-321 (with L. Lanciotti, L. Petech, M. Taddei).
21. "Foreword", in L. Petech, *Selected papers on Asian history*, SOR 60, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988, vii-viii.

1989

22. "Vicino e Medio Oriente: una ricerca che dura nel tempo", Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Cooperazione* 14 (1989), 35-37.
23. Contributions to the articles "Iran"—"Iranistica", in *Grande enciclopedia*, vol. 11, Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1989, 82-91.
24. "Discorso introduttivo del Presidente dell'Istituto", in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche: atti del convegno sul tema (Roma, 22-23 aprile 1988)*, SOR 64, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, vii-x.
25. "Foreword", in N. Norbu, R. Prats, *Gaṇs ti se 'i dkar c'ag: a Bon-po story of the Sacred Mountain Ti-se and the Blue Lake Ma-pan*, SOR 61, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, xvii.

1990

26. *Nel centenario della nascita di Jawaharlal Nehru*, Conferenze IsMEO 1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990, 22 pp.
27. "Foreword", in G. Gnoli, A. Panaino (ed.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Turin, September 7th-11th 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, SOR 67.1-2, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990, pt. 1, v-vi (with A. Panaino).

1991

28. "Paolo Beonio Brocchieri, 1934-1991", *EW* 41 (1991), 389-390 (with L. Lanciotti).
29. "Gli studi orientalistici", in Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica e Tecnologica, *Le discipline umanistiche: analisi e progetto*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico Zecca dello Stato, 1991, 101-112 (with M. Liverani).
30. Preface to V. P. Alekseev, G. A. Košelenko, R. M. Munčaeu, *Perspectives in archaeological research in the USSR: three lectures*, Conferenze IsMEO 4, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1991, 5.

1992

31. "Il contributo dell'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente agli studi sull'Arabia meridionale", in A. de Maigret (ed.), *Yemen: studi archeologici, storici e filologici sull'Arabia meridionale*, vol. 1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1992 [1993], 5-6.
32. "Foreword", *EW* 42 (1992), no. 1 (A special number published in collaboration with *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, Institute of World History, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, ed. G. M. Bongard-Levin and †V. P. Alekseev), 11-12.
33. "Foreword", in G. Verardi, *Excavations at Harigaon, Kathmandu: final report*, with contributions by E. Paparatti, S. Pracchia, O. Volpicelli, *IsmeoRepMem* 25, Rome: IsMEO, 1992, v.
34. "Introduction", in A. Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-huang: the texts: encounter of civilizations on the Silk Route: proceedings of the international conference . . . , Venice, 15-16 January 1990*, *Orientalia Venetiana* 4, Firenze: Olschki, 1992, xv-xix.

1993

35. "Les études orientales aujourd'hui: l'expérience italienne", *Livre blanc de l'orientalisme français*, Paris: Société Asiatique, 1993, 63-68.
36. "Itaria no Nihon kenkyū: Chūa Kyokutō Kyōkai no yakuwari" (Studi italiani sul Giappone: il ruolo dell'IsMEO), *Nichi-i bunka kenkyū* (Studi di cultura italo-giapponese) 31 (1993), 89-99.
37. "Towards a new Italian association for the promotion of Asian and African studies", *EW* 43 (1993), 311-312.
38. "Discours", in *Remise de son épée d'académicien à Paul Bernard, 4 juin, Sorbonne*, Paris: s.n., 1993, 11-15.
39. "Louis Vanden Berghe, 1923-1993", *EW* 43 (1993), 317-320.
40. "[Presentazione]", in *Oxus: tesori dell'Asia Centrale*, Roma: De Luca, 1993, ix.

1994

41. "Giovanni Gentile founder and president of IsMEO", *EW* 44 (1994), 223-229 [Italian translation 1995].
42. Contribution in N. Galesne, "L'université dans le processus de paix en Méditerranée", *Università del Mediterraneo* 1 (automne 1994), 9-10.
43. "[Preface]", in M. A. Biancifiori, *Biancifiori: works of architectural restoration in Oman*, Roma: De Luca, 1994, 13.
44. "Preface", in R. M. Cimino (ed.), *Ancient Rome and India: commercial and cultural contacts between the Roman world and India*, New Delhi: s.n., 1994, ix-x.
45. "Foreword", in E. De Rossi Filibeck, *Catalogue of the Tucci Tibetan fund in the library of IsMEO*, vol. 1, Rome: s.n., 1994, vii.
46. "Foreword", *EW* 44 (1994), no. 1, 11-12.
47. "[Introductory address]", in B. Genito (ed.), *The archaeology of the steppes: methods and strategies: papers from the international symposium held in Naples, 9-12 November 1992*, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series minor 64, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994 [1995], xxvi-xxix.

1995

48. Contribution to *Centenario della nascita di Giuseppe Tucci: discorsi pronunciati da Sabatino Moscati e Gherardo Gnoli il 6 giugno 1994 in Campidoglio*, Roma: s.n., 1995, 19-31.
- 41a. "Giovanni Gentile fondatore e presidente dell'IsMEO", in *Giovanni Gentile: la filosofia, la politica, l'organizzazione della cultura*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1995, 165-173 [Italian translation of 41].
49. "Discours de Gherardo Gnoli, Université de Liège, 9 mai 1994", in *Discours prononcés à l'occasion de l'élection de Jean Kellens au Collège de France*, [Liège: tirage privé], 1995, 10-17.
50. "L'eredità di Giuseppe Tucci", in B. Melasecchi (ed.), *Giuseppe Tucci nel centenario della nascita, Roma, 7-8 giugno 1994*, Conferenze IsMEO 8, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, 141-155.
51. "Intervento di G. Gnoli alla presentazione di Sabatino Moscati. *Bibliografia degli scritti (1943-1991)* [Università di Bologna, 6 maggio 1992]", in *Academica: omaggio a L. S. Senghor, J. Leclant, S. Moscati, P. W. Pestman*, Pisa: Giardini, 1995, 51-57.
52. "Preface", in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, SOR 73, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, v-vi (with B. G. Fragner, Ch. Fragner, G. Gnoli, R. Haag-Iguchi, M. Maggi, P. Orsatti).
53. "Prefazione", in B. Melasecchi (ed.), *Giuseppe Tucci nel centenario della nascita, Roma, 7-8 giugno 1994*, Conferenze IsMEO 8, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, 5-6.
54. "[Presentazione]", in *Il Giappone prima dell'Occidente: 4000 anni di arte e culto*, Roma: De Luca, 1995, 4.
55. "[Presentazione]", in S. Moscati, *Luci sul Mediterraneo: dai manoscritti del Mar Morto ai Cartaginesi in Italia: tre millenni di vicende storiche, di concezioni religiose, di creazioni artistiche alla luce dell'archeologia*, Roma: Quasar, 1995, xiii-xvii.

1996

56. "Geo Widengren, 1907-1996", *EW* 46 (1996), 494-497.
57. "Harold Walter Bailey, 1899-1996", *EW* 46 (1996), 490-493.
58. "Discorso di apertura del Presidente dell'IsMEO", in Ch. J. Robin (ed.), *Arabia Antiqua: early origins of South Arabian states: proceedings of the first international conference on the conservation and exploitation of the archaeological heritage of the Arabian peninsula, . . . Rome on 28th-30th May 1991*, vol. 1, SOR 70.1, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1996, xv-xviii.
59. "Omaggio a Lionello Lanciotti", in S. M. Carletti, M. Sacchetti, P. Santangelo (ed.), *Studi in onore di Lionello Lanciotti*, vol. 1, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 51, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996, xxv-xxvii.
60. "[Parole di saluto del Presidente dell'IsMEO]", in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo: atti del convegno sul tema, in collaborazione con l'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma 9-12 novembre 1994)*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996, 7-9.
61. "Saluto del Presidente dell'IsMEO", in *Scienze tradizionali in Asia, principi ed applicazioni: atti del convegno sul tema, Perugia, 26-28 ottobre 1995*, Perugia, Fornari, 1996, 5.
62. "Saluto inaugurale", in A. Cadonna, L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Cina e Iran: da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang; atti dell'incontro internazionale di studi . . . , Venezia, 7-8 novembre 1994*, Orientalia Venetiana 5, Firenze: Olschki, 1996, ix-xi.

1997

63. "Marco Francisci di Baschi, 1920-1997", *EW* 47 (1997), 424-426.
64. Contribution to "Ricordo di Sabatino Moscati", *Notiziario della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 17 (1997 [1998]), 9-12.
65. "Sabatino Moscati: era un entusiasta infaticabile", *Il giornale dell'arte* 14 (ottobre 1997), no. 159, 102.
66. "Sabatino Moscati, 1922-1997", *EW* 47 (1997), 428-433.
67. "[Foreword]", *EW* 47 (1997), 5.
68. "Foreword", in E. Galdieri, *Nepal: wall paintings in the Kathmandu valley*, vol. 1: *Typology, technical aspects, conservation works*, with contributions by R. M. Cimino, M. Catalano, R. Boenni, Rome: IsIAO, 1997, 9.
69. "Foreword", in G. Tucci, *On Swāt: historical and archaeological notes*, Rome: s.n., 1997, vii.
70. "[Introduzione]", in A. Avanzini (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia: atti del convegno*, Roma: L'Erma, 1997, 12-13.
71. "Premessa", in G. Schiaparelli, *Scritti sulla storia dell'astronomia antica*, parte prima: *Scritti editi*, t. 1, Milano: Mimesis, 1997, i-ii (with S. De Meis, A. Panaino).
72. "Presentazione", in L. Caetani, *Altri studi di storia orientale*, a cura di F. Tassitore, Roma: L'Erma, 1997, 9-11.
73. "Speech of the President of IsMEO", in G. Verardi (ed.), *Nepalese and Italian contributions to the history and archaeology of Nepal: proceedings of the seminar held at Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu, 22-23 January 1995*, Rome: IsIAO, 1997, 13-14.

1998

74. Contribution to *Ricordo di Marco Francisci di Baschi: discorsi pronunciati da Wu Minglian, ambasciatore della RPC, Gherardo Gnoli, Boris Biancheri Chiappori, Edoarda Masi, Roberto Antonelli, Lionello Lanciotti il 5 novembre 1997 in Palazzo Brancaccio*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998, 11-16.
75. Contribution to "Ricordo di Sabatino Moscati, già presidente dell'Accademia (Roma, 8 maggio 1998)", *Rend. Mor. Acc. Lincei*, ser. 9, 9 (1998), fasc. 4, 781-785.
76. "Un ponte fra Oriente e Occidente: un ricordo di Sabatino Moscati", *30 giorni nella Chiesa e nel mondo* 16 (1998), no. 2, 72-74.
77. "[Ricordo di Fernando Ferrara]", in L. Curti, L. Di Michele (ed.), *Gli amici per Nando: giornata di studi in onore di Fernando Ferrara*, Apophoreta 3, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1998, 17-20.
78. "Sabatino Moscati orientalista e storico del Mediterraneo antico", *MedAnt* 1 (1998), no. 2, 575-582.
79. "Preface", in *Studia Iranica et Alanica: Festschrift for Prof. Vassilij Ivanovič Abaev on the occasion of his 95th birthday*, SOR 84, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998, 5-6 (with V. M. Gusalov, A. V. Rossi).
80. Preface to G. Tucci, *Nel centenario della nascita di Gandhi*, Conferenze IsMEO 12, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998, 5.
81. "Presentation", in A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, M. Tosi (ed.), *The archaeological map of the Murghab Delta: preliminary reports 1990-1995*, IsiaoRepMem, Series minor 3, Roma: IsIAO, 1998, vii (with R. Munchaev).

1999

82. Paper read at the conference *L'università nella nuova cooperazione allo sviluppo: atti del convegno, Roma, 16-17 dicembre 1996*, Roma: IILA, 1999, 63-64.
83. Preface to M. Margozzi (ed.), *Viaggio in Africa: dipinti e sculture delle collezioni del Museo Africano*, [Roma]: s.n., 1999, 9 (cf. 94).

2000

84. *Maurizio Taddei: commemorazione tenuta da Gherardo Gnoli a Palazzo Brancaccio il giorno 6 marzo 2000*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2000, 19 pp.
85. "Maurizio Taddei, 1936-2000", *EW* 50 (2000), 544-564.
86. "Address of the President of the IsIAO", in M. Taddei, G. De Marco (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1997: proceedings of the Fourteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists . . . , Rome, 7-14 July 1997*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2000 [2001], xiv.
87. "Presentazione", in R. M. Cimino, *Kumbha Mela: dei, santi e uomini a convegno nella più grande festa hindu*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2000, 7.
88. "Vorwort", in Cs. Bálint (ed.), *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.-7. Jahrhundert*, *Varia archaeologica Hungarica* 10, Budapest: Institutum Archaeologicum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae; Napoli: Institutum Orientale Neapolitanum; Roma: Institutum Italicum pro Africa atque Oriente, 2000, 7 (with M. Agrimi, Cs. Bálint).

2001

89. "L'Università Italiana, l'Asia, l'Africa", *Studium* 97 (2001), 145-150.
90. "Ilya Gershevitch, 1914-2001", *EW* 51 (2001), 396-407.
91. "Ricordo di Maurizio Taddei", *Scritture di storia*, Quaderno 2 (2001), 7-14.
92. "Avant-propos", in S. Antonini, *Repertorio iconografico sudarabico*, t. 1: *La statuaria araba in pietra*, Parigi: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres; Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2001, 5-7 (with Ch. J. Robin).
93. "Magistro eidemque fratri", in R. Torella et al. (ed.), *Le parole e i marmi: studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° compleanno*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2001, xi-xii.
94. Preface to M. Margozzi (ed.), *Viaggio in Africa: dipinti e sculture delle collezioni del Museo Africano*, [L'Aquila]: s.n., 2001, 9 (cf. 83).

COSMOPOLITAN DEITIES AND HELLENISTIC TRACES AT KUH-E KHWĀJA IN SISTAN
(Plate 1)

A. D. H. Bivar

The archaeological site at Kuh-e Khwāja, situated at the very easterly limit of Iran, is still one of the country's most enigmatic monuments. Here the ancient religious complex is often designated in the literature by the name of Gagha-shahr. Its terraced forecourt, and the great upper quadrangle with its shrine, in earlier decades and no doubt in antiquity overlooked an extensive lake, which is today dried out and only represented by a vista of sand. Beyond lies Afghanistan, in which no trace either of settlement or cultivation can now be seen from our site. The very inaccessibility of the place, before the building of the motor-road, meant that in earlier days scholarly visits had been infrequent and sporadic. The first serious explorer was Aurel Stein in 1916, who reached the area via Karachi, and whose movements in the region were no doubt facilitated by the strong British consular representation present at that time. He was the first to draw attention to the important wall-paintings that are a feature of the site (Stein 1928, 920 and pl. 54 [Arabic numerals] bottom). Another item described illustrated a hero with a bull's-head mace facing a three-headed demon, which seems never to have been reproduced. Finding that some sections – which subsequently to their heyday had been plastered over, and which he had uncovered – were precarious and vulnerable without specialist treatment, he determined on their removal to Delhi. The most substantial item published is that showing two youths reclining, and facing inward. But this does not give obvious indications of date.

Herzfeld visited the site of Kuh-e Khwāja in 1924/1925, and returned to conduct excavations in the spring of 1929. At the time of his Schweich Lectures in 1934 (*AHI*), these operations were still unpublished. So far as I am aware he never produced his own account of the work, but rather discursive summary accounts of his finds appear in the lectures cited, and also in his larger work, *Iran in the ancient east* (*IAE*). In the first context, the description appears in the chapter entitled “The Hellenistic period”, where he attributes the paintings and architecture to Parthian and Sasanian times, the first being presumably regarded as part of the Hellenistic inheritance. According to his reconstruction, there was one certainly very important Parthian painting (*IAE*, pl. CIV top), and architectural façades of Parthian and Sasanian style. Yet some details of the paintings, not discussed systematically in Herzfeld's text, have every appearance of belonging to a definitely earlier date. It is clear that their typically Hellenistic style influenced Herzfeld's thinking, even though he did not discuss them in systematic fashion. Thus one pair of panels, known as the “Panels of the Greek and Iranian gods”, are noted by Herzfeld with the words (*IAE* 295-296): “The design of the figures and their heads is much more Greek than in the other paintings. The garments too are Greek, some of them with textile ornaments”. This description is not only fully justified. It is an understatement. The case is not only, in Herzfeld's words, that their “design is much more Greek”. The paintings are Greek. They have every appearance of being not indeed Parthian, but work of the high Hellenistic period, perhaps of the third century B.C.

To describe these panels briefly, that on the left-hand side (*IAE*, pl. CIII) depicts the head of a gold trident, with steel-gray tines, held upright by an anthropomorphic hand and arm. The body of the figure is lost at the edge of the preserved panel, but there is little difficulty in identifying the personage depicted, as indeed Herzfeld does, with Poseidon, Greek god of the sea. Whether Herzfeld was right in deducing that the god with the trident was actually equated locally with the Indian Śiva, whose attribute was the *triśūla* (also a type of trident), is possible but unproven. The figure to the viewer's right of this attribute has the typical iconography of the Greek Athena. She wears her characteristic robe, the peplos, supported on the shoulders by gold clasps at either side. She holds her spear with the left hand, slanting outwards against the left shoulder. Here indeed we must be aware that the panel is apparently known today only from Herzfeld's watercolour drawing. The artist was well aware of details of Greek iconography, and it is not unlikely his rendering involves an element of idealization and hellenization of the outlines he perceived. This was certainly the case with another of his renderings that we shall see below. None the less we have to suppose that his rendering of the panels was reasonably faithful, and that they truthfully represent the main features of the paintings.

The right-hand panel of the pair shows three male figures, facing left. Herzfeld (*AHI* 71) plausibly interpreted the last of these as the Iranian deity Verethragna, an inference deriving partly from his three-winged helmet, a detail which the scholar supposed was intended to distinguish this rendering from that of the Greek Hermes, whose cap bore only two wings. Also supporting the identification was the fact that this figure appeared to occupy the third position of precedence after the two male figures on his left. These had the appearance of respectable, but not aged male figures, bearded and wearing the Iranian costume of a tunic. Neither was distinguished by any obvious attributes, but for the more prominent figure on the left one might reasonably deduce that he was intended to represent Ahuramazda, and for the somewhat slimmer and more youthful figure immediate behind him one could entertain an identification with Mithra. Assuming these identifications to be correct, which in the absence of other explicit attributes might seem somewhat adventurous, one could infer that these panels reflected the period of Hellenistic syncretism, the explicitly Hellenic religious representations on the left being balanced by typically iconic renderings of the Iranian gods in anthropomorphic form.

One other painting from Herzfeld's report from Kuh-e Khwāja needs to be considered here – that which he designated by the label of "small male head". This is best known from Herzfeld's watercolour rendering (*IAE*, pl. CIII), which is again a hand-copy only, and not a precise rendering of the original such as a photograph. In this case, the original is now known to be preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, and a photograph has been published (Faccenna 1981, fig. 17). It is thus possible to appreciate that Herzfeld's representation is indeed idealized, and its marked resemblance to the coin-portrait of the Seleucid Antiochus III – itself no doubt also idealized – is somewhat exaggerated. None the less, the original, though plumper and podgier than Herzfeld's version, appears to wear a diadem, and still displays a definite similarity to the portrait of the Hellenistic monarch, which would not exclude an identification. We could certainly entertain the possibility that Antiochus III was represented here, if other indications tended to support this conclusion.

The date of the structures at Kuh-e Khwāja is of course a well-known subject of controversy. With Herzfeld, all the commentators agree that Parthian and Sasanian phases of architecture are distinguishable. One important wall-painting already noticed (*IAE*, pl. CIV top), that of an Iranian prince and his consort, is manifestly attributable to Parthian times, and probably to be dated in the first century A.D. It was however only Gullini who claimed to have detected earlier architectural phases at the site. He maintained the existence of Achaemenid phases, basing his argument on the presence in certain parts of the structures of mud-bricks of larger size than those of the main Parthian work, measuring $40 \times 40 \times 11$ cm, and even $54 \times 22 \times 11$ cm, as against the Parthian bricks at $40 \times 40 \times 10$ -9.5 cm. Other commentators have however expressed doubts about these inferences, and preferred to ascribe all the buildings either to the Parthian, or to the Sasanian periods.

At the same time, Gullini conceded that the evidence of the brick sizes was not in itself conclusive for establishing the date of the earlier constructions at Kuh-e Khwāja. He derived further indications from the presence of painted pottery in the relevant levels, and concluded that these phases could be early Achaemenid and Achaemenid, or even Seleucid. Further consideration now of the paintings reported by Herzfeld suggests that some of these could also be of Hellenistic character. The panels of “the Greek and Iranian gods” and the “small male head” are strongly Hellenistic in style and subject matter, and the last, in particular, seems to show a resemblance to the portrait of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III.

It is, of course, well known that Antiochus III undertook an extensive expedition to the Hellenistic east (Bevan 1902, 18-24). Setting out from Hamadan by the northern route in 209 B.C., he repelled the encroaching Parthians east of the Caspian Gates, occupied Hecatompylos, now identified with Shahr-e Qumis west of Damghan, and continuing across the Alborz range captured the city of Syrinx, probably near present-day Gorgan city, and perhaps situated at the great mound of Qal’a Khandan. Proceeding eastwards, he defeated the forces of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I to the west of Herat, laid siege to Bactra, and eventually arrived at an accommodation with the Bactrians. Subsequently he marched on into the Kabul area, subjugated a local ruler Sophagasenus, and returned via Arachosia and Drangiana to Carmania, and so eventually back to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Thus Antiochus III was in Drangiana, the province of which Kuh-e Khwāja forms a part, during 206 B.C., and it is by no means impossible that he could have visited the site. Though the conclusion is an adventurous one, and obviously needs to be supported by further evidence, the painting to which the “small male head” belongs could commemorate the visit of Antiochus to Drangiana (Sistan). Further evidence is of course needed to support this interpretation of the paintings at Kuh-e Khwāja.

On 28th-30th April 2001 I was privileged to visit Zahedan as the guest of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (Sāzmān-e Mirāth-e Farhangi), to attend the International Seminar on Iranian Archaeology of the South Eastern Region. I am grateful to the organization, and to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for sponsoring my visit, and for their hospitality during my stay. A group excursion to the township of Zabul, and to the nearby site of Kuh-e Khwāja, formed part of the programme of the Seminar. I was accordingly able to acquaint myself with the site, although inevitably a tour of this

kind was rather brief, and the penalty of advancing years prevented me from moving about the steep feature as briskly as I should have wished, and reaching the important structures at the crest of the complex. None the less I was able to examine the architecture of the lowest terrace of the main enclosure, and notice its outstanding features. I was especially interested to note that the structures of the lower courses of this terrace made use of arch constructions which have also been noticed in other parts of Iran and Afghanistan. They first came to particular notice, one may observe, during the excavations at Shahr-e Qumis near Damghan, the historical Hecatompylos (Hansman and Stronach, 11 and fig. 2a). Here were found arches constructed of prefabricated elements of hardened clay, the precise composition of which is so far undetermined. Three of these prefabricated ribs formed a semicircular arch, perhaps among the earliest historical instances of the employment of arched roofing. Two of the ribs facing each other would form a narrow pointed arch, probably the first known examples of the pointed arch, which could support the roofing of niches, or, stepped one behind another, form the undercroft of staircases in structures of sundried brick or clay. Finally, if a series of the semicircular arches were placed one behind another, they formed a barrel-vault, another architectural innovation which would later become an essential element in Iranian architecture.

It may be noted that the site of Shahr-e Qumis is plausibly identified with that of Classical Hecatompylos, a location associated, as we have seen, with the eastward march of Antiochus III. It is not of course likely that the arched structures at Shahr-e Qumis were actually constructed during the brief presence there of Antiochus himself. It is more probable that they had been built at a somewhat earlier date during the Seleucid administration of the region. They could, of course, even be as old as the period of Alexander the Great's residence there, or its immediate aftermath. However, it is most likely that this characteristic roofing belonged to the Hellenistic epoch.

Other examples of similar roofing structures have been found in the casemates on the interior face of the fortification walls at the Old City of Kandahar. These were illustrated in a lecture by Dr D. Whitehouse several years ago, but are not yet published. As Svend D. Helms wrote (1997, 6): "Resources did not permit us to begin large-scale operations on the balance of the military architecture. However, much information was gained by surveying the standing remains and these data will be incorporated in the architecture section of a later volume". All these fortifications are believed to be, in their principal phases, structures of the Hellenistic period, whether built during the lifetime of Alexander himself, or the subsequent constructions of Seleucid or Graeco-Bactrian rulers. That on his return journey to the West, Antiochus III visited the Old City of Kandahar is all but certain, though there is no evidence to connect him directly with the building of the Hellenistic fortifications. It is reasonable to suppose that the lower levels of the enclosure at Kuh-e Khwāja are roughly contemporary with these similar examples, and that the structures of this phase would therefore have been in place during the period of Antiochus III, and available to receive the murals that we have been discussing. Photographs of the arches at Kuh-e Khwāja can be seen on pl. 1. Other examples of generally similar prefabricated arch construction are to be seen in several published photographs (*AHI*, pl. VIII right).

It may be suggested, therefore, that examination of the arch construction in the lower levels at Kuh-e Khwāja, together with evaluation of the paintings in Hellenistic style, can help to vindicate the opinion of Gullini, that earlier building phases than those of the Parthian period can be detected at this site. If not all are specifically Achaemenid, one at least could be Seleucid. It may be remembered that the eastern expedition of Antiochus III was in fact contemporary with the appearance of the Arsacid kingdom, and that the decisive rise of that dynasty, and their occupation of Drangiana, a province soon to receive its appellation of Sakastan (Sistan), followed closely, probably within fifty years, on the departure of Antiochus in 206 B.C. Such a narrow separation in time would be hard to detect from physical remains, or from radio-carbon testing, but could no doubt have been marked by major differences in iconographic representation and religious emphasis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHI* = E. E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological history of Iran* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1934, London 1935), 58-75.
- Bevan, E. R., 1902. *The house of Seleucus*, vol. 2 (London; repr. 1966).
- Faccenna, D., 1981. A new fragment of wall painting from Ghaga-Shahr (Kuh-i Hvāga, Sistan), *EW* 31, 83-97.
- Ghanimati, S., 2000. New perspectives on the chronological and functional horizons of Kuh-e Khwāja in Sistan, *Iran* 38, 137-150.
- Gullini, G., 1964. *Architettura iranica dagli Achemenidi ai Sasanidi: il palazzo di Kuh-i Khwāgia, Seistan* (Torino).
- Hansman, J., Stronach, D., 1974. Excavations at Shahr-i Qūmis, 1971, *JRAS*, 8-22.
- Helms, S., 1997. *Excavations at Old Kandahar in Afghanistan, 1976-1978: conducted on behalf of the Society for South Asian Studies* (Oxford).
- IAE* = E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the ancient East* (New York 1941; repr., with monochrome plates, 1988).
- Kawami, T., 1987. Kuh-e Khwāja, Iran, and its wall paintings, *Metropolitan Museum journal* 22, 13-52.
- Schippmann, K., 1971. *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin), 57-70.
- Stein, M. A., 1916. Expedition in Central Asia, *Geographical journal* 47, 362.
- Stein, M. A., 1916. A third journey of exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16, *Geographical journal* 48, 221.
- Stein, M.A., 1928. *Innermost Asia: detailed report of explorations in Central Asia, Kan-Su, and Eastern Iran* (Oxford; repr. New Delhi 1981).

The founder of Manichaeism claimed to have received his revelations from a supernatural being who is called in Parthian *ymg* (*yamag*), and in Middle Persian *nrjmyg* (*nar-jamīg*). It is not now, I think, doubted that *yamag* and *jamīg* mean 'twin' and that they represent an Iranian **yama-* with the suffixes *-aka-* and *-iyaka-* respectively. Consequently they belong with Avestan *yāma-* (attested only in the famous Gathic passage *Yasna* 30,3 as the nom. dual *yāmā*), and its doublet, the proper name *Yima-* (*xšaēta-*), New Persian *Jamšēd*, and with the Old Indian common ('twin') and proper noun *yamā-*, also *yamala-*, 'paired'.¹ This etymon is not attested as a common noun in Zoroastrian Middle Persian (in the Zand to *Yasna* 30,3 *ywm'y* seems to be a transcription of *yāmā*), nor in New Persian, but it has survived as the word for 'twin' in a few Western Iranian dialects, like Baxtyārī (Mann) *žāmū*, Siwandī (Eilers) *ḡimelī*, *ḡoumelī*, Kurmanci (standard orthography) *cimik*, *cēwī*. One Manichaean Sogdian text has (in Sogdian script) *ym'k rwšn*,² but this seems to be merely a Sogdian spelling of Parthian *yamag rōšn*, 'the luminous twin'.

Whereas Parthian has only *yamag*, Manichaean Middle Persian has *jamīg* and the compounds *hām-jamīg*, in effect 'co-twin', and *nar-jamīg*, 'male twin' or rather, as we should say in English, 'twin brother'.³ In the hitherto published Manichaean texts these words are used with a number of seemingly different, but reconcilable, connotations.⁴

First, as already indicated, MP *nar-jamīg* designates the being who appeared to the young prophet and summoned him to his mission, the being whom the CMC⁵ calls Manes' *σύζυγος*, that is to say 'yoke-mate, one of a pair, companion, spouse', and the Coptic texts call his *saiš*, which can mean 'pair' (Demotic *sjh*), but also 'one of a pair, spouse'. I remark that in English, too, we can use 'pair' to mean 'one of the two members of a pair', for

¹ For possible etymological connections outside Indo-Iranian (e.g. with Latin *geminus*), see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 3 (Heidelberg 1976), 8.

² Ed. W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berliner Turfantexte 11 [hereafter: *BT XI*], Berlin 1981), line 622.

³ Persian (like English) lacks the morphological wherewithal to distinguish between *geminus* and *gemina*, but it can compensate for this deficiency by use of compounds; compare New Persian *nar-mēš*, 'male sheep, ram', and *māda-mēš*, 'female sheep, ewe', alongside the undifferentiated (and much more common) *mēš*, 'sheep'.

⁴ In preparing the following survey I have been able to complement my own collections with the valuable database of Western Iranian Manichaean texts prepared by Desmond Durkin-Meisterer for the *Dictionary of Manichaean texts*.

⁵ I.e. the so-called *Codex manichaicus coloniensis* (the correct title is: *περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*), edited by L. Koenen and C. Römer as *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex . . . kritische Edition* (Opladen 1988). The passages mentioning the syzygos are collected and discussed (though sometimes with dubious conclusions; see below, note 23) in A. Henrichs, L. Koenen, Ein griechischer Mani-Codex, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970), 97-219, esp. 161-171.

example when we ask ‘Where is the pair to this shoe?’, or when a member of parliament has a ‘pair’. The question of why the Egyptian texts say that Manes received his gospel from his ‘pair’ or ‘spouse’, while the Persian texts assign this function to his ‘twin brother’ will be addressed in the latter part of this article.

M49 II⁶ quotes Manes’ account of his meeting with his ‘twin brother’, where he speaks of the ‘wisdom and knowledge of soul-gathering which I received from that *nar-jamīg*’, mentions the *nar-jamīg* a second time in a broken context, and goes on to tell of how ‘I began to speak to the father and steadfast ones and to teach that thing which the *nar-jamīg* had taught to me’.⁷ What appears to be the sequel to the same account is found in the small fragment M464a,⁸ where the prophet again mentions the *nar-jamīg*. The restoration *[nr/(j)myg]* has been proposed by the editor also in M3414.⁹

The fragmentary abecedarian hymn in Pelliot M.914.2,¹⁰ in MP with some Parthian spellings, addresses a series of blessings to the prophet, where, in the *d* and *h* stanzas (lines 18-25) we read:

[md hy pd] drw(d) [dw]šyst ’wd (pry)h(s)twm
drwd ’br t[w] (j)m(y)g w̄ prh ’yt (’b)g (’)wzyd hynd
’md [hy] pd dr(w)d h̄mjmyg [’y](g b’)n
drwd ’br [. . .] rwšn’n ky ’žyš [. . .]

Thou art come in health, dearest and most beloved one.

Hail be to thy twin (*jamīg*) and glory (*farrah*), who have come forth with thee.

Thou art come in health, co-twin (*hām-jamīg*) of the gods.

Hail be to the luminous [. . .]s from whom [. . .]

⁶ Ed. F. C. Andreas, W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II* (SPAW, 1933, no. 7 [hereafter: *MM II*], 307-8; M. Boyce, *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Leiden 1975), text *b*.

⁷ The text continues: ‘and when they heard (it) they were dumbfounded (*widimušt*). And just as a wise man, who finds the good, fruitbearing seed (*nēw ud bārwar tōhm*) of some tree in uncultivated ground and looks after it [. . .] and takes it to a well cultivated and prepared ground [. . .]’ (the rest is lost). For *amāxš-*, not ‘plough’, but ‘look after, take care of’, see N. Sims-Williams, *BSOAS* 52 (1989), 257. The point of the story is clearly that the message that Manes received from his ‘twin brother’ was rejected by his own community (a good seed cannot flourish in infertile ground . . .), and that the prophet consequently took it elsewhere. The same situation is described in *CMC* p. 107, which also tells how Manes was rejected by the Elchasaites and how ‘according to the will of our lord I left that law in order to sow his most excellent seed (τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτοῦ σπέρμα)’. Both accounts allude clearly to the parable of the sower in Matthew 13; compare in particular Mt 13,37: ‘He that soweth the good seed (τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα) is the son of man’ etc. For this reason, I do not think that *ō pidar ud awestwārān* can very well mean ‘to my father etc.’, since Manes’ own father did not reject his teachings but was one of his first followers. Instead they must presumably mean ‘to the father (the Elchasaite patriarch?) and the steadfast ones (the elders of the community?)’ or something similar.

⁸ Ed. Sundermann, *BT XI*, lines 1473-1481.

⁹ Ed. Sundermann, *BT XI*, line 1461.

¹⁰ Ed. J. de Menasce, *Fragments manichéens de Paris*, in *W. B. Henning memorial volume* (London 1970), 304-5.

In this fragment it would appear that *jamīg* (if correctly restored) designates the source of the prophet's inspiration (that is to say, the one otherwise called *nar-jamīg* in MP) while Manes himself is the *hām-jamīg*, his partner in the twinship.

In Parthian there seem to be only two published passages where *yamag* unambiguously designates the source of Manes' revelations. One is in M1344+M5910,¹¹ which, despite its very fragmentary state, clearly contains an account of the childhood of the prophet and where (in line 25) the reading *tw y(mg)*, 'thy twin', seems very likely. The other is M5651,¹² evidently a fragment of an autobiography of the prophet, where he speaks of *cyhrg cymn ym(g) 'w(t fr)h*, 'the form of my twin and glory',¹³ and goes on to quote what seem to be the words which the twin spoke to him when he was a boy. But it is likely that the word has the same meaning in M319,¹⁴ where, after lauding Manes, the hymnist proceeds to invoke blessings on *ymg rwšn [']wd (g)'h frh*, 'the luminous twin and the glory of the Bema'.

There are a number of passages in Persian and Parthian hymns that invoke in juxtaposition the 'apostles' (MP *frēstagān*, Pa. *frēstagān*) and 'twins' (MP *jamīgān*, Pa. *yamagān*). On the basis of this juxtaposition it was proposed, first by Andreas, that *jamīg* (*yamag*) designates the archegos, the leader of the Manichaean community, in the sense that he is the occupant of the second rank in the mortal hierarchy, after the apostles.¹⁵ Similarly Schaefer, who was the first scholar to realise that MP *nar-jamīg* contains the word for 'twin', but still maintained that there is a different word, *jamīg* (*yamag*) meaning 'leader' and used specifically for the Manichaean archegos.¹⁶ Neither Andreas nor Schaefer proposed any etymology for the word (supposedly) for 'leader' nor did they explain why the word is used in these contexts instead of the usual term for 'leader, archegos', namely MP *sārār*. Although it seems possible that *jamīgān* (*yamagān*) can mean '(the successive) archegoi', perhaps in the sense that, as the heirs and deputies of the prophet, they stand in the same twin-like relationship to him as he does to the divine source of his inspiration, I do not actually think that there are any published passages that unambiguously support this translation. Take a passage like S7 R ii 9-20,¹⁷ a MP hymn with the rubric 'Praise of the apostles', where we read:

¹¹ Ed. Sundermann, *BT* XI, lines 11-36.

¹² Ed. Sundermann, *BT* XI, lines 1541-1555.

¹³ Compare the previously quoted passage from Pelliot M.914.2, which similarly speaks of *(j)m(y)g w prh*, and the passage cited in the next footnote.

¹⁴ Ed. Ch. Reck, Some remarks on the Monday and Bema Hymns of the German Turfan collection, in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo (ed.), *Atti del Terzo congresso internazionale di studi [manichei]* . . . (Lovanii 1997), 303, n. 37.

¹⁵ Andreas's view is quoted in E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (APAW, 1926, no. 4), 12 n. 2: "In M4, 15 frēštoyōn uš yomoyōn . . . erkannte Andreas die obersten Rangstufen der manichäischen Hierarchie, Gesandte und ἀρχηγοί".

¹⁶ H. H. Schaefer, *Iranica* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, 10, Berlin 1934), 22-23.

¹⁷ Ed. C. Salemann, *Manichaica III*, *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1912, 4-6 of 1-32; Boyce, *Reader*, text *ct*.

prystg'n rwšn'n
*jmyg'n*¹⁸ *kyrdg'r'n*
b'n thm'n
'wd mhryspnd'n 'st'yd'n
hy'r'n zwrmd'n
phryzyn'g'n nyw'n
'wd nhwmb'g'n 'y rm
'wd wcydgyh 'yg yzd'n
'stwd 'wd 'pryd hyb bwynd pyš yyšw'

Luminous apostles,
 mighty *jamigān*,
 strong gods
 and praiseworthy *mahrespandān* (light-elements),
 powerful friends,
 valiant protectors
 and guardians of the flock
 and the elect of the gods:
 may they be praised and lauded before Jesus!

If *jamigān* really meant 'archegoi' it would be very strange that they are mentioned between the apostles and the gods, rather than in a descending series (apostles, archegoi, teachers, bishops, etc.). Instead, one gains the impression that, here at least, the terms *frēstagān*, *jamigān*, *baān*, *mahrespandān*, etc. all refer to the apostles. The rubric does tell us, after all, that this is a hymn to the apostles. All of the apostles, like Manes, presumably received their revelations from a 'twin brother' and consequently each one of them is a 'twin' in his own right, in the same way that each one of them is a god and an eminent incorporation of the light-elements.

It seems to me also that the other passages¹⁹ mentioning 'apostles and twins' together do not imply that these are two successive ranks in the hierarchy, but could be understood as implying that 'apostles and twins' are two names for the same beings.

There is, however, one passage where Pa. *yamagān* does refer, if not necessarily to the archegoi, in any event to the Manichaean hierarchy or to certain persons within that hierarchy. This is in M5,²⁰ a verse homily on the death of the prophet, which speaks in the *r* stanza (lines 84-90) of 'the day of grief and the time of lamentation when the apostle of light entered *nirvāṇa* (i.e. died) and left behind the *yamagān* who protect the church (*dēn*)'. An explanation for this usage will be suggested toward the end of this article; for

¹⁸ Salemann read *jmwg'n*, without translation, corrected by Boyce from the photograph. I have tacitly incorporated a number of further corrections from the new edition.

¹⁹ Namely, in MP: M36 V 17 (ed. Andreas-Henning, *MM* II, 326; Boyce, *Reader*, text *cm*, § 10); M801a, p. 16, 11 (ed. W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (APAW, 1936, no. 10 [hereafter: *BBB*], line 264; Boyce, *Reader*, text *cu*, § 26); in Pa.: M4a I R 16 (ed. F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan, II* (APAW, 1904, Anhang), 50; Boyce, *Reader*, text *cv*, § 19; this is the passage quoted by Andreas-Lentz, see above fn. 15).

²⁰ Ed. Andreas-Henning, *MM* III (SPAW, 1934, no. 27), text *d*; Boyce, *Reader*, text *ce*.

the moment it will suffice to say that although *yamagān* could here conceivably mean '(the successive) archegoi', it could equally well mean 'the Manichaean hierarchs' as a whole.

In M77,²¹ a series of hymns to the Third Messenger in his manifestation as the lord of the sun, the author invokes in the *y* verse of the second hymn (line 24): *ymg'n rwšn'n dw cr'g w(zr)g'n*. There is no need to translate *yamagān*, with the editors, as 'Führer'; rather it seems that the hymnist is addressing the sun and the moon in a sufficiently transparent metaphor as 'the luminous twins, the two great lamps'.

The one remaining edited West-Iranian passage needs to be looked at more closely. The trilingual *Bet- und Beichtbuch* contained in M801a²² includes in lines 310 sqq. a hymn (in MP) to Manes in connection with the Bema festival, where we read, among other things (lines 321-331):

nmbrym 'w yyšw xwd'wn pws 'y wzrgyy k[y] tw dwšst 'w m'h pryst'd hy
nmbrym 'w qnyg 'st'ydg jmyg rwšn kyt pd wysp rzm'h h'mj'r w h'mšwd'b bwd
nmbrym 'w whmn wzrg 'yt pd dyl 'y hwrw'n'n wyn'rd

We do reverence to Jesus, the lord, the son of greatness, who sent thee, most beloved, unto us.
 We do reverence to the praiseworthy maiden, the luminous twin, who was thy companion and comrade in every battle.

We do reverence to great Wahman (the great Nous), whom thou hast established in the hearts of those whose souls are good.

Here, as throughout this hymn, 'thou' means Manes. The lines quoted clearly invoke the well-known triad: Jesus the Splendour, the Maiden of Light, the Great Nous (Wahman), the second sequence of gods of the third evocation. Although the words *kanīg* (maiden) and *rōšn* (light) are separated by two other words, this context makes it sufficiently clear that the second deity invoked in these lines is indeed the *kanīg rōšn*, the Light-maiden. But in this passage she is addressed as *jamīg*. She is clearly not Manes' own 'twin brother' (*nar-jamīg*), for she is a 'maiden' (*kanīg*),²³ but must be the twin sister of some other exalted being. The most likely claimant to the status of being her twin is presumably the god Jesus, seeing that she is the second member of the triad of which Jesus is the first.

This deduction is supported by the Manichaean Hymnscroll in Chinese, where in two passages we find the characters 閻默, modern *yán mò*, in Pulleyblank's reconstruction of Early Middle Chinese [jiam mək],²⁴ in which Waldschmidt already recognised a transcription of Parthian *yamag*.²⁵ In line 135 this word seems to refer to Manes, but in line 131 it is

²¹ Ed. Andreas-Henning, *MM* III, text n; Boyce, *Reader*, texts *bh-bj*.

²² See fn. 19.

²³ Henrichs-Koenen, art. cit. (see above, n. 5), 162-163 cite this passage as evidence for Manes' 'twin', translating: 'Wir verehren . . . den lichten Zwillling, der dir (Mani) in jedem Kampf zur Seite stand'. To render *kanīg istāyīdag* as '... is a swindle.'

²⁴ E. G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver 1991).

²⁵ E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten* (SPAW, 1933, no. 13), 512.

clearly equated with Jesus. So, here Jesus is a twin, while in M801a his partner in the third evocation, the Maiden of Light, is a twin. It is thus perhaps not excessively audacious to suggest that the Maiden of Light is the twin sister of Jesus the Splendour.

The provisional result of our survey of the Middle Iranian material is that MP *jamīg* and Pa. *yamag* can always be translated as ‘twin’ and that there is no real basis for assuming a pair of homonyms meaning, in both languages, ‘leader’. Although it is possible that the Iranian Manichaeans regarded their archegos metaphorically as a ‘twin’ of the prophet (in the sense that he received his authority from Manes in the same way that Manes received his calling from his celestial twin brother), none of the available texts actually require that *jamīg* (*yamag*) be understood to mean ‘archegos’. This translation should, I suggest, be abandoned, or in any case consigned to the realm of hypothesis.²⁶

Manes’ first encounter with his ‘twin’ is described not only in the Iranian texts and the CMC, but also in a well-known passage near the beginning of the Manichaean chapter in the *Fihrist* of an-Nadīm. In the editio princeps by Gustav Flügel of 1862 the first part of the passage reads as follows:²⁷

فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة اتاه الوحي على قوله من ملك جنان النور وهو
الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان الملك الذي جاءه بالوحي يسمى التوم وهو
بالنبطية ومعناه القرين

and is translated thus:²⁸

und als er das 12. Jahr zurückgelegt hatte, erhielt er nach seiner Äusserung von dem Könige der Paradiese des Lichts, und das ist seinem eigenen Ausdruck nach Gott der Erhabene, Eingebungen. Der Engel aber, der ihm diese Eingebungen brachte, hiess at-Taum, was im Nabatäischen soviel als Gefährte bedeutet.

The supposedly ‘Nabataean’ form التوم occurs, in the same spelling, another two times in the following lines. ‘Nabataeans’ (*nabat*) refers strictly to the inhabitants of a kingdom, presumably of Arab ethnicity, who left a fair number of inscriptions in Aramaic in North-Western Arabia, but in mediaeval Arabic *nabat* is used consistently to designate the indigenous Aramaic-speaking population in Southern Babylonia, as opposed to the

²⁶ I leave out of discussion Pa. *yng*, Sog. *ymkyy*, *ymgyy*, *yymkyy*, Old Turkish *yimki*, MP *yng’nyg rwc’n*, as designation for an important Manichaean holy day. It is possible that this name does derive from Pa. *yamag*, but in that case hardly in the sense of ‘festival in honour of the archegos’ (as first suggested by Schaeder, *Iranica*, 22 sqq.), but more probably in the sense of ‘two-day fast; twinned fast-days’ (as suggested by A. Böhlig, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 80 (1989), 246-247). See also the prudent discussion in W. Sundermann, ‘Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien in mittelpersischer Sprache?’, in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg* (Leiden 1975), 297-312 (esp. 310 n. 88), reprinted in his *Manichaica Iranica* (Rome 2001), 597-612, with the addendum on p. 613.

²⁷ G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig 1862), 50. More recent work on the manuscript tradition of the *Fihrist* has not revealed any significant variants in this passage and subsequent translations do not differ in substance from the one offered by Flügel; see most recently *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. B. Dodge (New York-London 1970), 774.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

Arab settlers. So in our passage 'Nabataean' means Manes' own language, what we call Babylonian Aramaic. But التوم is not Aramaic, but is evidently the ordinary Arabic word for 'the twin', *at-taw'am*, with the Arabic (not the Aramaic) definite article. In modern Arabic orthography this should be written التوأم or التوأم with *hamzah*, but *hamzah* is not a letter, but a diacritic sign, and as such it is frequently omitted in old manuscripts. Thus, to read التوم as التوأم is not a conjecture, but a legitimate editorial interpretation of the consonantal *rasm*. So, the first difficulty with the passage is that it seems to claim that a very ordinary Arabic word is 'Nabataean'. The second difficulty is that it seems to state that this 'Nabataean' word means *qarīn*, that is 'companion, mate, spouse'. But this is not a very adequate paraphrase either for Arabic *taw'am* or for its Aramaic cognates (Syriac *tāmā*, Mandaic *t'wm'*, etc.);²⁹ a 'twin' is not (normally) a 'spouse'.³⁰ On the other hand, we have already noted that in the Manichaean texts from Egypt, the source of Manes' inspiration is designated with words (Gr. σύζυγος, Coptic *saīs*) that have very much the same meaning as Arabic *qarīn*. It should therefore be clear that the author is in fact recording two different designations for the messenger from the realm of light: first 'twin' (like MP *nar-jamīg*, Pa. *yamag*) and second 'spouse, syzygos' (as in Coptic and Greek). It seems to me therefore that the 'Nabataean' name has somehow dropped out of the text. It is well established that all the manuscripts of the *Fihrist* derive from a master copy in which the author had left a good number of blanks, which he evidently intended to fill with a date or an (often foreign) proper name; in the latter case, at least, this is in many instances likely to be due to the fact that the name was unclearly written in his own source. These blank spaces are often, but not always, preserved in the existing copies, sometimes with a marginal note indicating that the gaps are "as we found them in the master copy (*dastūr*)".³¹ I have not been able to ascertain whether there is actually a blank space in any of the copies of the passage that interests us, but nonetheless feel confident in asserting that there must be a short lacuna where the Aramaic name should have been written. I propose the following reading for the passage cited above and its immediate continuation:

فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة أتاه الوحي على قوله من مَلِكِ جَنانِ النور
وهو الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان المَلِكُ الذي جاءه بالوحي يُسَمَّى التوأم
وهو < . . > بالنبطية ومعناه القرين فقال له اعتزل هذه الملة فلست
من أهلها وعليك بالنزاهة وترك الشهوات ولم يَأْنِ لك أن تَظْهَرَ لحدائفة

²⁹ The Syriac spelling *t'm'* implies an older **tā'ām-ā*, like Arabic *tu'ām-*, Hebrew (pl.) *t'wmym*, *twmm* (*tōm-īm*, with *ō < ā*). Mandaic *t'wm'* seems to imply **tawm-ā*, from **taw'am-ā*, like Arabic *taw'am-*, Hebrew (pl.) *tw'mym* (*tō'm-īm*, with *ō < aw*). The New-Testament name Θεομάς, Syriac *Tōmā*, 'Thomas', is evidently an Aramaicised form of the Hebrew word.

³⁰ An attempt to interpret التوم as Aramaic was undertaken by K. Kessler, *Mani. Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, vol. 1 [no more published] (Berlin 1889), 333, who postulated that it contains the theophoric element El. This, and much else, was rejected by Nöldeke in his severe review of Kessler's book, *ZDMG* 43 (1889), 549 (of 535-549), where it is noted that the idea that the word means something like 'El is a twin' is contradicted by the fact that it is defined as *qarīn*. But Nöldeke's own equation of التوم with "mandäischem ܡܢܕܝܐ 'Zwilling' mit arabischem Artikel" involves basically the same difficulty.

³¹ Cf. *BSOAS* 59 (1996), 334 n. 6.

سَنَك فَلَمَّا تَمَّ لَهُ أَرْبَعٌ وَعِشْرُونَ سَنَةً أَتَاهُ التَّوْعَمُ فَقَالَ قَدْ حَانَ لَكَ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ فَتَنَادِيَ بِأَمْرِكَ * الْكَلَامُ الَّذِي قَالَ لَهُ التَّوْعَمُ * عَلَيْكَ السَّلَامُ مَانِي الْخ

And when he reached the age of twelve the inspiration came to him – as he says – from the King of the Paradise of Light, namely God – may He be elevated above what he says! –.³² And the angel who brought him the inspiration was called the twin (*at-taw'am*), but in Nabataean (i.e. Babylonian Aramaic) he is < . . >, which means the companion (*al-qarīn*). And the angel said to him: “Leave this sect, for thou art not of its people! Adhere to purity and abandon passions.³³ But the time has not come for thee to come forward, for thou art still young”. But when he reached the age of twenty-four years the twin came to him (again) and said to him: “The time has come for thee to go forth into the world and summon to thy cause”. [Chapter heading:] The words which the twin said to him: “Hail to thee, Mānī, . . .” etc.

This reading indicates that it was not only the Egyptian Manichaeans who called the heavenly messenger Manes' syzygos; this was also the designation in the prophet's own Aramaic formulation of his teachings. The word that he used was presumably something like Mandaic *z'w'*, Talmudic *zww'*, that is *zawwā*, 'spouse', which, like Syriac *zawgā*, is borrowed from Greek ζεύγος, which in turn is from the same root as σύζυγος.³⁴ If, in the *Fihrist*, the 'Nabataean' word was written زوا its loss after وهو would be all the more easy to understand.

The notion that the supernatural forces are grouped in male-female pairs is widespread in ancient Christianity (the term “syzygy” is explicitly given to such pairs in the Greek sources concerning Valentinism and in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*) and it must have been very familiar to the original Aramaic-speaking audience of Manes' preaching. But this notion would have been foreign to Iranian converts. Zoroastrians must have felt more at home with the idea of supernatural twins, not so much because of *Yima-* (*Jamšēd*), who is a 'twin' by etymology, but does not seem to have been conceived as a twin in Sasanian Zoroastrianism, but because of the twin spirits (*yēmā*) in *Yasna* 30,3. Of course, the theological content of Manes' relationship with his syzygos is totally different from that of the Sasanian (Zurvanite) understanding of the Gathic passage, but the authors of the first Manichaean writings in Iranian languages were not really interested in finding doctrinal similarities between their beliefs and those of the Zoroastrians but only in exploiting useful snippets of religious vocabulary. It is the same situation as when the Manichaeans decided to equate the Father of Greatness and the Primal Man with Zurwān and Ohrmezd respectively, not because of any real similarity of function between the Manichaean gods and their Iranian “equivalents”, but because the Ohrmezd of Sasanian Zoroastrianism stands in a comparable family relationship to his father Zurwān as the

³²This is a stereotyped Muslim formula for distancing oneself from inappropriate statements about the deity.

³³Compare the Parthian fragment M5651 (ed. Sundermann, *BT* XI, lines 1541-1555), where the twin (*yamag*) summons Manes to *pawāgīft ud āzādīft*, 'purity and freedom (from lust or the like)', and promises to return to him later.

³⁴The Greek loan word was eventually borrowed also into Arabic from two different Aramaic dialects: from Syriac as *zawj* and from Babylonian Aramaic as *zaww*.

Manichaean Primal Man does to the Father of Greatness. Here, as in all such instances of the Iranisation of Manichaean religious vocabulary, it is a question not so much of doctrinal syncretism as of terminological parasitism.

Once the "translation" of *zawwā* by *jamīg* (*yamag*) had been established, these Iranian terms could then be used, more or less mechanically, to render other usages of the Aramaic word. I would suspect that the mentioned passage in M5 which speaks of how Manes died and 'left behind the *yamagān* who protect the church' reflects an Aramaic text which employed the well-worn Christian conceit of the Church as the bride of Christ. 'Twins' is here perhaps merely a mechanical "translation" for 'brides'.

One of the relatively few things that we know about the Elchasaïtes is that they taught that god is accompanied by a pair of gigantic angels, a male, called the Son of God or Christ, and a female, called the Holy Spirit. Christ and the Holy Spirit are in effect a syzygy.³⁵ Ideas very close to these can be found in one of the Manichaean psalms in Coptic, where we read:³⁶

*xaire ppna etouabe petakei mpooue asôt[e] mman
pnčaiš pmanixaios petaka nnnabe nen [abal]
ousmame mpekiôt tirênê ntmntrro e[tča]se*

Hail holy spirit, that art come today to save us,
Our lord Manichaios, that forgivest us our sins.
Blessing to thy father, peace be to the exalted kingdom!

and a few lines later:³⁷

tnsmou apksaiš nouaïne pxristos phouit mpnagaθon

We bless thy luminous pair, Christ, the author of our good.

We have here very clearly an Elchasaïte-type trinity consisting of the Father, Christ and the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit is equated with Manes, and Christ is expressly identified with Manes' syzygos (*saiš*). Manes has in effect occupied the 'female' position in the divine syzygy. The realisation that Manes' syzygos, the one who brought him his revelation, is none other than Jesus Christ, explains why Manes, in the opening words of his *Living Gospel*,³⁸ calls himself the 'apostle of Jesus Christ', echoing the formulary of the Pauline epistles. Paul made no pretence of having known Jesus in the flesh but says that he

³⁵ I have discussed the doctrine of syzygies in Elchasaïsm and other so-called Jewish Christian sects in my paper on *Našrānī* and *hanīf*, in *BSOAS* 65 (2002), 1-30, with an overview of the primary sources.

³⁶ Psalm 241, v. 4-6. See C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-book, part II* (Stuttgart 1938), 42; G. Würst, *The Manichaean Coptic papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Psalm Book, Part II, Fasc. I* (Turnhout 1996), 105.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 11. Allberry translates *apksaiš nouaïne* as 'thy Light-familiar'; Würst has 'deinen lichten Zwilling'. As mentioned above, *saiš* means 'pair', not 'twin' or 'familiar'.

³⁸ Quoted in Greek in *CMC* 66; in MP in M17 and M66 (ed. D. N. MacKenzie, I, Mani . . ., in *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Kurt Rudolf* (Marburg 1994), 183-198). The MP translation makes Manes the *prystg* 'yg yšw' 'ry'm'n, with the usual Iranian "translation" for 'Jesus Christ'.

received his gospel from the risen Jesus through a miraculous revelation. Manes likewise received his message from a supernatural being, his syzygos, but Psalm 241 explicitly identifies the syzygos with Christ. I add that in *CMC* 24 Manes' syzygos is expressly called $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, which literally means 'excellent', but which (as Alexander of Leucopolis tells us, and as the Coptic texts confirm)³⁹ the Greek and Egyptian Manichaeans used instead of, or as well as, $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ to designate the Christ.

Although Manichaeism definitely has its roots in Elchasaism, it has developed the basic concepts of Elchasaism in a new direction. For the Elchasaïtes the pre-cosmic Christ is the one who appeared on earth, first as Adam, and latterly as Jesus of Nazareth. But in Manichaeism the figure of Jesus has been split up: first there is the god Jesus the Splendour, who is not Adam, but the one who appeared to Adam and brought him enlightenment, and then there is the apostle Jesus Christ, who appeared in Judaea at the time of Pilate; in the same way the Christian figure of Adam has been split up into Adam (the first man, Iranian Gēhmurd) and his pre-cosmic prototype, the Primal Man (Iranian Ohrmezd). But like the Elchasaïte Christ, each of the Manichaean Jesus figures still has a syzygos, a pair, just as the Manichaean Adam still has his own syzygos, Eve. The god Jesus the Splendour has a female syzygos (as we have deduced from *BBB* and the Chinese Hymnscroll, both with the Iranian "translation" of syzygos as 'twin'), the Maiden of Light. And the apostle Jesus Christ is (as we learned from Psalm 241) the syzygos of Manes, the Holy Spirit, though in the latter case it is a desexualised, all-male syzygy.

But it is the (partial) desexualisation of the syzygies that lays the foundation for their redefinition as twinships. This redefinition is specific to Iranian Manichaeism. It has no connection (for example) with the idea of the twin-like relationship between Jesus and Thomas in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, which has its basis really only in the fact that the Biblical name Tōmā is manifestly cognate with *tāmā*, 'twin'.⁴⁰ Manes' status as a twin is not the result of etymological speculation, but of an attempt to reformulate the Manichaean doctrine in a quasi-Zoroastrian vocabulary.

The passage cited from the *Fihrist* shows thus that the author was familiar with two different traditions concerning the identity of Manes' source of inspiration, one Iranian, the other 'Nabataean', that is to say, Aramaic. In the modern secondary literature it is often stated that the *Fihrist* reflects the so-called "western" variety of Manichaean, but it is evident from this passage (and from others) that this is not the case. An-Nadīm clearly had access to translations of Manichaean material both from Aramaic and from Iranian languages.

³⁹ See *JRAS* 9 (1999), 440.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 29.

PHL. *xwaddōšagīh* UND DIE UNTERWERFUNG UNTER DIE AUTORITÄT IM
(NACH)SASANIDISCHEN ZOROASTRISMUS

Alberto Cantera

Die (verhältnismäßig) intensive Edition von Pahlavi-Texten in den letzten dreißig Jahren stellt einen großen Schritt nach vorn in der Erforschung der Pahlavi-Sprache und Literatur dar, vor allem im Bereich der Lexikographie, in welchem die Glossare dieser Werke den Mangel an einem zufriedenstellenden Pahlavi-Wörterbuch gemildert haben. Jedoch beeinträchtigt dieser Mangel die Pahlavi-Forschung noch immer. Es gibt zahlreiche, für unser Verständnis des Zoroastrismus und seines Umfelds nicht unbedeutende Wörter, die in jeder Ausgabe anders verstanden und übersetzt werden. Die Sammlung einer für einen sicheren Bedeutungsansatz ausreichenden Anzahl von Belegstellen in jedem konkreten Fall würde die Tätigkeit jedes Bearbeiters eines Pahlavi-Textes dermaßen in die Länge ziehen, daß diese Tätigkeit zu einem sinnlosen Unternehmen würde. Den Gleichgewicht zwischen Ausführlichkeit und Effektivität zu finden ist eine der schwierigsten Aufgaben des Bearbeiters eines Pahlavi-Textes. Deswegen werden oft Bedeutungsansätze von anderen Autoren einfach übernommen, oder man versucht lediglich, die Bedeutung aus dem Zusammenhang der zu bearbeitenden Stelle zu gewinnen. Oft hat das verheerende Folgen für unsere Kenntnis des Zoroastrismus und seiner Geschichte.

Ein gutes Beispiel liefern phl. *xwaddōšag* und seine Ableitungen. In den letzten dreißig Jahren finden wir für dieses Wort nicht weniger als drei unterschiedliche Bedeutungsansätze. MacKenzie (1971, 95) gibt die Bedeutung 'self-indulgent' für *xwaddōšag* und 'self-indulgence' für *xwaddōšagīh* an. In der neuen Bearbeitung der vierzig ersten Kapitel des *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* übernimmt Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998, 293) die Bedeutung 'self-indulgent' und 'self-indulgence' von MacKenzie; trotzdem wird *xwaddōšagīh* in *DD* 2.16 (1998, 47) durch 'self-love' übersetzt. Diesen Bedeutungsansatz entnimmt er höchstwahrscheinlich Shaked's Bearbeitung des sechsten Buchs des *Dēnkard* (Shaked 1979, 3 usw.). Ähnlich ist die Übersetzung von Amouzgar–Tafazzoli (2000, 169) in der kürzlich erschienenen Ausgabe des fünften Buchs desselben Werkes 'égoïsment' für *xwaddōšagīhā*. Diese Übersetzungen mit 'Eigenliebe, Egoismus, usw.' sind wahrscheinlich aus der französischsprachigen Tradition übernommen, s. die Übersetzung 'égoïsme' für *xwaddōšagīh* in de Menasce (1973, 44, 123 usw.), Molé (1967, 317), usw. Einen dritten Bedeutungsansatz findet man in Nybergs *Glossar* (Nyberg 1974, 223), 'self-will, self-conceit, capriciousness' (für *xwaddōšagīh*). Hier folgt Nyberg West, da er eine Stelle aus dem von diesem Autor bearbeiteten *Mēnōg ī Xrad* in seinem *Manual* übernommen hat. West gab es (1871, 166) durch 'self-will, stubbornness, obstinacy, despotism' wieder.¹

¹ Ähnlich Zaehner (1937-1939; 1955, 475), der 'selfwill' übersetzt.

Von diesen drei unterschiedlichen Bedeutungsansätzen² hat der letzte in den neueren Arbeiten kaum Anklang gefunden, während die Bedeutung 'Eigenliebe' vorzuherrschen scheint. In den nächsten Ausführungen werde ich nun versuchen zu zeigen, daß *xwad-dōšagih* weder die Bedeutung 'Eigenliebe' o.ä. noch 'self-indulgence' hat. Phl. *xwad-dōšag* bezeichnet vielmehr denjenigen Menschen, der dem eigenen Willen folgt und sich nicht der Autorität der Religion unterwirft, d.h. den 'eigenwilligen'.³ Der 'eigenwillige Mensch' hält sich nicht an die Autorität der Religion, sondern entscheidet in jedem Fall 'eigenwillig'. In *Dk* 5.9.5 wird dementsprechend das Vergehen der 'Eigenwilligkeit' (*xwaddōšagih*) mit der Abschwörung der Religion und mit der Nichtunterwerfung unter die religiöse Autorität in eine Reihe gestellt (s.u). Das kann sich nach der Ansicht der zoroastrischen Kirche nur ein Häretiker erlauben. Dementsprechend wird der *xwad-dōšag*-Mensch in *Dk* 6 C83d als eine der drei Arten von Häretikern aufgeführt:

ahlamōg sē ēwēnag frēštār ud frēstag ud xwaddōšag xwaddōšag ān bawēd kē gōwēd kū sēn weh bawēd az ādurbād ud xwaddōšagihā ān sēn girēd

Es gibt drei Sorten von Häretikern: der Betrüger, der Betrogene und der Eigenwillige. Der Eigenwillige sagt, daß Sēn besser ist als Ādurbād. Er entscheidet sich für Sēn eigenwillig.⁴

Gegenüber dem *frēštār*, der Sēn selbst ist, und dem *frēstag*, der den Anhänger von Sēn bezeichnet, der von Sēn verführt wurde, bezeichnet *xwaddōšag* den Menschen, der freiwillig und aus eigener Entscheidung, ohne die religiöse Autorität zu beachten, entscheidet, daß die Lehre Sēns der Lehre Ādurbāds vorzuziehen sei. Hier ist die Rede weder von einem egoistischen noch von einem selbstliebenden oder gar einem selbstnachsichtigen

² Dieses Wort ist ein Kompositum aus *xwad* 'selbst' und *dōšag* 'willig, der Gefallen an etwas findet', das auf urir. **jauša-ka-* zurückgeht, vgl. av. *zaoša-* 'Wille, Gefallen'. MacKenzie (1971, 27) verzeichnet *dōšag* 'dear, loving'. Die Beleglage dieses Wortes ist sehr dürftig. Aus den Stellen, die ich finden konnte, ist jedoch nur eine aktive Bedeutung 'willig, der etwas will, oder an etwas Gefallen findet' zu entnehmen. Dieses Wort kommt dreimal in der PÜ des *Yasna* vor:

Y 28.9 *yužəm. zəuuištāñhō. išo. xšaθrəmca. sauuanhəm. / ašmā dōšag hēd pad xwāhišn ud xwadāyih <D> sūdōmand [kū xwadāyih ī sūdōmand be dōšēd ud be dahēd]* 'Ihr seid willig mit den Wünschen und mit der vorteilhaften Herrschaft [ihr liebt die vorteilhafte Herrschaft und schenkt sie]';

Y 32.12 *yāiš. grāhmā. ašāt. varatā. karapā. xšaθrəmca. išanəm. drujəm / awēšān grāmag az ahlāyih dōšagtar kē karb hēnd [kū-šān xwāstāg weh sahēd kū kār ud kirbag] xwadāyih xwāhēnd pad drōzišn* 'Sie ziehen (d.h. sie sind williger nach) die Besitztümer, die *Karb* sind, der Wahrheit vor [d.h. es scheint ihnen, daß Reichtum gut ist, daß er eine Pflicht und ein Verdienst ist] und wollen die Herrschaft durch Betrug';

Y 50.7 *at. vā. yaojā. zəuuištāñg. auruatō. / ēdōn xō ašmā āyōzam [ō kār ud dādestān ī ašmā] kē dōšag [abāyīšnīg] ud arwand [hēd] [abargār]* 'So möchte ich euch vereinigen [zur Erfüllung eurer religiösen Pflichten], euch, die willig [fügsam] und schnell [seid] [sehr fleißig]'.
 Auch in Komposita wie z.B. *āsānihdōšag* 'der am Leichten Gefallen findet' (*Dk* 5.24.14) zeigt sich diese aktive Bedeutung.

³ Damit stimmt die Sanskrit-Übersetzung *svecchācāritvāt* 'Handlung nach dem eigenen Willen' für phl. *xwaddōšagih* in *MX* 37.32 überein.

⁴ Man beachte, daß, obwohl Shaked an dieser Stelle seine übliche Übersetzung 'self-loving' verwendet, er in einer Anmerkung aber darauf hinweist, daß *xwaddōšag* hier die Bedeutung 'self-willed, deluded by following fancy' zu haben scheint.

Menschen, sondern ganz deutlich von einem Menschen, der seinem eigenen Willen folgt und seine eigenen Entscheidungen trifft.

Weiter als der Autor des *Dēnkard* geht der des *Mēnōg ī Xrad*. In diesem Werk (MX 42.10-11) wird dem Menschen, der 'eigenwillig' verfährt, nicht nur der Titel 'Häretiker' zugeschrieben, sondern sogar seine menschliche Natur angezweifelt. Die Menschen teilen sich nach *Mēnōg ī Xrad* in drei Unterarten:⁵ die Menschen (*mardōm*), die Halbmenschen (*nēmmandōm*) und die Halbdēws (*nēmdēw*). Die ersten zeichnen sich dadurch aus, daß sie an die zentralen Geboten der mazdayasnischen Religion und an nichts anderes glauben. Die Halbdēws haben vom Menschlichen nur den Namen und kennen den Unterschied weder zwischen 'geistig' und 'stofflich', noch zwischen Sünde und Verdienst noch zwischen Himmel und Hölle. Die Halbmenschen werden folgendermaße beschrieben:

nēmmandōm ān bawēd kē čiš ī gētīg ud mēnōg pad sahišn ī xwēš kunēd ud xwēšxradīhā ud xwaddōšagihā ast kār ud kirbag ī pad kāmag ī ohrmazd ud ast pad kāmag ī ahreman aziš rawēd.

Der Halbmann ist derjenige, der sowohl in weltlichen als auch in geistlichen Angelegenheiten nach der eigenen Ansicht, je nach seiner eigenen Weisheit und Willen handelt. Er sieht davon ab, ob es ein Verdienst nach den Wünschen Ohrmazds oder nach den Wünschen Ahremans ist.

Der 'eigenwillige' Mensch ist nicht derjenige, der die Vorschriften kennt, verachtet und ihnen deswegen nicht folgt, sondern derjenige, der sich nicht darum kümmert. Die Nichtbeachtung der Vorschriften der Religion, die man kennt, heißt in der Phl.-Literatur *tarmenišnīh (ī dēn)* 'Verachtung der Religion'.⁶ Die 'Eigenwilligkeit' ist aber nicht die Verachtung, sondern eher die Mißachtung der Vorschriften der Religion. Eine genaue, wenn auch etwas künstliche Unterscheidung zwischen *tarmenišn (ī dēn)*, *waranīg* 'Lust' und *xwaddōšagih* wird in *Dk* 6.5 geliefert:

u-šān ēn-iz ōwōn dāšt kū kē ān čē dānēd kū kirbag ud nē kunēd ān tarmenišnīh tarmenišnīh xēm petyārag ud kē ān čē dānēd kū wināh ud kunēd ān waranīgih waranīgih xrad petyārag ud kē ān čē nē dānēd kū kirbag ayāb wināh ud pēš ī ō dānišn rasēd kunēd ān xwaddōšagih xwaddōšagih dēn petyārag

Wenn jemand weiß, daß etwas ein Verdienst ist, und es nicht tut, (so) ist das Verachtung (der Religion). Verachtung (der Religion) ist die Gegenschöpfung zum Charakter (*xēm*). Wenn jemand weiß, daß etwas eine Sünde ist, und es trotzdem tut, [so] ist das Lust (*waranīgih*). Lust ist die Gegenschöpfung zur Weisheit (*xrad*). Wenn jemand nicht weiß, ob etwas ein Verdienst oder eine Sünde ist, und bevor er zu dieser Kenntnis gelangt, es tut, [so] ist das Eigenwilligkeit. Eigenwilligkeit ist die Gegenschöpfung zur Religion.

Trotz dieser genauen Unterscheidung blieb den zoroastrischen Gelehrten die Nähe der 'Eigenwilligkeit' (d.h. der Mißachtung der Religion) zu der 'Verachtung der Religion' nicht verborgen. Deswegen macht der Autor des *Dēnkard* aus der 'Eigenwilligkeit' die bössartige Genossin der Verachtung der Religion (*Dk* 6.246): *xēm petyārag tarmenišn u-š*

⁵ Eine abweichende Klassifizierung findet sich in *Dk* 3.65.

⁶ S. dazu Shaked (1979, 231 f.).

brādarōd xwaddōšagīh ‘Verachtung (der Religion) ist der Gegensatz zum Charakter und ihr schlechter Genosse ist Eigenwilligkeit’.

Die ‘Eigenwilligkeit’ (*xwaddōšagīh*) verstößt gegen eine Institution, die vor einigen Jahren Kreyenbroek (1994, besonders 7 ff.) herausgearbeitet hat: *dastwardārīh* ‘das Haben eines *Dastwars*’ oder besser ‘die Unterwerfung unter die Autorität eines *Dastwars*’⁷ (s. *WZs* 27).⁸ Danach hat jede Privatperson sich der Autorität eines von ihr gewählten *Dastwars* zu unterwerfen. Nicht einmal die Verdienste, die man ohne Konsultation dieses *Dastwars* machen sollte, gelten als solche (s. *Dk* 9.9.4 [M 793.6 ff]):

abar ōykē dastwar nē dāšt pad dād nē xwēšīh ī ēč kirbag ī kard nē rasēd ō ān ī pahlom axwān

Über denjenigen, der sich der Autorität des *Dastwars* betreffend des Gesetzes nicht unterstellt. Keiner seiner Verdienste, die er gemacht hat, wird die beste Existenz erreichen.⁹

Der *xwaddōšag*-Mensch unterwirft sich der Autorität des *Dastwars* nicht. Deswegen wird das eigenwillige Verhalten in *Dk* 5.9.5 [M 442.13] mit der Nichtunterwerfung unter die Autorität in Verbindung gebracht:

ud tarmenišnīh ī dēn ud abāz stāyišnīh ī aziš ud nē dāštan ī dastwar ud xwaddōšagīhā raft<an> ud abarīg andar im dar čīyōn pad hangirdīg čē agdēnīh tā čē adēnīh nām

(Über) die Verachtung der Religion, die Abschwörung ihrer, die Nichtunterwerfung unter die Autorität des *Dastwar*, das eigenwillige Verhalten, und weitere (Sünden) dieser Art, die in der Kürze den Namen ‘Zugehörigkeit zur schlechten Religion’ (*agdēnīh*) und sogar bis ‘Irreligiosität’ (*adēnīh*) (tragen) (s. Amouzgar–Tafazzoli 2000, 43).

Die Unterwerfung unter die Autorität ist selbstverständlich mit der Gehorsamkeit gegenüber der Autorität des *Dastwars* aufs engste verbunden, s. *Dk* 9.38.7 [M 855.8 ff.]:

panjom abar grifan ud dāštan ī ān axwōmand ud radōmand dastwar <ud> niyōxšīdan ī-š hammōg ud padīš ō ohrmazd dastwarīh . . .

Fünftens über die Wahl und die Unterwerfung unter die Autorität des *Dastwars*, sei er ein *Axw* oder ein *Rad*¹⁰ <und> (über) die Gehorsamkeit gegenüber seiner Lehre und über die (Bindung) dadurch an die Autorität Ohrmazds . . .

Dementsprechend wird *xwaddōšagīh* mit *aniyōxšīdārīh* ‘Ungehorsamkeit’ assoziiert, s. *Dk* 6 E40:

⁷ Vgl. z.B. *Dk* 9.51.2 [M 884.15]: *ēn-iz kū kē gōspand pad dastwar ī gōspandān rad dārēd . . .* ‘Das bedeutet, daß derjenige, der das Vieh der Autorität des *Dastwars*, der der *Rad* des Viehs ist, unterstellt . . .’.

⁸ Ähnlich auch *Pahlavi texts* 129 ff.

⁹ Dieselbe Idee findet sich u.a. in *Suppl.ŠnŠ* 12.2: *čīyōn gōwēd pad sagādom kū nē kas az ān asrōšdār mard kē dastwar nē dārēd rasēd ō ān ī pahlom axwān nē ka ōy ān and abar ōšmurišn hē kū-š kār ud kirbag ān and kard ēstēd čand spīg ī urwarān ka pad wahār waxšēd* ‘Wie man berichtet in dem *Sagādom*: niemand von den Ungehorsamen, der sich der Autorität eines *Dastwars* nicht unterstellt, wird zu der besten Existenz gelangen, und wenn er auf seiner Rechnung soviel (Verdienste) hätte – d.h. er hätte so viele Verdienste gemacht – wie die Sprosse der Pflanzen, wenn sie im Frühling wachsen’.

¹⁰ Wörtlich ‘dem *Dastwar*, der ein *Axw* und ein *Rad* hat’.

ahreman hambandīšn az xwaddōšagīh ud aniyōxšīdārīh

Die Bestandteile Ahremans sind Eigenwilligkeit und Ungehorsamkeit.

Wie wir gesehen haben (*Dk* 9.38.7), ist die Unterwerfung unter die Autorität des *Dastwars* die Verbindung zwischen dem Menschen und der Autorität Ohrmazds. Die Autorität Ohrmazds ist nichts anderes als die Religion (*dēn*) und vor allem die Vorschriften, die in ihr enthalten sind (*dād*). Insofern ist sie mit der Gesamtheit der *dēn*, die sowohl das Avesta als auch die unterschiedlichen Äußerungen der priesterlichen Autoritäten, die im Zand enthalten sind, umfaßt, identisch. Somit versteht sich die Gegenüberstellung von *dēn* und *xwaddōšagīh* in *Dk* 6.1b und 6.5.¹¹ Der Vertreter der Religion (und, wie wir später sehen werden, auch des Gesetzes) im täglichen Leben eines Zoroastriers war eben der 'private' *Dastwar* eigener Wahl, dessen Autorität jeder Zoroastrier sich unterwerfen muß.

In der sasanidischen theo-kosmologischen Spekulation übernahm die 'Eigenwilligkeit' (oder 'Nichtunterwerfung unter die Autorität der Religion') eine ganz besondere Rolle. Sie wurde zu einem der wichtigsten Instrumente Ahremans in seinem Kampf gegen Ohrmazd. In *Dk* 3.192 macht man aus ihr eine der zwei Bekleidungen oder Waffen Gannāg Mēnōgs.¹² In *GrBd* 1.41 [TD2 9.12] wird *xwaddōšagīh* als eine der uranfänglichen Eigenschaften Ahremans zusammen mit der Handlungsunfähigkeit (*akārīh*), der Nichtexzellenz (*apahlomīh*) und dem nachträglichen Wissen (*pasdānišnīh*) erwähnt. Demgegenüber stehen auf der Seite Ohrmazds: Herrscherweisheit (*xwadāyfrāzānagīh*), Ruhm (*nāmagīh*), Exzellenz (*pahlomīh*) und Unvergänglichkeit (*asazišnīh*).

In *GrBd* 1.44-48 [TD2 11.2 ff.] wird der Anfang der geistigen Schöpfung beschrieben: Ohrmazd schuf aus seiner eigener Essenz und aus dem Licht der Existenz die Gestalt der Schöpfungen und des Feuers. Dann schuf er *way* 'den Wind' und dann die Erde. Als Antwort darauf schuf Gannāg Mēnōg aus der Dunkelheit der Existenz und aus seiner eigenen Gestalt seine Schöpfungen, und dann, aus der 'Eigenwilligkeit der Existenz' (*stī xwaddōšagīh*), schuf er die Gestalt der Lust (*waran ī *wattar-dēn kirb*). D.h. nach der Dunkelheit und der eigenen Gestalt Gannāg Mēnōgs ist die 'Eigenwilligkeit' die Urmaterie der Schöpfung der bösen Macht. Sie bildet nach dem ersten Kapitel des

¹¹ In *Dk* 6.1b werden verschiedene Paare auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen gegenübergestellt: auf der *wārom*-Ebene *wahman* : *akōman*; auf der *kāmag*-Ebene *srōš* : *xwēš*; auf der *menišn*-Ebene *spandarmad* : *tarōmad*; auf der *gōwišn*-Ebene *xrad* : *waran*; und auf der *kunišn*-Ebene *dēn* : *xwaddōšagīh*. Daß die Opposition *dēn* : *xwaddōšagīh* auf dem Bereich der Taten (*kunišn*) verlegt wurde, zeigt deutlich, daß wir uns hier im Bereich der Vorschriften der Religion und der einzelnen Handlungen der Menschen bewegen. Der Weg zu diesen Vorschriften für den einzelnen Menschen ist das *dastwardārīh*, und gerade diesen Weg ist der *xwaddōšag*-Mensch nicht gegangen.

Wenn man von diesem Verständnis von *xwaddōšag(īh)* ausgeht, wird klar, warum *wiyābānīh* 'Täuschung' die Frucht der Eigenwilligkeit ist (*Dk* 6 E41): die Mißachtung der religiösen Autorität und die Entscheidungen nur nach dem eigenen Willen führen zur Täuschung, d.h. zu von der Wahrheit der *Dēn* abweichenden Antworten. Ähnlich erklärt sich auch die Assoziation mit *frēb* in *MX* 37.32. Die Phl.-Hss. zeigen dort nur *dōšagīh*, aber das *pāzand xʾat dōšī* und die Sanskrit-Übersetzung *svecchācāritvāt* machen die Verbesserung zu *xwaddōšagīh* sehr wahrscheinlich.

¹² Die andere ist *sāstārīh* 'Tyrannei' als Opposition zu *asrōnīh* (s. Zaehner 1955, 45).

Bundahišn die Materie einer Erscheinung, mit der sie in der Phl.-Literatur aufs engste verbunden ist: *waran(īgih)* ‘Lust’.

Die Verbindung der Eigenwilligkeit mit *waran(īgih)* durchdringt die ganze Phl.-Literatur:¹³ phl. *xwaddōšag* kommt z.B. als Epitheton von *waran* (DD 36.42) vor oder man spricht von der ‘Eigenwilligkeit der Lust’ (*waran xwaddōšagih*, Dk 3. 366 [M 350.14]), usw. Eine besondere Rolle wird ihr aber in Dk 3.27 [M 21.15-24]¹⁴ zugeschrieben, wo sie in ein ganzes kosmologisches System eingebettet wird. Nach dem Autor dieses Abschnittes sind die Elemente des Guten und des Bösen acht, welche ihrerseits aus anderen Elementen bestehen. Diese kosmogonische Anordnung könnte man tabellarisch so darstellen:

wehīh	wadīh
spennāgih <i><āsrōnīh></i> ¹⁵ <i>dēn</i> <i>dānāgih</i> <i>ērīh</i> <i>rāstīh</i> <i>xwābarīh</i> <i>radīh</i> <i>rāyēnidārīh ī abar wehdēn rāst</i>	gannāgih <i>sāstārīh</i> <i>āsrōnīh hamēstārīh</i> <i>agdēnīh</i> <i>anērīh</i> <i>kayagīh ud karbīh</i> <i>druzīh</i> <i>anespāsīh</i> <i>wištoftārīh</i>
wayīg <i>ardēstārīh</i> <i>āsrōnīh ayyār</i> <i>tagīgīh</i> <i>arwandīh</i> <i>xwadāyīh</i> <i>dād</i> <i>hunar</i> <i>rāyēnidārīh <ḏ> abar xwadāyīh</i>	waranīg <i>xwaddōšagīh</i> <i>har ahlamogīh ī āsrōnīh brādarōd</i> <i>sāstārīh ayyār</i> <i>dušdānāgīh</i> <i>agdēnīh</i> <i>āhōg</i> <i>wištoftārīh</i>

¹³ Es lag offensichtlich in den Interessen von Manuščihr ī Ūwānjamān, dem Autor des *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, die enge Beziehung von *xwaddōšag(īh)* mit *waran(īgih)* besonders zu betonen. Dort wo *xwaddōšag(īh)* in diesem Werk vorkommt, steht es in der Tat in Verbindung mit *waran(īgih)*. In DD 36.42 macht er aus *xwaddōšag* ein Epitheton des Dämons ‘Lust’ (*waran*): *u-š pad ān ī drō-dēnīh <ud> dāmān^x hāzēnīd spazg frēftār ud waran xwaddōšag ud kēn ud arešk* . . . ‘Und er vereinte in der Religion der Lüge und in den Schöpfungen die betrügerische Verleumdung, die eigenwillige Lust, die Rache, den Neid . . .’.

Nach DD 5.7 sind sowohl ‘Lust’ als auch ‘Eigenwilligkeit’ dafür verantwortlich, daß der Mensch sich nicht um die Taten kümmert, die ihn zum Paradies führen sollten: *ud waranīgīh ud xwaddōšagīh rāy ān-iz kār kē-š rāh ī ō wahišt padīš šāyēd būdan xwēstan padīš nē ranjēnd* ‘Wegen ihrer Lust und Eigenwilligkeit kümmern sich (die schlechten Menschen) nicht darum, welche Taten ihr Weg zum Paradies sein könnten’.

In DD 2.16 macht man Wahman dafür verantwortlich, daß er das Herz fern von Lust und ‘Eigenwilligkeit’ hält.

¹⁴ Übersetzungen und teilweise Kommentare zu diesem Kapitel sind in Zaehner (1937-1939; 1955, 378 ff.), de Menasce (1973, 44 ff.) zu finden.

¹⁵ Es fehlt in den Handschriften, wird aber sowohl von de Menasce wie auch von Zaehner ergänzt.

bagān <i>wāstryōših</i> <i>gēhān warzīdārīh</i> <i>paymānag mānišnīg</i> <i>*handōzišnīh</i> ¹⁶ <i>wizīdārīhišnīg radīh</i> <i>āsrōnīh <ud> ardēstārīh ayyār</i>	gʼwyk <i>pad duzīh ud stahmagīh warzīdārān gēhān pe-</i> <i>tyārēnīdan</i> <i>pad penīh ud pad dawīdārīh (?) wanēgarīh</i> ¹⁷ <i>halag kardārīh ābādīh gēhān pe-</i> <i>tyārēnīdan</i> <i>pad penīh padēxihabēsihēnīdan</i> <i>dām murnjēnīdan</i> <i>wāstryōših petyār</i>
hunihādīg <i>hutuxših</i> <i>ān sē pēšag ayyār</i> <i>humad</i> <i>hūxt</i> <i>huwaršt</i> <i>ruwān ahlāyīh</i>	dušnihādīg <i>duštuxšagīh</i> <i>dušmad</i> <i>dušhūxt</i> <i>dušhuwaršt</i> <i>ruwān druwandīh</i> <i>sē pēšagān petyārāg</i>

Die Interpretation dieses Systems ist im Detail kompliziert, aber bestimmte allgemeine Züge sind nicht zu verkennen. Die Elemente des Guten und des Bösen werden nach einem dem sozialen ähnlichen Ordnungsprinzip geordnet: die *spennāgīg* und *gannāgīg* Elemente stehen parallel zum Priesterstand; *wayīg* und *waranīg* zum Kriegerstand;¹⁸ die *bagīg* und *gʼwyk* zum Bauernstand; die *nihādīg* und *dušnihādīg* zum Handwerkerstand.¹⁹ Die Zuschreibung der Elemente zu der einen oder der anderen Kategorie entbehrt eine genauer Systematik, wie man z.B. an der Tatsache erkennt, daß gewisse Elemente in zwei verschiedenen Gruppen vorkommen, z.B. *agdēnīh*, das der *gannāgīg* und *spennāgīg* Gruppe zugeordnet wird. Trotzdem sind diese Elemente nicht willkürlich der einen oder der anderen Kategorie zugeschrieben.

Die Eigenwilligkeit begegnet uns als erstes Element der *waranīg*-Kategorie. Es ist also zu vermuten, daß sie in enger Beziehung zu den anderen Elementen dieser Kategorie stehen wird. Es handelt sich um folgende Elemente: 'Eigenwilligkeit' (*xwaddōšagīh*), jede Häresie, die schlechte Genossin des Priestertums (*har ahlamogīh ī āsrōnīh brādarōd*), der Helfer der Tyrannei (d.h. der häretischen Priester) (*sāstārīh ayyār*), das schlechte Wissen (*dušdānāgīh*), die schlechte Religion (*agdēnīh*), Laster (*āhōg*) und die

¹⁶ M <hndwcšnyk>. Wahrscheinlich 'Erwerbung (vom Besitz)'.

¹⁷ So de Menasce (1973, 44).

¹⁸ Diese kosmologische Anordnung spiegelt sich in der Kosmogonie, so wie wir sie aus dem Anfang des großen *Bundahišn* kennen, wieder. Die erste Phase der Schöpfung Ohrmazds ist die Schaffung der Gestalt der Schöpfungen und des Feuers aus der eigenen Essenz und aus dem *stī-rōšnīh*. Dies entspricht natürlich den *spennāgīg*-Elementen und wird mit dem Priestertum assoziiert, wofür die Gestalt des Feuers ein Symbol ist. Dementsprechend brachte Gannāg Menōg seine Schöpfungen aus dem *stī-tārīgīh* und aus seiner eigenen Gestalt, die wohl den *gannāgīg*-Elementen entsprechen, hervor. Daraufhin schuf Ohrmazd die Gestalt von *Way*, das natürlich für die *wayīg*-Elemente verantwortlich ist. Parallel brachte Ahreman *Waran* aus der *stī-xwaddōšagīh* hervor, d.h. die *waranīg*-Elemente mit *xwaddōšagīh* an erster Stelle.

¹⁹ Daß diese letzte Kategorie eine besondere Stellung hat, sieht man u.a. daran, daß sie nur als Hilfe oder Hindernis der drei anderen Stände konzipiert wurde.

daraus resultierende Zerstörung (*wišōftārīh*). Um den gemeinsamen Nenner, der sie verbindet, besser erfassen zu können, müssen wir die Natur von *waran(īgīh)* analysieren. Wie Zaehner (1955, 174 ff.) gezeigt hat, ist *waran(īgīh)* der Gegensatz zur Weisheit (*xrad*).²⁰ In *Dk* 3.292 werden in einer Begründung des Dualismus die Beziehungen zwischen Weisheit (*xrad*), Wissen (*dānāgīh*) und Gesetz (*dād*) einerseits und Lust (*waran(īgīh)*), schlechtem Wissen (*dušāgāhīh*) und Gewalt (*must*) andererseits systematisiert: *xrad* ist der Ursprung und die Basis des Wissens (*dānāgīh*), seinerseits Stütze des Gesetzes (*dād*); hingegen ist *waran(īgīh)* Ursprung des schlechten Wissens (*dušāgāhīh*) und somit der Gewalt (*must*) als Gegensatz zum Gesetz (*dād*). So wie *xrad* verantwortlich für das Gesetz (*dād*) ist, ist *waran(īgīh)* verantwortlich für seine Leugnung, s. *Dk* 3.292 [M 302.12]:

ud waran kē dušāgāhīh aziš watar az dušāgāhīh ī az waran ud dušāgāhīh kē adād aziš watar az adād ī az dušāgāhīh ud adād kē humušak ī adād ī ast drōzišn ud škōhīh ud wisp mēnōgīg ud gētīgīg anāgīh aziš watar az wisp mēnōgīg ud gētīgīg zyān ud anāgīh ud bēš ī az adād

Und Waran, aus welchem schlechtes Wissen (*dušāgāhīh*) (entsteht), ist schlimmer als das schlechte Wissen (*dušāgāhīh*), das aus ihm (entsteht). Und schlechtes Wissen (*dušāgāhīh*), aus welchem Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*) (entsteht), ist schlimmer als die Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*), die aus ihm (entsteht). Und Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*), aus welcher die Nachkommenschaft von Gesetzlosigkeit, nämlich Lüge, Armut und jedes geistliche und stoffliche Unglück, (entsteht), ist schlimmer als jedes Mißgeschick, Unglück und Leid, die aus der Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*) (entstehen).

Der maximale Exponent der Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*) ist die 'Eigenwilligkeit' (*xwaddōšagīh*) oder 'Mißachtung der Religion', die für die freie, ungebundene Entscheidung der Menschen verantwortlich ist und als solche zur Negation der Autorität der Religion wird. Daher wird *xwaddōšagīh* als erstes der *waranīg*-Elemente aufgeführt. In der Vorstellungswelt des Autors des *Dēnkard* ist die 'Eigenwilligkeit', die freie Entscheidung ohne Unterwerfung unter die Autorität der Religion, die Essenz der Lust,²¹ der größte Feind von *xrad* und somit des Gesetzes.

In *Dk* 3.192 übernimmt *xwaddōšagīh* die Rolle von *waranīgīh*. Dort werden die Elemente des Guten und des Bösen oder Waffen Ohrmazds und Ahremans auf vier beschränkt und dabei die Parallelität dieser Anordnung zu der Gesellschaftsstruktur stärker betont. Auf der Seite Ohrmazds erscheinen Priestertum (*asrōnīh*) und Kriegertum (*ardēstarīh*); auf der Seite Ahremans Tyrannei oder falsches Priestertum (*sāstārīh*) und Eigenwilligkeit (*xwaddōšagīh*).²² In diesem schwierigen Kapitel werden die vier Mächte systematisch nach einer kurzen Einführung über ihre kosmogonischen Rollen, die an *Dk* 3.27 erinnert, auf allen Ebenen gegenübergestellt. Diese Gegenüberstellung ist sehr informativ über die Natur und die verheerenden Folgen für die gesellschaftliche Ordnung, die

²⁰ Zu *xrad* s. Shaked (1979, 229).

²¹ *Dk* 3.192 [M 206.13 ff.]: *ēn brahm waran druz xwadīh* 'Diese Bekleidung (*xwaddōšagīh*) ist die Essenz der Druz *waran*' (vgl. *GrBd*. 1.44).

²² D.h. jedes Mal das erste Element der Auflistung in *Dk* 3.27.

asrōnih	sāstārīh	ardēstārīh	xwaddōšagih
<i>andar hunarān pad xrad</i> Unter den Tugenden (erscheint es) in Weisheit	<i>andar āhōgān pad du-šāgāhih</i> Unter den Lastern (erscheint es) in schlechtem Wissen	<i>andar hunarān abar tagigih ān ī mardān ham marčābukih</i> Unter den Tugenden (erscheint es) in Tapferkeit, d.h. Bravour der Menschen	<i>andar āhōgān pad xwaddōšagih</i> Unter den Lastern (erscheint es) in der Eigenwilligkeit
<i>andar barišnān pad ērih ud hunsandīh</i> Unter den Verhaltensweisen in Iranierum und Zufriedenheit	<i>andar barišnān pad anerih ud ahunsandih</i> Unter den Verhaltensweisen in Nichtarianertum und Unzufriedenheit	<i>andar barišnān pad 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀²⁴ dādestānīgih</i> Unter den Verhaltensweisen in . . . und Justiz (Anerkennung der Richtersprüche)	<i>andar barišnān pad a-nayāb<ag>ih ud āhidih</i> Unter den Verhaltensweisen in Einsichtslosigkeit und Verwirrung
<i>andar xēmān pad ān āsnūdāg menišn ud arešwāxt gōwišn</i> Unter den Charakteren in reinem Denken und rechtgesprochenem Wort	<i>andar xēmān pad dw'n' menišn ud ān ī mihoxt gōwišn</i> Unter den Charakteren in betrügerischem ²⁵ Denken und falschem Wort	<i>andar xēmān pad kāmāg ī frārōn ān ī mehdādēstānihā kār</i> Unter den Charakteren in rechtschaffenem Wunsch, nämlich die Handlung über die Anforderungen des Gesetzes hinaus ²⁶	<i>ud <andar> xēmān pad ān ī abārōn kāmāg ān ī xwaddōšagih dēn ud ān ī frazām ī wišoḅ</i> Unter den Charakteren in unrechtem Wunsch, der Religion der Eigenwilligkeit, und der (daraus resultierenden) Endzerstörung ²⁷
<i><andar> gētīg dēsagān pad mard ī ahlaw</i> Unter den weltlichen Gestalten in wahrhaftigem Mann	<i><andar> gētīg dēsagān pad druwand mar</i> Unter den weltlichen Gestalten in trüghaftem Schurke	<i>andar gētīg dēsagān pad tagīg ud arwand tan</i> Unter den weltlichen Gestalten in tapferem und schnellem Körper	<i>andar gētīg dēsagān pad xwaddōšagān abārōnstēz marān</i> Unter den weltlichen Gestalten in den eigenwilligen Menschen, die unrechte Streitigkeiten führen
<i>andar pēšagān pad asrōnān</i> Unter den Ständen in den Priestern	<i>andar pēšagān pe-tyāragān pad sāstārīh</i> Unter den Feinden der Stände in falschem Priestertum	<i>andar pēšagān pad ardēstārān</i> Unter den Ständen in den Kriegern	<i>andar pēšag ha-mēstārān pad ahla-mōgān</i> Unter den Gegnern der Stände in den Häretikern

²⁴ Die Lesung dieses Wortes ist sehr unsicher. Zaehner (1937-1939, 314) erwägt die Möglichkeit einer Verbesserung in *mēhman*, aber später (1955, 335, 378) transliteriert er es und läßt es unübersetzt. De Menasce (1973, 200) überlegt eine Deutung als 'piété' und eine Lesung als ein Heterogramm <RHM'N>.

²⁵Die Lesung dieses Wortes ist rätselhaft. Die Bedeutung geht jedoch hervor aus der Gegenüberstellung zu *āšnūdag*. Zaehner liest dieses Wort als *dawan* und stellt es zur Wurzel *dab-* 'betrügen'. De Menasce übersetzt es ohne weiteren Kommentar als 'tromperie'.

²⁶Zaehner (1937-1939, 306) übersetzt *ān ī mehdādestānīhā kār* durch 'an action conducive to greater good order'. De Menasce (1973, 200) hat hingegen dafür 'une action clémente'. An anderen Stellen übersetzen Kreyenbroek (1987, 202) *mehdādestān* durch 'great importance', Shaked (1979, 53) 'accordance with the religion', Amouzgar–Tafazzoli (2000, 151) 'jugement convenable, loi sublime', usw. Dieses Wort steht auf einer Reihe mit phl. *wehdādestān(tar)* 'die Pflichten über die Forderung des Gesetzes hinaus erfüllend' (s. dazu Macuch 1993, 136) und seinem Gegenstück *wattardādestān(tar)*, das ich zweimal in der PÜ *Widēwdāds* belegt finde:

PW 3.40 nasā nigānīh pad har čiš-ē ōh bawēd bē pad nasā ayāb ka andar must abāz gīrēd ēdōn bawēd čīyōn wattar dādestāntar '(Die Sünde) des Begrabens eines Leichnams kann bei jedem Stoff geschehen. Aber wenn man (den Leichnam) mit einer (anderen) Leiche bedeckt oder ihn in der Faust festhält, gilt es, als ob man unterhalb der Mindestanforderung des Gesetzes zurückgeblieben sei'.

PW 16.11 sōšyans guft ay andar sē šab tuhīg kār tā nō rōz ud šabān ka pāk bē bawēd ēd rōz ud šabān tuhīg rāy pāyīšn ud pas ān šōyīšn pas az nō šabag tuhīg kār nēst čē hamē ka pāk bē bawēd pad gyāg bē pādīxšā šustan bē anī tōm ka sē šabag pad pākīh nišast ayāb-š dāstān mäh abāz ō bun āmad čēs ān dāstān az bunīh tuhīg ud har čīs ēdōn bawēd čīyōn dāstān ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay ēdōn bawēd čīyōn wattar dādestāntar-iz pad har dō ō mar āyēd 'Sōšyans sagte: Drei Nächte lang ist *tuhīg* (Isolierung) vorgeschrieben. Bis zum neunten Tag und Nacht, wenn sie rein wird, muß sie einen Tag und eine Nacht wegen *tuhīg* warten. Danach soll sie sich waschen. Nach neun Nächten ist *tuhīg* nicht mehr vorgeschrieben; denn wenn sie auch immer rein wird, ist es um diese Zeit (nach neun Tagen und Nächten) angebracht, daß sie sich wäscht. Außer im Fall, daß sie drei Nächte lang gesessen hat, um rein zu werden (damit das Blut nicht fließt), oder daß die Blutung von neuem anfängt. Denn das ist wiederum der Anfang der Menstruation. (In diesem Fall) ist *tuhīg* und alles andere so, als ob es (eine neue) Blutung wäre. Es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagt: Es gilt so, als sei sie unterhalb der Mindestforderung des Gesetzes zurückgeblieben. In beiden Fällen wird (die Frau) zu einer Schurkin'.

Welche Rolle *mehdādestān* unter diesen Begriffen spielt, ist nicht ganz klar. Möglich wäre, daß es die mittlere Stellung unter *wehdādestān* und *wattardādestān* einnimmt. Wahrscheinlicher scheint mir jedoch, daß *mehdādestān* mit *wehdādestān* gleichbedeutend ist. Dafür spricht meines Erachtens die Form *mehdādestāntar*, die mit *wehdādestāntar* in *MHD* (6.5, 14.1 f., 100, 15, 16 f., 13.7) vergleichbar ist, s. *Dk* 5.9.13 [M 443.9 f.]: *kirbag čīyōn ka mehdādestānīh paydāg hamē ān ī mehdādestāntar* 'Verdienste, nämlich, wenn das Hinausgehen über die Anforderung des Gesetzes deutlich ist, dann sind sie immer (Verdienste), die weit über die Anforderung des Gesetzes hinaus reichen' (anders Amouzgar–Tafazzoli 2000, 45). Phl. *mehdādestān* ist in der Phl.-Literatur gut bezeugt. Einen Beleg, der direkt mit unserer Stelle vergleichbar ist, finden wir in *Dk* 6.127: **nohom* [s. Shaked 1979, 52] *kirbag kardan ud az wināh pahrēxtan kirbag mehdādestānīh abērtar kardan ud az wināh ud az wināh grāyīdan wēš pahrēxtan weh* 'Neuntens ist es besser, Verdienste zu machen, sich vor Sünde hüten, viele Verdienste über die Anforderung des Gesetzes hinaus zu machen und sich intensiv vor Sünde und Neigung zur Sünde zu hüten. Auch in *DD* 44.7 ist gegen Kreyenbroek (1987, 202) dieses Wort in diesem Sinne zu verstehen. Der Ausdruck *frēzwānīg ud mehdādestān* 'das, was verpflichtend ist, und das, was über die Forderung des Gesetzes hinausgeht'.

²⁷Zweifelloos das Gegenstück des Endsieges Ohrmazds über Ahreman (*frazām-pērōzīh*, der uns u.a. in *Dk* 3.192 (M 204.7: *frazām-pērōzīh ī ebgadīg*) und *DD* 44.7 (*frazām-pērōzīh ī yazdān*) begegnet.

asrōnih	sāstārīh	ardēstārīh	xwaddōšagih
<i>andar padān pad ōy kē gētīgān abardom axw ud rad</i> Unter den Herren in den obersten <i>Axw</i> und <i>Rad</i> der weltlichen Schöpfungen	<i>andar padīh petyāragān pad ōy ī dušdēn ud dušoxīgān</i> Unter den Feinden der Herrschaft in dem Genossen der schlechten Religion und Einwohner der Hölle	<i>andar padān pad arwand spāhbed</i> Unter den Herren in tapferem Befehlshaber	<i>andar padīh petyāragān pad ān ī anaxw ud arad zad dastwar anēr</i> Unter den Feinden der Herrschaft in demjenigen, der ohne <i>Axw</i> und ohne <i>Rad</i> erschlägt, dessen Autorität eine nicht iranische ist
<i>andar paymōgān pad ān ī rōšn spēd paymōzan</i> Unter den Bekleidungen in hellem, weißem Kleid	<i>andar paymōgān pad ān ī *ērang²⁸ paymōzan</i> Unter den Bekleidungen in ketzerischem (?) Kleid	<i>andar paymōgān pad ān ī suxr ud maygōn paymōzan kē pad harwisp pēšīšn pēšid ēstēd pad sēm ud zarr ud karkēhān ud ān-iz ī tābāg yākand</i> Unter den Bekleidungen in diesem roten, weinfarbigen Kleid, das mit allerlei Schmuck geschmückt ist, mit Gold, Silber, Chalzedon und warmen Rubinen	<i>andar paymōgān pad ān ī xwaddōšagihā brahmag</i> Unter den Bekleidungen in der eigenwilligen Tracht
<i>andar hukārān pad weh waxšēnīdan ud wattar zadan</i> Unter den guten Taten im Vermehren des Guten und Erschlagen des Bösen.	<i>andar duškārān pad weh zadan ud wattar waxšēnīdan</i> Unter den schlechten Taten im Erschlagen des Guten und Vermehren des Bösen.	<i>andar kārān pad mehdādestānīh ī xēm²⁹ jahišn zadan ud waxšēnīdan ī har dō weh ud wattar</i> Unter den Taten im Hinausgehen über die Anforderungen des Gesetzes betreffs der Instruktion des Charakters, ³⁰ im Erschlagen und Vermehren von beiden, dem Guten und dem Bösen	

²⁸M, D <yl dyn>. Zahner und de Menasce verbessern es in **hēraggōn* und übersetzen es als 'ash-coloured' bzw. 'de couleur de cendre'.

²⁹M, D <h'm>.

³⁰Diese Übersetzung ist zweifelhaft. Zu *dahišn* als 'Instruktion' s. Shaked (1979, 275). Anders de Menasce (1973 200): 'dans la clémence à l'égard de toute créature du gēti'; Zahner (1937-1939, 307; 1955, 378): 'in the greater good ordering of character'. Zur Instruktion des Charakters gehört die Ablehnung der Versuche, s. *WD* 12 (s. Molé 1967, 128 f.): *ud wirāstan ī xēm kū tan az daxšag <D> wad ud arzōg ud waran ud āz ud nyāz ud bušāsp ud xwaddōšagih ud freftārīh ud kēnwarzīh ud spazīh bē pahrēxt* 'Und die Bildung des Charakters, nämlich, sich vor den Zeichen des Bösen hüten: Trieb, Lust, Libido, Armut, Faulheit, Eigenwilligkeit, Betrug, Rache und Verleumdung'.

Bisher hatten wir gesehen, daß der eigenwillige Mensch eigenständig handelt, ohne die Autorität des *Rads* zu befragen, und daß die Eigenwilligkeit auf der Seite der Lust, d.h. *waran(īgih)*, eine wichtige kosmologische (und kosmogonische) Rolle spielt als eine Macht, die letzten Endes für Gesetzlosigkeit (*adād*) verantwortlich und der Religion (*dēn*) entgegengesetzt ist. In der obigen Tabelle kann man sehen, unter welchen Aspekten die Eigenwilligkeit auf verschiedenen Ebenen erscheint. Neben den rein religiösen Aspekten treten hier andere hervor. So wird dem eigenwilligen Menschen vorgeworfen, daß er nicht die seinem Stand bestimmte Bekleidung trägt, sondern sich eigenwillig anzieht. Dies stellt einen Verstoß gegen die gesellschaftlichen Konventionen eher als gegen die Religion dar. Trotzdem hatte der *Dastwar* wahrscheinlich Autorität auch in diesem Bereich.

Auch im legalen Bereich erscheint die Eigenwilligkeit mit seinen verheerenden Folgen, und zwar in Gestalt desjenigen Menschen, 'der ohne *Axw* und ohne *Rad* schlägt als einer, dessen Autorität eine nicht iranische (d.h. zoroastrische) ist' (*pad ān ī anaxw ud arad zad dastwar anēr*). Wie Macuch (2002) gezeigt hat, darf eine durch eine Straftat geschädigte Person nicht eigenständig gegen den Täter verfahren, sondern muß rechtmäßig (*dādestānīhā*) gegen ihn vorgehen. Eine ganze Sektion des *dādīg*-Nask *Niyādom* war eben diesem Thema gewidmet. Die einleitenden Worte zeigen die Ablehnung der Wiedervergeltung, s. *Dk* 8.16.2 [M693.6-8]:

*sē ud xīndagīh andar gēhān az adādestānīhā zanišn ī ēk abar did ud hadarz ī ō mardōm abar pahrēz <ī> aziš ud dādestānīg zanišn handāzišn abāz ō kam zanišnīh ud *azanišnīh ud padīrag-iz pahikārradān pahikārradīhā*

Danger and illness (are) in the world as a result of assaulting one another unlawfully. And the advice (given) to mankind (is) to abstain from it and to measure assault according to the law, to aim at injuring slightly or not injuring (at all) and also to proceed against those who are involved in a non-judicial dispute (*a-pahikār-radān*) according to (the procedure in) a judicial dispute (*pahikār-radīhā*).³¹

Die rechtmäßige Antwort auf eine Straftat ist entweder das Gerichtsverfahren (*pahikār-radīh*) oder die Vermittlung durch einen Schiedsrichter. Als Vermittler dürfen entweder der 'eigene *Rad*' (*rad ī xwēš*) des Klägers oder drei fromme Menschen aus der Gemeinde agieren. Die Figur des 'eigenen *Rads*' wird im *Dēnkard* nicht näher erörtert. Macuch bemerkt dazu nur, daß 'it denotes a religious or spiritual master who had authority and jurisdiction over the community in which the offended person lived'. Diese Figur ist von der oben erwähnten Institution des *dastwardārīh*, nämlich der Verpflichtung jedes Zoroastriers sich der Autorität eines *Dastwars* eigener Wahl zu unterwerfen, nicht zu trennen. Der 'eigene *Rad*' ist eben der *Rad*, den man als Ratgeber und geistlichen Führer gewählt hat,³² und der nicht nur rein religiöse Funktionen hatte, sondern auch z.B. als Schieds-

³¹Text und Übersetzung nach Macuch 2002.

³²Die Identität beider Figuren geht z.B. mit Deutlichkeit aus *PRDD* 15b5 hervor. Dort ist der *rad ī xwēš* für die Beichte in Ehebruchsfällen zuständig. Höchstwahrscheinlich handelt es sich um den *rad ī xwēš* des betrogenen Ehemannes. Er wird als Vermittler gewählt, weil er eine gewisse Beziehung zur betroffenen Familie hat, die Wünsche des Ehemannes kennt und somit die Rettung der Ehe erreichen kann: *be* ^x *gādan tāwān* [Verbesserung nach Williams (1990, 84)] *<abāyēd dād> čē-š ān andar rad ī xwēš pad petit be*

richter in Rechtsstreitigkeiten fungieren konnte.³³ Der *xwaddōšag*-Mensch, der bereits in anderen Bereichen die Autorität des *Dastwar* ignoriert, fügt sich auch in Rechtsangelegenheiten weder der zoroastrischen Gerichtspraxis des Gerichtsverfahrens noch der Vermittlung des 'eigenen *Rads*', sondern handelt eigenwillig gegen den Straftäter. Er handelt als 'einer, dessen Autorität eine nicht iranische ist' (*dastwar anēr*), d.h. als ein Nicht-zoroastrier, der ja an der zoroastrischen Gerichtspraxis nicht teilhat.³⁴

Die sasanidische und teilweise auch die zoroastrische nachsasanidische Gesellschaft folgten in einer Vielzahl von Lebensbereichen der *Dēn*. Die *Dēn* wurde vorwiegend mündlich tradiert und war demzufolge nur denjenigen zugänglich, die sie vollständig, oder Teile davon, auswendig gelernt hatten. Dem Laien blieb nichts anders übrig, als sich der Autorität der Kenner der *Dēn* zu unterwerfen. Seine einzige Freiheit war, sich den *Rad* auszusuchen, den er für den richtigen hielt. Dieser *Rad* führte den Laien nicht nur in religiösen Angelegenheiten, sondern hatte seine Funktion auch in der Gerichtspraxis und wahrscheinlich auch in anderen sozialen Bereichen. Seine Rolle in der Strukturierung der Gesellschaft war deswegen von großer Wichtigkeit. Man versteht also, daß die Mißachtung dieser Institution durch den 'eigenwilligen' (*xwaddōšag*) Menschen in der Phl.-Literatur mit solcher Vehemenz verpönt und daß der 'Eigenwilligkeit' (*xwaddōšagih*) eine bedeutende Rolle auf der Seite des Bösen in der zoroastrischen Kosmologie zugeschrieben wurde.

LITERATUR

- Amouzgar, J., Tafazzoli, A. 2000. *Le cinquième livre du Dēnkard. Transcription, traduction et commentaire* (Paris).
- D = M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkard: a Pahlavi text* (Wiesbaden 1966).
- Jaafari-Dehaghi, M., 1998. *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, vol. 1 (Paris).
- Kreyenbroek, G., 1987. The Dādestān ī dēnīg on priests, *IJ* 30, 185-208.
- Kreyenbroek, G., 1994. On the concept of spiritual authority in Zoroastrianism, *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* 17, 1-15.
- M = D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1971. *A concise Pahlavi dictionary* (London).
- Macuch, M., 1993. *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran. Die Rechtsammlung des Farroḫmard ī Wahrāmān* (Wiesbaden).
- Macuch, M., 2002. A Zoroastrian legal term in the Dēnkard: pahikār-rad, in Ph. Huyse (ed.), *Iran: questions et connaissances. Actes du IVe congrès européen des études iraniennes. Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999*, vol. 1, *Etudes sur l'Iran ancien* (Paris), 77-90.
- de Menasce, J., 1973. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkard. Traduit du pehlevi* (Paris).

abāyēd būd cīyōn šōy kām dānēd u-š tōzišn be ō šōy abāyēd dād pad ēn kār kū tā-š dōšārām ī zan ud frazand be nē šawēd 'In Ehebruchsfällen muß auch eine Entschädigung entrichtet werden, denn man muß diese (Sünde) vor dem "eigenen *Rad*" beichten, weil er die Wünsche des Ehemannes kennt. Die Strafe muß dem Ehemann bezahlt werden, damit dadurch die Liebe zu seiner Frau und Kindern nicht verschwindet'.

³³ Wie Macuch (2002) bemerkt, werden im sasanidischen Rechtsbuch *Mādagān ī hazār dādestān* als Vermittler der *dādwar ī pēšēmār* 'Richter des Klägers' und der *dādwar ī pasēmār* 'Richter des Angeklagten' (s. dazu Macuch 1993, 142, 152 und Anm. 21) erwähnt.

³⁴ Die Nichtiranier, d.h. die Nichtzoroastrier (*anēr*), dürfen nicht an die Institution des *pahikārradīh* teilhaben (s. *Dk* 8.16.13 [M 694.14 f.]).

- Molé, M., 1967. *La legende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis* (Paris).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1974. *A manual of Pahlavi*, vol. 2, *Glossary* (Wiesbaden).
- Pahlavi texts = J. M. JamaspAsana, *The Pahlavi texts contained in the codex MK copied in 1322 A.C. by the scribe Mehr-Âwân Kaî-khōsrō* (Bombay 1897-1913), 2 vols.
- Shaked, S., 1979. *The Wisdom of the Sasanian sages (Dēnkard VI) by Aturpāt-i Ēmētān* (Boulder, Colorado).
- TD2 = T. D. Anklesaria, *Būndahishn: being a facsimile of the TD manuscript no. 2 brought from Persia by Dastur Tīrandāz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tehmuras' Library* (Bombay 1908).
- West, E. W., 1871. *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard or the Spirit of Wisdom. The Pazand and Sanskrit texts, as arranged in the fifteenth century by Neriosengh Dhaval* (Stuttgart-London).
- Williams, A. V., 1990. *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, vol. 1, *Transliteration, transcription and glossary*; vol. 2, *Translation, commentary and Pahlavi text* (Copenhagen).
- Zaehner, R. C., 1937-1939. *Zurvanica I*, *BSOS* 9, 303-320.
- Zaehner, R. C., 1955. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford).

EXCEPT BY BATTLE: ZOROASTRIAN COSMOGONY IN THE 1ST CHAPTER
OF THE GREATER *BUNDABIŠN*

Carlo G. Cereti and †David N. MacKenzie

The *Bundahišn* has been rated among the more important Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts ever since Anquetil Duperron first introduced it to the European learned public in 1771. Among the main contributions on this book one should mention Haug's rendering of the first three chapters (1854) and Spiegel's translation of some relevant passages (1860). Windischmann (1863) and then West (1880) translated the "Indian" *Bundahišn*, the latter including some material taken from TD₁. Meanwhile Justi (1868) had prepared the first, and for a long time the only, edition of the Indian *Bundahišn*; a book which, together with Westergaard's (1851) facsimile publication of K₂₀ has for a long time been accepted as the "text" of the Indian version by most scholars. Recently R. Behzādi (1989) published a new edition of the same version in Teheran comparing the Indian text, taken from Justi, with three MSS of the Iranian version. The only edition of the complete "Iranian" or "Greater" *Bundahišn* is that by B. T. Anklesaria. It was begun in 1908 and completed in 1935, but it could only be published in 1956. Anklesaria's father, T. D. Anklesaria, had published the facsimile of MS TD₂ in 1908. Bailey's doctoral thesis, submitted in 1933 but never published, consists of an edition of MS TD₂ of the Iranian *Bundahišn* completed by a detailed linguistic commentary. The same author continued to work at a revised copy of it till the end of his life. Useful glossaries of the *Bundahišn* are those by Bahār (1966) and Choksy (1986). Recent surveys on the history of the studies on the *Bundahišn* are found in MacKenzie 1989, 547-48 and Cereti 2001, 90-91.

The first chapter of the *Bundahišn*, a cosmogonical chapter, has been translated and discussed in detail by many scholars, primarily in its relation to the Zurvanite problem.

Editions of the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* are due to Nyberg (1928a, 62-591 and 1929, 207-237) who had previously discussed the passage that he considers to be a Zurvanite hymn (1928b) and Zaehner (1955a, 321-336). A transliteration and translation of the first part of chapter one was published by Okunishi (1983). Critical remarks to the earlier editions are found in Henning's review (1935) to Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Nyberg 1928a) and in Molé's *Le problème zurvanite* (1959). The translation by Bausani (1957, 45-55) is also worthy of mention.

The first chapter of the *Bundahišn* was considered semi-Zurvanite by Nyberg and Zaehner who have dedicated precious studies to this religious phenomenon,¹ a view challenged on the one hand by Molé (1959) who argued in favour of the coherence of the structure of the first chapter and by Bianchi on the other. The latter author has asserted his views in a number of studies, of which the main one is his *Zamān i Ōhrmazd* (1958). Boyce has discussed Zaehner's book in a review article (1957).² In a paper dating from 1962 de Menasce has set Zurvanism in an Indo-Iranian perspective. Widengren examined

¹ Nyberg 1929, 1931a and 1931b; Zaehner 1937-1939, 1939-1942, 1955a and 1955b.

² But see also, for general comments on the history of Zurvanism, Boyce 1990.

this religious tendency on many occasions and two articles are specifically on textual problems (1967a and 1967b). Shaked has discussed the myth of Zurvan in 1992 and then again in 1994, within the broader horizon of Iranian dualism (1994, 5-26). Gherardo Gnoli, to whom this volume is dedicated, has discussed the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* in 1962 and then again in 1963 within articles studying aspects of the Mazdean cosmogony (Gnoli 1962, 105-121, 1963, 176-180). Further he touched upon dualism in many of his works, once with a particular attention to the Zurvanite problem (Gnoli 1984).

The present paper intends to be a critical edition of chapters 1 and 1a of the Iranian *Bundahišn* as contained in MSS TD₁ and DH. Chapter 1 goes from f. 1v7 to f. 7r14 of codex TD₁ and from f. 160r14 to f. 163v15 of codex DH; chapter 1a takes up ff. 7r14-10v13 of TD₁ and ff. 163v15-165v15 of DH. The two chapters are respectively found on pp. 2.7-16.12 and 16.13-25.2 of the secondary – but still often cited – codex TD₂.³ Only a limited, though important, section of this text is available in three independent MSS of the Indian *Bundahišn*. It contains a large portion of chap. 1, which presents marked divergences from the Iranian recension, both in wording and structure. The detail is as follows: codex K₂₀ contains the text corresponding to §§ 1-32 and 53a-55 of the Iranian *Bundahišn* on ff. 88r6-90v2; K_{20b} is incomplete at the beginning, presenting §§ 13-32 and 53a-55 on ff. 3r1-5r17; M₅₁ comprises §§ 1-32 and 53a-55 on ff. 222r9-225v4.

BUNDAHIŠN⁴

Chapter 1

0. *Ān <D> zand āgāhīh. *Nazdist abar *buništīh <D> Ohrmazd ud petyāragīh ī Gannāg Mēnōg; pas abar čiyōnīh ī gēhān <ud> dām az bun-dahišnīh tā frazām ʾī tan ī pasēnʾ, čiyōn az dēn ī *mazdēsnān paydāg; pas abar xīr *kē *gēhān dārēd, pad wizārišn ī cēth ud čiyōnīh.*

1. *Pad weh-dēn owōn paydāg, ʾkūʾ Ohrmazd bālistīg, pad harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh, zamān ī akanārag andar rōšnīh hamē būd.* 2. *Ān rōšnīh gāh ud gyāg ī Ohrmazd, ast kē asar-rōšnīh gōwēd, ud*

0. Knowledge of the *Zand* (Commentary). First about the fundamentality of Ohrmazd and the opposition of the Evil Spirit; then about the nature of the world and the creatures, from the primal creation until the end {which is the Final Body} as it is evident from the Religion of the Mazda-worshippers; then about the things which the world contains, with an interpretation of (their) essence and nature.

1. It is revealed thus in the Good Religion that Ohrmazd was on high, in omniscience and goodness, (for) infinite time in the light. 2. That Light (is) the place and the space of Ohrmazd {there are some who

³ On the manuscript tradition of the *Bundahišn* see most recently Cereti 2000.

⁴ Conventions and abbreviations: <...> = additions; [...] = expunctions; {...} = glosses; ʾ...ʾ = text taken from the *Indian Bundahišn*; °...° = lacuna in one of the manuscripts; ...^L... = letter written above the line. T = MS TD₁; D = MS DH; K = MS K₂₀; Kb = MS K_{20b}; M = MS M₅₁; IB = *Indian Bundahišn*; GB = *Greater Bundahišn*. Minor variants have not been reported.

ān harwisp-āgāhīh ud wehīh *niyāmag ī Ohrmazd, ast kē dēn gōwēd, dēn ham har dō wizārišn ēk, ān [ī] *niyāmag [ī] zamān ī akanārag, čiyōn Ohrmazd ud gāh ud dēn ud zamān ī Ohrmazd būd 'ud ast ud hamē bawēd'.

3. Ahreman andar tārīgīh, pad pas-dānišnīh ud *zadār-⁷kāmagīh⁷, zofr-pāyag būd. 'Ast kē nē b<ūd gōw>ēd'. 4. U-š zadār-kāmagīh *niyām ud ān tārīgīh gyāg. Ast ⁺kē asar-tārīgīh gōwēd.

5. U-šān mayān tuhīgīh būd. Ast kē Way 'gōwēd', kē-š 'nūn' gumēzišn padīš.

6. Har dō 'mēnōg [ī] ⁺kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand', 7. čē 'bālist' ān ī asar-rōšnīh gōwēd, kū nē sarōmand, ud zofr-pāyag ān ī asar-tārīgīh, ud ān ast *akanāragīh. 8. Ud pad wimand har dō kanāragōmand, kū-šān mayān tuhīgīh ud ēk ō did nē paywast hēnd. 9. Did har *dōnān mēnōg pad xwēš tan kanāragōmand.

10. Ud did harwisp-āgāhīh ī Ohrmazd rāy har 'dō tis' andar dānišn ī Ohrmazd, kanāragōmand 'ud akanāragōmand', čē ān ī 'andar' har 'dōnān mēnōg' paymān *dānist.

11. Did bowandag-⁺pādixšāyīh ī dām <▷> Ohrmazd pad tan ī pasēn tā hamē<-ud>-hamē-rawišnīh, ud ān ast akanāragīh.

12. Ud dām ī Ahreman pad ān zamān be *abesihēd, tā ka tan ī pasēn bawēd, ān-iz ast kanāragōmandīh.

say "endless light"} and that omniscience and goodness (is) the *covering of Ohrmazd. {Some say it is the Religion: "Religion" also, both interpretations (i.e. covering and Religion) are one.} That *covering (is for) infinite time, as Ohrmazd and the place and the Religion and the time of Ohrmazd were and are and always will be.

3. Ahreman was deep down in the darkness, in post-knowledge and aggression. {There are those who say, "He was-not".} 4. And the aggression (was) his *covering and that Darkness his place. {Some say "endless darkness"}.

5. And between them there was a void. {Some say "Way [Atmosphere]"}, in which (there is) now the Mixture.

6. Both spirits (were) finite and infinite, 7. for on high (there was) that which is called endless light, which (was) not bounded, and deep down (there was) endless darkness – and that constitutes infiniteness. 8. And at the boundary both (were) finite, in that between them (there was) a void, and they were not connected one with the other. 9. Then again, both spirits (are) finite in themselves.

10. Moreover, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd, both things (were) within the knowledge of Ohrmazd, the finite and the infinite, for He knew (of) the treaty (which would be) between both spirits.

11. Again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Ohrmazd at the Final Body (will be) for ever and ever, and that is infiniteness.

12. And the creatures of Ahreman will be destroyed at that time, so that the Final Body may (come to) be, and that too is finiteness.

13. *Ud Ohrmazd pad harwisp-āgāhīh dānist kū Gannāg Mēnōg ast, 'čē' han-dāzēd ud kunēd, pad arešk-kāmagīh, čiyōn gumēzēd, *az fragān *tā frazām, pad *čē <ud> čand abzārān 'hanjāmēnēd', u-š mēnōgīhā ān dām ī pad ān abzār andar 'abāyist' frāz brēhēnīd.* 14. *Sē-hazār sāl dām pad *mēnōgīh ēstād 'hēnd', kū būd hēnd amenīdār ud arawāg ud agriftār.*

15. *Gannāg Mēnōg pas-dānišnīh rāy az astīh ī Ohrmazd anāgāh būd. Pas az ān +zofr-pāyag 'āxēzīd ud' ō wimand ī dīdār ī rōšnān mad.* 16. *Ud ka-š dīd 'ān ī Ohrmazd rōšnīh', agriftār, *pahruft, zadār-kāmagīh <ud> arešk-gōhrīh rāy pad murnjēnīdan tag abar kard.*

17. *U-š pas °dīd [ud] č'ērīh ud abarwēzīh ī 'freh' az ān ī xwēš, abāz ō tam dwārist <ud> kīrrēnīd was +dēw 'ud druz', ān dām ī murnjēnīdār, ud 'āxist' ō ardīkkarīh.*

18. *Ohrmazd ka-š dām ī Gannāg Mēnōg dīd, [nē] sahist dām ī sahmgen ī pūdag, ī wadag, <ī> dušīh, u-š nē burzīd hēnd.*

19. *Ud pas Gannāg Mēnōg dām ī Ohrmazd dīd, sahist was dām ī *zofr-bun <ī> *hamāg-pursišnīg, u-š burzīd ān ī Ohrmazd dām-dahišnīh.*

20. *Ēg Ohrmazd abāg-iz čē-ēwēnag dānistān [ī dām] ī frazām ī kār ō padīrag ī Gannāg Mēnōg 'šud u-š' āstīh abar dāšt ud guft kū: Gannāg Mēnōg, abar ō dām ī man ayārīh bar ud stāyīšn dah, tā pad ān pādāšn amarg ud azarmān ud asōhišn ud apōhišn bawē.* 21. *U-š čīm ēn kū, agar*

13. And Ohrmazd in (His) omniscience knew that the Evil Spirit exists, what he is planning and doing, in his jealousy, how he will mix (with His, Ohrmazd's, creation), from the beginning till the end, with what and how many instruments he will carry out (his purpose), and (accordingly) He created in spirit those creatures which were necessary to (counter) those instruments. 14. For three thousand years the creatures were in the spirit, in that they were unthinking, unmoving and intangible.

15. The Evil Spirit, on account of his post-knowledge, was ignorant of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose up from that deep level and came to the boundary, (within) sight of the lights. 16. When he saw the Light of Ohrmazd, unattainable, he *attacked, on account of his aggression and jealous nature, (i.e.) he made an attack on (it) to destroy (it).

17. Then he saw valour and victoriously superior to his own, ran back to the Darkness and fashioned many demons and fiends, those destructive creatures, and rose (again) to do battle.

18. When Ohrmazd saw the creatures of the Evil Spirit they seemed (to Him to be) awful, rotten, bad creatures of evilness, and He did not praise them.

19. Then the Evil Spirit saw the creatures of Ohrmazd (and) they seemed (to him to be) very profoundly-based and responsible creatures, and he praised the creation of Ohrmazd.

20. Then Ohrmazd, with His knowledge of the nature of the end of the affair, went to meet the Evil Spirit and proposed peace and said, "Evil Spirit, provide help for my creatures and offer praise, so that as a reward therefor you may become immortal and ageless and without feeling or

*ardīg nē sārēnē xwad nē *agārihē ud
ō-mān har dōnān sūd +abgārē.*

22. *U-š drāyīd Gannāg Mēnōg kū: nē
barom ō dām ī tō ayārīh <ud> nē dahom
stāyišn, bē tō ud dām-iz ī tō +murnjēnom
tā hamē<-ud>-hamē-rawiśnīh. Be hāzem
harwisp dām ī tō ō adōstīh ī tō ud dōstīh ī
man.*

23. *U-š wizārišn ēn kū-š pad ēd dāšt
kū Ohrmazd andar ōy ačārag ʿastʿ, ēd rāy
āstīh pēš dārēd, nē ʿpadīrift u-šʿ padist-iz
abar *burd.*

24. *U-š guft Ohrmazd kū: nē har-
wisp-kardār hē, Gannāg Mēnōg, kū-t man
nē tuwān +murnjēnīdan, ʿu-tʿ dām-iz <ī>
man ēdōn nē tuwān kardan kū abāz ō
xwēšīh <ī> man nē rasēnd.*

25. *Pas Ohrmazd pad harwisp-
āgāhīh dānist kū: agar zamān ī *kārezār-
iš nē ʿdahom ēg-išʿ tuwān kardan pad
dām ī man čiyōn padist abar burd ud
kōxšīšn ud gumēzišn [ī] hamēhā. U-š
andar gumēzišn dām ʿwiyābānēnīdanʿ
<ud> ō xwēš kardan tuwān. Čiyōn nūn-iz
mardōm andar gumēzišn was ʿhēndʿ kē
ʿabārōnīhʿ wēš ʿ+warzēndʿ kū frārōnīh,
kū kāmāg ī Gannāg Mēnōg wēš hamē
warzēnd.*

26. *U-š guft Ohrmazd ō Gannāg
Mēnōg kū: zamān *kun tā kārezār pad ēn
pašn ō nō hazār sāl frāz +abganēm. Čē-š
dānist kū pad ēn zamān ʿkardanʿ +agā-
rēnīd Gannāg Mēnōg.*

27. *Ēg Gannāg Mēnōg awēnāg-fra-
zāmīh rāy pad ān paymānag ham-dāde-
stān būd, ēdōn čiyōn dō mard ʿīʿ ham-
kōxšīšn zamān frāz kunēnd kū[-mān]:
wahmān rōz tā šab kārezār +kunēm.*

decay. 21. And the reason for it (is) this, that if you do not provoke battle you yourself will not become powerless and you will promote benefit for both of us".

22. And the Evil Spirit cried, "I shall not provide help for your creatures and not offer praise, but I shall destroy you and your creatures for ever and ever. I shall lead all your creatures to enmity towards you and friendship towards myself".

23. And the explanation of it (is) this, that he considered that Ohrmazd was powerless against him (and) for this reason He proposed peace, (so) he did not accept it and made the (said) vow.

24. And Ohrmazd said, "You are not omnipotent, Evil Spirit, for you cannot destroy me, nor can you make my creatures so that they will not return to my possession".

25. Then Ohrmazd in (His) omniscience knew that, "If I do not set a time for battle with him, then he will be able to do to my creatures as he has vowed and the strife and the Mixture (will be) eternal. And during the Mixture he will be able to mislead the creatures and make them his own". {As even now, during the Mixture, there are many people who do more evil than good, i.e. (who) carry out the will of the Evil Spirit more.}

26. And Ohrmazd said to the Evil Spirit, "Set a time, so that we may project the battle by this pact till (the end of) nine thousand years". For He knew that by this setting of a time He would (ultimately) render the Evil Spirit powerless.

27. Thereupon the Evil Spirit, because of his inability to foresee the end, agreed to that measure, just as two men, antagonists, set forth a time, (saying), "Let us do battle on such-and-such a day, until night".

28. *Ohrmazd ēn-iz pad harwis-p-āgāhīh dānist kū andar ēn nō hazār 'sāl', sē hazār sāl 'hamē' kāmāg ī Ohrmazd rawēd, sē hazār sāl, andar gumēzišn, kāmāg ī Ohrmazd <ud> Ahreman har dō rawēd, ud 'sē hazār sāl', pad ān ī abdom ardīg, Gannāg Mēnōg agār šāyēd kardan ud az dām petyāragīh abāz dārēd.*

29. *Pas Ohrmazd Ahunawar frāz srūd, kū-š yaθā-ahū-wairyō-ēw, bīst <ud> ēk mārīg be guft, u-š frazām-pērōzīh ī xwēš, ud agārīh ī Gannāg Mēnōg, ud abesīhišn ī dēwān, ud 'ristāxēz' ud tan ī pasēn, ud 'apetyāragīh ī 'dāmān tā' hamē-ud-hamē-rawiśnīh bē ō Gannāg Mēnōg nimūd.* 30. *Gannāg Mēnōg, ka-š agārīh ī xwēš <ud> °abesīhišn ī dēwān hāmīst° dīd, stard ud abōy būd <ud> abāz ō tam ōbast.* 31. *Ōwōn čiyōn pad dēn gōwēd kū, ka-š sē ēk-ēw guft būd Gannāg Mēnōg az bīm tan andar hanjīd, ka-š dō bahr guft būd Gannāg Mēnōg pad šnūg andar ōbast, <ud> ka-š bowandag guft būd 'stard ud' agār būd Gannāg Mēnōg az *anāgīh pad dāmān ī Ohrmazd kardan.*

32. *Sē hazār sāl pad stardīh °sayist. 'Ohrmazd pad stardīh° <†> Ahreman dām dād'.*

33. *Dām-dahiśnīh mēnōgīhā gōwom ud pas gētīgīhā.*

34. *Ohrmazd pēš az dām-dahiśnīh *nē būd °xwadāy ud pas az dām-dahiśnīh xwadāy ud sūd-xwāstār ud frazānag ud jūd-beš ud āškārag ud hamē-rāyēnīdār ud abzōnīg ud harwis-p-nigerīdār būd.*

28. Ohrmazd in His omniscience knew this also that, during these nine thousand years, for three thousand years the will of Ohrmazd would always be current, for three thousand years during the Mixture the wills of both Ohrmazd and Ahreman would be current, and for three thousand years, in the final battle, it would be possible to render the Evil Spirit powerless and He would hold off the evil from (His) creatures.

29. Then Ohrmazd recited the (prayer) *Ahunawar* – that is, He uttered a *yaθā ahū wairyō*, 21 words – and He showed the Evil Spirit His own final victoriousness, and the powerlessness of the Evil Spirit, and the destruction of the demons, and the Resurrection and the Final Body, and the freedom from opposition of the creatures for ever and ever. 30. The Evil Spirit, when he saw his own powerlessness, together with the destruction of all the demons, he became stupefied and unconscious and fell back into the Darkness. 31. {As it says in the Religion: “When He had said one third (of the prayer) the Evil Spirit, from fear, drew his body together, when He had said two parts the Evil Spirit fell to his knees, and when He had said it completely the Evil Spirit became stupefied and powerless to do evil to the creatures of Ohrmazd”.}

32. Three thousand years he laid in stupefaction. During Ahreman’s stupefaction Ohrmazd created the creatures.

33. I shall speak of the creation in its spiritual form and then in its material form.

34. Ohrmazd before the creation was not lord, but after the creation He became lord and benefactor and prescient and countering harm and manifest and ever-arranging and bounteous and all-regarding.

35. *U-š nazdist *yazadān *xwadīh dād, nēk-rawišnīh, ān [ī] mēnōg ī-š tan ī xwēš padīš weh be kard, ka-š *dām-dahišnīh menīd, čē-š az dām-dahišnīh xwadāyīh būd.*

36. *U-š dīd pad rōšn-wēnāgīh Ohrmazd kū Gannāg Mēnōg hagrīz az *petyāragīh nē wardēd, ān *petyāragīh jud pad dām-dahišnīh nē agārīhēd ud dām jud pad zamān rawāgīh nē bawēd, ka zamān brēhēnēd dām-iz ī Ahreman rawāg be bawēd.* 37. *U-š ačāragīhā petyārag agār kardan rāy zamān frāz brēhēnīd.*

38. *U-š čīm ēn kū Gannāg Mēnōg jud pad kārezār nē agārīhēd. Kārezār wizārišn ēn kū kār-ēw pad čār ud *čāra-gōmandīh kardan abāyēd.*

39. *Pas az zamān ī *akanārag zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy frāz dād. Ast kē zamān ī kanāragōmand gōwēd. Az zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy asazišnīh frāz dād; kū tis <▷ Ohrmazd nē sazēd. Az asazišnīh axwārīh-rawišnīh paydāg būd, kū dēwān *xwārīh nē rasēd. Az *axwārīh-rawišnīh mēnōg <▷ a-be-wardišnīh paydāg būd, ān mēnōg kū tis ī Ohrmazd az ān ī pad bundahišn dād nē wardēd. Az mēnōg <▷ a-be-wardišnīh bowandag kāmag ī dām <▷ gēhān paydāg būd, frārōn dām-dahišnīh ud ham-dādestānōmandīh.*

40. *Ahreman pad abārōn dām-dahišnīh ud [adānīh] adādestānīh.*

41. *U-š čīm ud wizārišn ēn kū Ahreman abāg Ohrmazd kōxšīd, <▷ xwadāy, ud frazānagīh ud hamagīh ud pahlomīh*

35. And first He created the essence of the gods, goodness, that spirit by which He made himself better, when He conceived the creation, for His lordship arose from the creation.

36. And with His clear-sightedness Ohrmazd saw that the Evil Spirit would never turn from his onslaught, that that onslaught could not be made powerless except by the creation, and that for the creatures there would be no currency without time, (and) that once created time the creatures of Ahreman would also become current. 37. So, of necessity, in order to render the onslaught powerless, He created time.

38. And its reason (was) this, that the Evil Spirit could not be made powerless except by battle. {The meaning of *kārezār* (is) that it is necessary to do a deed (*kār-ēw*) by some means (*čār*) and by taking measures.}

39. Then from Infinite Time He fashioned forth "Time of long dominion". {Some say "Finite Time".} From Time of long dominion He created forth imperishability; that is, the things of Ohrmazd do not perish. From imperishability *unblissfulness was manifested, that *bliss should not reach the demons. From *unblissfulness the spirit of immutability was manifested, that spirit whereby the things of Ohrmazd do not change from that (condition in which) they were created at the primal creation. From the spirit of immutability the complete will for the creatures of the world was manifested, (i.e.) the righteous creation and *Harmony.

40. Ahreman (willed) an unrighteous creation and *discord.

41. And the reason and the explanation of it (was) this, that Ahreman strove with Ohrmazd, who (is) lord, and the prescience

ud asazišnīh ī Ohrmazd ud agārīh ud xwad-dōšagīh ud apahlomīh <ud> pas-dānišnīh ī Gannāg Mēnōg ō paydāgīh mad ka-š dām dād.

42. *Čē zamān-iz ī dagrand-xwadāy nazdist dām ī-š frāz brēhēnīd, čē akanārag būd pēš az gumēzišnīh, <ī> hamēih, [ī] *ud Ohrmazd kanāragōmand brēhēnīd az ān *akanāragīh, kū az bundahišn ka dām dād tā ō frazām, kū Gannāg Mēnōg agār bawēd, paymānag-ēw <ī> dawāzdah hazār sāl, kū kanāragōmand, ud pas ō akanāragōmandīh gumēzēd ud wardēd, kū dām-iz ī Ohrmazd abēzagīhā abāg Ohrmazd hamēig bawēnd.*

43. *Čiyōn gōwēd pad dēn kū: zamān ōzōmandtar az har dōnān dāmān, dām ī Ohrmazd ud ān-iz ī Gannāg Mēnōg. Zamān handāzag ō kār <ud> dādestān. Zamān az ayābagān ayābagtar. Zamān az pursišnīgān pursišnīgtar, kū wizīr pad zamān +šāyēd kardan. *Zamān-mān ab-ganihēd ī brīn, pad zamān-iz *dēsīdag frāz škihēd. Ud kas az ōy nē bōxtēd az *ōšōmandān mardomān, nē ka ō *ulih wāzēd, nē ka ō nigūnīh *čāh-ēw +kanēd ud andar nišīnēd, nē ka azēr xān ī ābān ī sard frōd wardēd.*

44. *Ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš xwadīh, az gētīg rōšnīh, kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš frāz brēhēnīd pad ātaxš kirb ī rōšn ī spēd ud gird <ud> frāz paydāg. 45. Az gētīg ī ān mēnōg kē petyārag ī andar har dō dām *aziš be +burd, ast tuwān ast zamān, ā-š kirb ī Way <ī> weh frāz brēhēnīd čiyōn Way +abāyist. Ast kē Way ī dagrand-xwadāy gōwēd. 46. U-š dām pad ayārīh <ī> Way ī +dagrand-xwadāy frāz brēhēnīd, čē ka-š dām-iz dād Way-iz abzār-ēw ī-š pad kār andar +abāyist.*

and universality and supremacy and imperishability of Ohrmazd, and the powerlessness and self-will and inferiority and post-knowledge of the Evil Spirit became manifest when He created the creatures.

42. For Time of long dominion was the first creation which He fashioned forth, for before the Mixture (time) was infinite, which is eternity, and Ohrmazd fashioned (it) finite from that infinity, in that from the primal creation, when the creatures were created, till the end, when the Evil Spirit will be powerless, is a measure of twelve thousand years, which is finite, and then it mixes with and turns into infinity, for the creatures of Ohrmazd will become eternal in purity with Ohrmazd.

43. {As it says in the Religion, “Time is more powerful than both creations, the creation of Ohrmazd and that also of the Evil Spirit. Time is the measure for work and justice. Time is the most acquisitive of all. Time is the most responsible of all, in that it is possible to make a decision in time. A fixed time is laid down for us (and) in time also that which is *built breaks down. And no one escapes from it of mortal men, not if he flies upwards, not if he digs a pit downwards and sits in it, (and) not (even) if he goes down beneath the source of the cold waters.}

44. Ohrmazd fashioned forth from His own essence, from material light, the forms of His own creatures, in the form of fire, bright, white, round and manifest from afar. 45. From the material (form) of that spirit which carried the evil in both creations away from them {(some say) “it is Power”, (some) “Time”}. He then fashioned forth the form of the Good Way, for Way was needed. {Some say “Way of long dominion”}. 46. And He fashioned forth the creatures with the aid of Way of

47. *Gannāg Mēnōg az gētīg tārīgih ān ī xwēš-tan dām frāz kirrēnīd pad *wazay kirb ī *siyā ī *ādurestarēn ī tām-arzānīg <ī> druwand, čiyōn bazag-axwtar xrafstar.* 48. *U-š az gētīg xwad-dōšagih waran *pāygirb frāz kirrēnīd čiyōn waran *abāyist.*

49. *U-š nazdist dēwān xwadīh dād, duš-rawiṣnīh, ān mēnōg ī-š gannāgih ī dāmān ī Ohrmazd aziš būd, čē-š az gētīg tārīgih [ān ī asar tārīgih °dād, az asar-tārīgih °] drō-gōwiṣnīh frāz būd; az <drō-gōwiṣnīh> anāgih ī ōy Gannāg Mēnōg paydāg būd, čē-š ān dām dād ī-š xwēš-tan padiš wattar be kard, kū agār be bawēd, čē az asar-[ī]-tārīgih ān kirb frāz kirrēnīd, u-š xwēš dām andar ān kirb be dād. Az ān ī xwēš dām-dahiṣnīh agār bawēd.*

50. *Ohrmazd az gētīg rōšnīh rāst-gōwiṣnīh <dād> ud az rāst-gōwiṣnīh abzōnīgih ī dādār paydāg būd <pad> dām-dahiṣnīh, čē-š *āθrō-kerpa az asar-rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd. Ud dām-iz hamāg andar āθrō-kerpa be dād. Āθrō-kerpa <az> zamān sazišn judāg būd. Ud az āθrō-kerpa Ahunawar frāz būd, mēnōg ī yaθā-ahū-⁺wairyō kē-š *bun-dahiṣnīh ud frazām ī dām aziš paydāg. Ast dēn, čiyōn dēn abāg dām-dahiṣnīh dahīhist. Az Ahunawar mēnōg <ī> sāl frāz būd, kē andar gumēzišn nūn nēm-rōšn nēm-tārīg sēsad ud šast ud panj rōz-šabān, kē brīn ī zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy.* 51. *U-š har dō dām pad kōxšišn padiš rawāg būd.*

long dominion, for when He created the creatures Way too was one of the instruments He needed for the work.

47. The Evil Spirit fashioned forth his own creatures from material darkness, in the form of a frog, black, ashy, worthy of darkness, (and) evil, like the most sinful-natured *xrafstar*. 48. And from material self-will he fashioned forth the form of Waran [Lust], for he needed Waran.

49. And first he created the essence of the demons, evilness, that spirit from which the corruption came to the creatures of Ohrmazd; for from material darkness proceeded lying speech; from lying speech the evilness of that Evil Spirit was manifested, for he created that creation by which he made himself worse, in that he will become powerless, for from endless darkness he fashioned forth that form and he created his own creatures in that form. From his own creation he will become powerless.

50. Ohrmazd created truthful speech from material light, and from truthful speech the bounteousness of the creator became manifest at the creation, for He fashioned forth the “form of fire” from endless light. And all creation also was created in the “form of fire”. The “form of fire” was separate from the passing of time. And from the “form of fire” the *Ahunawar* came forth, the spirit of *yaθā ahū wairyō*, from which the primal creation and the end of creation is manifest. {That is, the Religion, since the Religion was created with the material creation.} From the *Ahunawar* the spirit of the year came forth, which now, during the Mixture, (is) half light, half dark, of three hundred and sixty five days and nights, which is the delimitation of the Time of long dominion. 51. And both creations became current in it in (a state of) strife.

52. Čiyōn guft, dām ī Ohrmazd pad xwadāyīh ud dastwarīh <ud> +dādestā-nōmandīh <ud> bālīstīh pad *xwāhrīh ēstād; ud dām ī Gannāg Mēnōg pad čērīh ud stahmīh ud wināhgārīh <ud> *zofāyīh pad *axwārīh ēstād.

53. Ud Ohrmazd pad amahraspandān brīnōmand mad ka-š dād būd hēnd. Ay ēdar-iš abāz ō gētīg +abāyist dādan, u-š nōgtar, pad tan ī pasēn, anāgīh aziš be [abēdā] burdan <abēdān>. U-š dām ī mēnōg mēnōgīhā dārēd. U-š dām ī gētīg mēnōgīhā dād u-š did bē ō gētīg dād. U-š nazdist amahraspandān dād, haft bun, pas abārig, ān ī haftom xwad Ohrmazd. Az dām ī gētīg <ī> pad mēnōg dād nazdist šaš, ān ī haftom xwad būd, čē Ohrmazd har dō ast, mēnōg <ud gētīg>. Nazdist gētīg az amahraspandān ud pas az Way ī dagrand-xwadāy.

53a. Nazdist Wahman frāz brēhēnīd, kē-š rawāgīh ī dām ī Ohrmazd aziš būd. [Ud Gannāg Mēnōg nazdist miθōxtīhā Akōman 'dād, Ohrmazd' az dām ī gētīg nazdist asmān] u-š Wahman āz nek-ravišnīh <ud> gētīg [ī] rōšnīh nazdist frāz brēhēnīd, kē-š dēn <ī> weh ī +maz-dēs-nān abāg būd. Ēn kū ān ī ō dām rasēd tā frašagird ā-š dānist. Pas Ardwaḥišt ud pas Šahrewar ud pas Spandarmad ud pas Hordād 'ud pas' Amurdād brēhēnīd, haftom xwad Ohrmazd, haštom rāst-gō-wišnīh, nohom *Srōšahlā, dahom Mān-θraspand, yāzdahom Nēryōsang, dawāz-dahom Rad ī Buland, Raθβō Berezet, sēzdahom Rašn ī rāst, čahārdahom Mihr ī *frāx-gōyōt, panzdahom +Ahlišwang ī weh, šāzdahom Pārand, haftdahom

52. As it was said: The creatures of Ohrmazd were in blissfulness by (virtue of His) lordship and authority and justice and exaltedness; and the creatures of the Evil Spirit were in distress by (virtue of his) boldness and oppression and sinfulness and lowliness.

53. And Ohrmazd became possessed of a delimitation through the Amahraspands when He had created them. That is, He needed to create (them) here, for the material world, and latterly, at the Final Body, (they) will be *wanted to take evilness away from it. And He maintains His spiritual creation spiritually. And the material creatures He created spiritually and then again for the material world. And first He created the Amahraspands, seven principles and then the rest, the seventh Ohrmazd Himself. From the material creatures, created in the spirit, (there were) first six, the seventh was Himself, for Ohrmazd is both, spiritual and material. {The material world (is) first from the Amahraspands, and then from Way of long dominion.}

53a. First Wahman was fashioned forth, from whom was the currency of Ohrmazd's creatures. First He fashioned forth Wahman from goodness and material light, with whom was the Good Religion of the Mazda-worshippers. {(Meaning) this, that that which would happen to the creatures till the Renovation, then he knew (it).} Then He created Ardwaḥišt and then Šahrewar and then Spandarmad and then Hordād and then Amurdād. The seventh (was) Ohrmazd Himself, the eighth truthful speech, ninth the righteous Srōš, tenth Mānθraspand, eleventh Nēryōsang, twelfth the Exalted Judge {Raθβō Berezet}, thirteenth the just Rašn, fourteenth Mihr of wide pastures, fifteenth the good Ahlišwang, sixteenth Pārand, seven-

*xwāb, haštadahom wād, nōzdahom
 +dādestānōmandih, bīstom pahikār,
 *pēšēmāl-ud-pasēmālīh, <ɪ> āštīh-ab-
 zōnīg.

54. Az dām ī gētīg nazdist asmān,
 dudīgar āb, sidīgar zamīg, čahārom ur-
 war, pañjom gōspand, šašom mardōm ud
 haftom xwad Ohrmazd. U-š dām [ī] pad
 ayārīh ī Way ī dagrand-xwadāy frāz brē-
 hēnīd, čē ka-š Way ī dagrand-xwadāy frāz
 brēhēnīd ōy-iz abzār-ēw būd ī-š pad
 dām-dahišnīh andar +abāyist.

55. Gannāg Mēnōg pad ān petyāra-
 gōmandih az kamālīgān dēwān nazdist
 Akōman frāz kirrēnīd, pas Indar, pas Sa-
 war, pas *Nānghēθ, [ud pas] <ɪ> Tarō-
 mad, pas Tarwiz ud Zērīz, ud pas abārī-
 gān dēwān, haftom xwad Gannāg Mēnōg.

56. Gannāg Mēnōg hagrīz tis ī frārōn
 nē menēd ud nē gōwēd <ud> nē kunēd, u-š
 nēkīh ī dām <ɪ> Ohrmazd nē abāyēd [dām
 ī Ohrmazd nēkīh ī dām ī Ahreman nē
 abāyēd].

57. Ohrmazd ān tis nē menēd ī-š
 kardan nē tuwān ud Gannāg Mēnōg ān ī-š
 nē tuwān kardan menēd ud *padīst-iz
 abar *barēd.

58. Dām ī Ohrmazd pad mēnōgīh
 ēdōn parward kū *pīhīh ēstād, amenīdār
 ud agrīfīār ud arawāg, čiyōn šuhr ho-
 māmāg, ud pas az *pīhīh gumēzagīh, šuhr
 <ud> xōn homāmāg. Pas az gumēzagīh
 xwurdagīh būd, *daštag-ēw homāmāg.
 Pas az xwurdagīh wiškīdagīh *būd, dast
 ud pāy. Pas az wiškīdagīh gabrīh būd,
 čašm ud gōš ud dahan. Pas az gabrīh
 *čandišn būd, ka bē *ō *rawīšn ēstād.
 Nūn-iz pad gētīg pad ān hangōšīdag an-
 dar aškomb ī mādar hambōšēnd ud zā-
 yēnd ud *parwarīhēnd.

teenth sleep, eighteenth the wind, nine-
 teenth justice, twentieth dispute {the state
 of there being plaintiff and defendant,
 which increases reconciliation.}

54. Of the material creations the first
 (was) the sky, the second water, the third the
 earth, the fourth plants, the fifth cattle, the
 sixth mankind and the seventh (was) Ohr-
 mazd Himself. And He fashioned forth the
 creation with the aid of Way of long do-
 minion, for when He fashioned forth Way
 of long dominion he too was an instru-
 ment which He needed for the creation.

55. The Evil Spirit, in that aggressive-
 ness, of the chief demons first fashioned
 forth Akoman, then Indar, then Sawar, then
 *Nānghēθ, who (is) Tarōmad, then Tar-
 wiz and Zērīz, and then the other demons,
 the seventh (being) the Evil Spirit himself.

56. The Evil Spirit never thinks and
 never speaks and never does a righteous
 thing and he does not need the good of the
 creation of Ohrmazd.

57. Ohrmazd does not think of a thing
 which He cannot do and the Evil Spirit
 does think of a thing which he cannot do
 and moreover vows (to do it).

58. The creation of Ohrmazd was nur-
 tured in the spirit so that a (kind of) fatness
 resulted, unthinking, intangible, immo-
 bile, like semen, and after the fatness there
 was a mixed state, as of semen and blood.
 After the mixed state there was a micro-
 cosm, like a little plane. After the micro-
 cosm there was separation, (as of) hands
 and feet. After the separation there was
 “hollowness”, (as of) eyes and ears and
 mouth. After the “hollowness” there was
 a tremor, when it began to move. Now too,
 in the world, in that same way (people) are
 conceived in their mother’s womb and are
 born and nourished.

59. *Ohrmazd pad dām-dahišnīh mādarīh ud pidarīh ī dahišn ast, čē ka-š dām pad mēnōg parward ān būd mādarīh, ka-š bē ō gētīg dād ān būd pidarīh.*

Chapter 1a

0. *Abar dām-dahišnīh ī gētīgihā.*

1. *Ka Gannāg Mēnōg stardīhā agār būd, čiyōn-am abar nibišt, sē hazār sāl pad stardīh sayist.* 2. *Andar ān agārīh *ī ōy Gannāg Mēnōg, Ohrmazd dām ō gētīg brēhēnīd, čē-š <az> asar-rōšnīh ātaxš, ud az ātaxš wād, ud az wād āb, ud az āb zamīg, harwisp astōmandīh <ī> gētīg, frāz brēhēnīd.*

3. *Čiyōn gōwēd pad dēn kū fradom dām hamāg āb-ēw srešk-ēw būd; kū hamāg az āb būd jud <az> tōhm ī mardōmān ud gōspandān čē ān tōhm ātaxš tōhm [ī].*

4. *U-š nazdist asmān dād pad abāz dārišnīh. Ast kē fradom gōwēd. Dudīgar āb dād pad zadan ī tišn druz. Sidīgar zamīg dād, harwisp astōmandīh. Čahārom urwar dād ō ayārīh °ī gōspand hudāhag. Panjom [ō] gōspand <ō> ayārīh° <ī> mard ī ahlaw. Šasom mard ī ahlaw dād ō zadārīh ud agārīh <ī> Gannāg Mēnōg ud hāmīst dēwān. U-š pas ātaxš dād, xwarg, u-š brāh az asar-rōšnīh awiš paywast, ēdōn kirb ī weh čiyōn ātaxš kāmāg. Ud aziš pas wād brēhēnīd pad mard kirb ī gušn ī pānzdah-sālag kē ēn āb ud urwar ud gōspand ud mard ī ahlaw, har tis-ēw *barēd <ud> dārēd.*

59. Ohrmazd, in the act of creation, has both motherhood and fatherhood of the creation, for when He nourished the creatures in the spirit that was motherhood, when He created them in the material world that was fatherhood.

0. Concerning the creation of material things.

1. When the Evil Spirit, stupefied, became powerless, as I have written above, he laid in stupefaction for three thousand years. 2. During that powerlessness of the Evil Spirit, Ohrmazd fashioned the creatures for the material world, for He fashioned forth fire from the Endless Light, wind from the fire, water from the wind, and from the water the earth, all the materiality of the world.

3. As it says in the Religion, that at first the creation was all one drop of water; i.e. it was all from water except the seed of men and cattle, for that seed is the seed of fire.

4. And He created first the sky, for restraint. {Some call it “The first (thing)”}. Second He created the water, to smite the demon Thirst. Third He created the earth, all the materiality. Fourth He created plants, in aid of the beneficent cattle. Fifth (He created) cattle, in aid of righteous men. Sixth He created righteous men to smite and (render) powerless the Evil Spirit and all the demons. And then He created fire as live coals, and joined brilliance to it from the endless light, as well-formed as was the fire’s wish. And thereafter He fashioned the wind in human form, a youth of 15 years, to bear and maintain this water and plants and cattle and righteous men, everything.

5. *U-šān čiyōnīh gōwom.*

6. *Nazdist asmān dād rōšn-paydāgīh, abēr dūr ud *xāyag-dēs, *xwēnāhan ī ast gōhr almāst, ī nar, u-š sar bē ō asar rōšn paywast. U-š dām hamāg andarōn ī asmān be dād āwahan homānāg, drubušt kē-š har abzār ī pad kōxšišn andar abāyēd andarōn nihād ēstēd, ayāb mān homānāg kē har tis andar mānēd. Fragān bun ī asmān čand-iš pahnāy ān-iš drahnāy, čand-iš drahnāy ān-iš *bālāy °ud *čand-iš *bālāy° ān-iš *zahā hamōg-handāz.*
6a. **Xūb-sān warzwar homānāg menišnōmand, gōwišnōmand, kunišnōmand ud āgāh, abzōnīg, wizīdār mēnōg <ī> asmān. U-š *padīrīft drubuštīh az Gan-nāg Mēnōg kū abāz dwāristan nē hišt. Čiyōn gurd ī artēštār kē +zrēh-ēw paymōxt ēstēd kū abēbīmīhā az kārēzār *bōzēd mēnōg ī asmān asmān ēdōn dārēd.* 6b. *U-š dād ō ayārīh ī asmān *urwāhmanīh. Čē-š urwāhmanīh padīš frāz brēhēnīd kē nūn-iz andar gumēzagīh dām pad urwāhmanīh andar ēstēd.*

7. *Dudīgar az gōhr ī asmān āb brēhēnīd. *Čiyōn ka mard-ēw dō dast ō zamīg hilēd, pad dast ud pāy rawēd ā-š tā aškamb āb be ēstēd pad ān bālāy āb be tazēd. U-š dād ō ayārīh wād <ud> wārān. Kē *miznē ud snōyān ud snēzag.*

8. *Sidīgar °az āb° zamīg dād gird, dūr-widarag ud a-nišēb ud an-abrāz ud hamōg, drahnāy abāg pahnāy ud pahnāy abāg *zahā rāst mayān ī ēn asmān be winārd.*

9. *Čiyōn gōwēd kū-š nazdist sē ēk ēn zamīg frāz brēhēnīd sāxt čiyōn sangsār, dudīgar sē ēk ēn zamīg frāz brēhēnīd [ud] arzan-āgand, sidīgar sē ēk ēn zamīg frāz brēhēnīd wēm tangīrag.*

5. And I shall state their nature.

6. First was created the sky, of bright appearance, very distant, egg-like, (made of) shining metal whose substance is steel, male and its top connected to the Endless Lights. And he created all the creatures within the sky, like a castle, a fortress in which all the implements needed for a conflict have been placed, or like a house in which everything dwells. The foundation {base} of the sky is as wide as it is long, as long as it is high, and as high as it is deep, of *even measure. 6a. Like a workman of good kind, the Spirit of the Sky (is) endowed with thought, speech and action, aware, bountiful and discriminating. And it accepted to be like a fortress against the Evil Spirit {that is: it did not let (him) run back}. Like a heroic warrior who has put on an armour, that he may come through the battle without fear, so the Spirit of the Sky has the sky on. 6b. And in aid of the sky He created joy. {In that joy was fashioned forth in it, wherein even now during the Mixture creation lives in joy.}

7. Second he fashioned water from the substance of the sky. As when a man places his two hands on the ground and walks on hands and feet, then the water rises to his belly, so deep did the water flow. And in aid of (the water) he created wind and rain. {Which (means) mist, rain-clouds and snow.}

8. Third from the water he created the earth, round, with far(-going) ways, free of declivity and acclivity, uniform (i.e.) its length equal to its width, and its width to its depth, established in the middle of the sky.

9. As it says, that first He fashioned forth one third of this earth hard, like a *stony place, second He fashioned forth one third of this earth filled with *seed,

10. *U-š gōhr andar zamīg be dād kōfthā kē pas az ān waxšīd <ud> rust hēnd az zamīg. U-š dād ō ayārīh <ī> zamīg āhan, rōy, gōgird, bōrag, gač harwisp-iz ān ī sāxt zamīg tōhmag jud az asdār čē jud-tōhmag hēnd. Owōn sāxt brēhēnīd zamīg pad homānāg ī mard-ēw ka-š jāmag jāmag kust pad tan sāxt andar kard ēstēd. Ud azēr ēn zamīg hamāg gyāg āb be ēstēd.*

11. *Čahārom urwar dād nazdist ō mayān ī ēn zamīg abar rust čand *pāy bālāy, abē-azg, abē-pōst, abē-xār ud tarr ud šīrēn u-š wisp sardag zūr ī urwarān andar čīhr dāšt. U-š dād ō ayārīh <ī> urwar āb ud ātaxš, čē har ēwan-ēw <ī> urwarān āb-ēw srešk pad sar <ud> ātaxš čahār angust pēš. Pad ān zūr hamē rust.*

12. *Panjom gāw ī ēk-dād brēhēnīd andar ērānwēz pad mayānag <ī> gēhān pad *bār *ī rōd ī Weh Dāiti kū mayānag ī gēhān. Spēd <ud> rōšn būd čiyōn māh, kē-š bālāy sē nāy paymānīg. U-š dād ō ayārīh <ī> gāw ī ēk-dād > āb <ud> urwar čē-š andar gumēzišn zūr ud waxšīšn az ēn bawēd.*

13. *Šasom Gayōmarθ brēhēnīd rōšn čiyōn xwaršēd, u-š čahār nāy paymānīg bālāy būd, pahnāy čiyōn + bālāy rāst pad *bār ī rōd ī Dāiti kū mayānag <ī> gēhān ēstēd. Gayōmarθ pad hōy arg, gāw pad dašn arg u-šān dūrīh ēk az did, dūrīh-iz az āb <ī> Dāiti čand bālāy <ī> xwēš būd. Čāsmōmand ud gōšōmand <ud> *uzwā-nōmand <ud> daxšagōmand būd. Gayōmarθ daxšagōmandīh ēd kū mardōm az ōy tōhmag pad ān hangōšīdag zād hēnd.*

third He fashioned forth one third of this earth (like) a *cauldron of rock.

10. And he created the substance in the earth, the mountains which afterwards waxed and grew out of the earth. And in aid of the earth he created iron, copper, sulphur, borax, lime {everything of the seed of hard earth, except for *fossils which are of a different seed}. He fashioned the earth so hard in the manner of a man when he holds garments close on all sides of his body. Beneath this earth there is water everywhere.

11. Fourth He created the Plant. First it grew up in the middle of this earth to a height of some feet, without branches nor bark nor thorns, and moist and sweet, and it had every kind of potency of plants in its nature. And in aid of the Plant he created water and fire {for every plant-stem has a drop of water at its head and fire four fingers down. It grows by that power}.

12. Fifth he fashioned the sole-created Ox in Ērānwēz, in the middle of the earth, on the bank of the river Weh Dāiti {i.e. the middle of the earth}. It was white and bright like the moon, its height (being that of) three average reeds. And in aid of the sole-created Ox he created water and plants for during the Mixture its power and growth is from these.

13. Sixth he fashioned Gayōmarθ bright as the sun, and his height was of four average reeds, his width equal to his height, on the bank of the river Dāiti {i.e. in the middle of the earth. Gayōmarθ (was) on the left bank, the Ox on the right bank, and their distance one from the other and also their distance from the waters of the Dāiti, was as much as their heights. He was possessed of eyes and ears and tongue and a mark. {Gayōmarθ's possession of a mark

13a. *U-š dād ō ayārīh <ī Gayōmarθ> xwāb āsānīh dādār čē Ohrmazd ān xwāb frāz brēhēnīd pad mard kirb, ī buland, ī pānzdah-sālag ī rōšn. U-š Gayōmarθ abāg gāw az zamīg brēhēnīd u-š az rōšnīh ud zargōnīh <ī> asmān šuhr <ī> mardōmān ud gāwān frāz brēhēnīd čiyōn ēn dō šuhr ātaxš tōhmag, °nē āb tōhmag°. Pad tan ī gāw ud Gayōmarθ be dād tā-š purr-rawišnīh <ī> mardōmān <ud> gōspandān aziš būd.*

14. *U-š ēn šaš dahišn pad šaš gāh <ī> gāhānbār be dād. Pad sāl-ēw hangārd sēsad ud šast ud pañj rōz, dawāzdah mähīgān; har mäh-ēw sih rōz, mäh-ēw sih ud pañj rōz. Har rōz-ēw nām *ī amahraspand-ēw padīš nihād.*

15. *U-š čiyōnīh gōwom.*

16. *Nazdist asmān brēhēnīd pad čehel rōz čiyōn az rōz ī Ohrmazd <ī> mäh <ī> Frawardīn tā rōz ī Ābān <ī> mäh <ī> Ardwahišt. Pañj rōz abar pād tā rōz ī Day pad Mihr. Ān pañj rōz ī gāhānbār, u-š nām Mēdyōzarm, u-š wizārišn ēn kū māništ ī mihr ud *mäh ud zargōnīh ō paydāgīh mad.*

17. *Dudīgar āb dād pad pañjāh ud pañj rōz čiyōn az rōz <ī> Mihr ī mäh <ī> Ardwahišt tā rōz ī Ābān ī mäh <ī> Tīr. Pañj rōz abar pād, tā rōz ī Day-pad-Mihr. Ān pañj rōz <ī> gāhānbār, u-š nām Mēdyōšam, kē-š wizārišn ēn kū-š āb rōšn be kard, čē nazdist tērag būd.*

(was) this that men have been born from his seed in that manner.}

13a. And in aid of Gayōmarθ He created sleep, the giver of rest {for Ohrmazd fashioned forth that sleep in human form, tall, fifteen years of age, and bright}. And he fashioned Gayōmarθ, together with the Ox, from the earth. And from the light and yellowness of the sky He fashioned forth the sperm of men and oxen {since these two sperms are of the seed of fire, not of the seed of water}. He created (them) in the bodies of the Ox and Gayōmarθ so that the multitude of mankind and cattle were (produced) from them.

14. And he created these six creations in the six periods of the Gāhānbārs. (And) in a year were reckoned three hundred and sixty five days (and) twelve months; each month of thirty days (and) one month of thirty five days, each day having the name of an Amahraspand put to it.

15. And I shall state the nature of it.

16. First he fashioned the sky in forty days, viz. from the day Ohrmazd of the month Frawardīn (1/1) till the day Ābān of the month Ardwahišt (10/2). Five days he waited, till the day Day-pad-Mihr (15/2). Those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār, and its name (is) Mēdyōzarm, and its explanation (is) this that the abode of the sun and the moon and verdancy became evident.

17. Second He created the water in fifty-five days, viz. from the day Mihr of the month Ardwahišt (16/2) till the day Ābān of the month Tīr (10/4). Five days he waited, till the day Day-pad-Mihr (15/4). Those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār, and its name (is) Mēdyōšam, the explanation of which (is) this, that he made the water bright, which at first was dark.

18. *Sidigar zamīg dād pad haftād rōz čiyōn az rōz <† Mihr ī māh <† Tīr tā rōz <† Ard ī māh ī Šahrewar. Ān panj rōz abar pād tā rōz <† Anagrān. Ān panj rōz <† gāhānbār, u-š nām Pētiššah, u-š wizārišn ēn kū pay ud rawišn ī dāmān pad zamīg paydāg be kard.*

19. *Čahārom urwar dād pad wīst ud panj rōz <† čiyōn az rōz ī Ohrmazd ī māh ī Mihr, tā rōz ī Ard ī māh ī Mihr>. °Panj rōz° abar pād tā rōz <† Anagrān. Ud ān panj rōz <† gāhānbār, u-š nām Ayāθrim kē-š wizārišn ēn kū warg ud bōy ud gōnag ud zargōnih paydāg būd.*

20. *Panjom gōspand dād pad haftād ud panj rōz čiyōn az rōz ī Ohrmazd <† māh <† Ābān tā rōz ī Day-pad-Mihr ī māh <† Day. Panj rōz abar pād <† tā rōz ī Wahrām>. Ān panj rōz <† gāhānbār, u-š nām *Mēdyāirim kē-š wizārišn ēn kū *hambār ī zamēstān [†] dāmān ī xwēš rāy paydāg be kard.*

21. *Šašom mardōm dād, kū Gayōmarθ, haftād rōz čiyōn az rōz <† Rām ī māh <† Day tā rōz <† Anagrān <† māh <† Spandarmad. Panj rōz abar pād <† tā rōz ī Wahištōišt>. Ān panj rōz ī gāhānbār, ast kē ān panj rōz <† truftag, ast kē duzīdag gōwed u-š nām *Hamaspaθmaidim, kē-š wizārišn ēn kū hamspāh-rawiśnih pad gētiḡ paydāg būd čē Frawahr ī mardōmān pad hāmspāhīh raft hēnd.*

22. *Ud nām ī ān panj rōz ī truftag ast kē panj gāh ī gāhānīg, ast kē panjag ī weh*

18. Third He created the earth in seventy days, viz. from the day Mihr of the month Tīr (16/4) till the day Ard of the month Šahrewar (25/6). Five days He waited, till the day Anagrān (30/6). Those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār, and its name (is) Pētiššah, and its explanation (is) this that he made manifest the tracks and the going of the creatures on the earth.

19. Fourth He created the Plant in twenty-five days, viz. from the day Ohrmazd of the month Mihr (1/7) till the day Ard (25/7) of the month Mihr. Five days he waited, till the day Anagrān (30/7). And those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār, and its name (is) Ayāθrim, the explanation of which (is) this, that leaves and scent and colour and verdancy became manifest.

20. Fifth He created cattle in seventy-five days, viz. from the day Ohrmazd of the month Ābān (1/8) till the day Day-pad-Mihr of the month Day (15/10). Five days he waited, till the day Wahrām (20/10). Those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār, and its name (is) Mēdyāirim, the explanation of which (is) this, that He made manifest the winter store for his creatures.

21. Sixth He created man {namely Gayōmarθ} in seventy days, viz. from the day Rām of the month Day (21/10) till the day Anagrān of the month Spandarmad (30/12). Five days he waited, till the day Wahištōišt. Those (are) the five days of the Gāhānbār {some call them the five “stolen” days, some “thieved”} and its name (is) Hamaspaθmaidim, the explanation of which (is) this, that assembling in hosts became manifest in the world, for the Frawahrs of men have gone in assembled hosts.

22. And the names of those five stolen days {some call them “the five gathic

*gōwēd, pad dēnīg ēn ast Ahunawait gāh, Uštawait gāh, *Spantmat gāh, Wohušaθr gāh, Wahištōišť gāh.*

23. *Ān sīh rōz pad mähīgān-ēw nihād ēstēd u-š nām: rōz Ohrmazd, Wahman, Ardwhišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordād, Amurdād, Day, Ādur, Ābān, Xwar, Māh, Tīr, Gōš, Day, Mihr, Srōš, Rašn, Frawardīn, Wahrām, Rām, Wād, Day, Dēn, Ard, Aštād, Asmān, Zāmyād, Māraspand, Anagrān.*

24. *Ud ān ī dawāzdah mähīgān nām az ham Amahraspandān: mäh Frawardīn, mäh Ardwhišt, mäh Hordād, mäh Tīr, mäh Amurdād, mäh Šahrewar, mäh Mihr, mäh Ābān, mäh Ādur, mäh Day, mäh Wahman, mäh Spandarmad.*

25. *U-šān čiyōnīh ēk-ēk frāztar gōwom.*

times”, some “the good pentad”} in (the language of the) Religion are these: Ahunawait time, Uštawait time, *Spantmat time, Wohušaθr time, Wahištōišť time.

23. Those thirty days have been put into a month and their names (are these): day Ohrmazd, Wahman, Ardwhišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmad, Hordād, Amurdād, Day, Ādur, Ābān, Xwar, Māh, Tīr, Gōš, Day, Mihr, Srōš, Rašn, Frawardīn, Wahrām, Rām, Wād, Day, Dēn, Ard, Aštād, Asmān, Zāmyād, Māraspand, Anagrān.

24. And the names of the twelve months from the same Amahraspands (are): month Frawardīn, month Ardwhišt, month Hordād, month Tīr, month Amurdād, month Šahrewar, month Mihr, month Ābān, month Ādur, month Day, month Wahman, month Spandarmad.

25. And I shall speak further of their nature one by one.

APPARATUS

- 1.0 *ān* <ī> *zand āgāhīh*: GB ZK *znd* 'k'sy; K *znd* Y 'k's Y; M MN (added in marg.) *znd* 'k's Y. *buništīh*: both *bwnyhty*; IB both *bwnthyšnyh*. *mazdēsān*: T *m'st'n*; D *m'syt'n*. *gēhān*: both as *s'n*. *wizārišn* ī: D *wc'lsn* Y; T *wc'lsnyh*. *čēh*: both MEš.
- 1.1 *paydāg*: T adds Y. *harwisp*: T *hlwsp*; D generally *hlwsp*.
- 1.2 *niyāmag*: both MSS in both occurrences *yd'mk*. *gōwēd*: K YMLLWNyt; M YMRRWNd. *būd ud ast ud hamē bawēd*: GB reads instead: YHWWNt HWEEd.
- 1.3 *tārīgīh*: T *t'lykyh*; D *t'lyk*. *zadār-kāmagīh*: GB both *-k'myh*.
- 1.4 *niyām*: MSS *yd'm*. *b<ūd gōw>ēd*: MSS YHWWNyt.
- 1.5 *būd*: D YHWWNt; T YHWWNyt. *gōwēd*: IB both YMRWNd. *nūn*: M only.
- 1.6 *mēnōg*: K *mynwk*; covered by an ink smear in M. *kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand*: GB *kn'lk'wmndy* Y *kn'lk'wmndy*; K Y *kn'l'wmnd* W *kn'lk'wmnd*; M Y *kn'l'wmnd* W *kn'l'wmnd*.
- 1.7 *bālist*: GB *b'lysty*. *sarōmand*: D *sl'wmnd*; T as *dyl'wmnd*. *zofr-pāyag*: T *-p'dk*; D as *-p'hk'*. *asar-tārīgīh*: D *-t'lykyh*; T *-t'lyk*. *akanāragīh*: T *k'lykyh*; D *kn'lyh*.
- 1.9 *har*: T KRA KRA. *dōnān*: both as *h'n*; IB II.
- 1.10 *dō tis*: GB MEš. *ud akanāragōmand*: GB om. *dānist*: GB YDOYTW; IB YDOYTWNd.
- 1.11 *bowandag-pādxšāyīh*: T *-p'thš'y*; D *-p'thš'y*.
- 1.12 *abesihēd*: T *psy'h'n*; D *psh'n*, IB *psyny*.
- 1.13 *čē*: GB QDM. *arešk-kāmagīh*: T *lyšk-*; D *lšk-*. *az*: both QDM; IB OD *pl'cm*. *tā*: both QDM; IB ME *pl'cm*. *čē*: both by mistake QDM; IB om. *hanjāmēnēd*: IB all MSS *hnc'mny*. *abāyist*: M *p'dst*; K *p'st*; GB *p'yt*.
- 1.14 *sē-hazār*: D III-M; T III I-M and so for M (*hazār*) throughout. *pad*: T PWN *d'm*. *mēnōgīh*: both *mynwkyk*; IB *mynwk*.
- 1.15 *pas-dānišnīh*: T *-d'nšnyh*; D *-d'n'sn* Y. *āxēzīd*: IB *hyc't*; GB both *h'cst'*.

- 1.16 *ān ī Ohrmazd rōšnīh*: IB ZK Y 'whrmzd lwšnyh; T 'whrmzd ZK lwšnyh; D 'whrmzd 'whrmzd ZK lwšnyh. *pahruf*: T ptlwp'; D W pr'c' ptlwt'; IB PWN dlwc. *murnjēnidan*: T mwln cynytn'; D mln cynytn'.
- 1.17 *dīd*: T om. °. . °. *freh*: GB both plhw. *dwārist*: T dwb'lst'; D db'lst'. *murnjēnīdār*: D mwln cynytn'; T mln cynytn'. *āxist*: GB both W h'c. *ō*: T om.
- 1.18 *ka-š*: T om. *dīd*: D HZYTWNt'; T HZYTWNy. *[nē]*: T LA; D 'd. *sahmgen*: D shmkn'; T 'ygn'. *u-š*: T om.
- 1.19 *zofr-bun*: both zwpl Y wn. *hamāg-pursišnīg*: D -pwrššnyh; T -wrššnyh; IB d'm Y pwrššnyk. *dām-dahišnih*: D om. d'm.
- 1.20 *u-š*: M AṔš; K MNš. *āstīh*: T 'štyh; D 'št'. *dah*: D YHBWN; T YHBWNt'. *apōhišn*: T om.
- 1.21 *agārihē*: T 'k'l', D 'k'lk, altered to 'k'l'. *dōnān*: D om. II. *abgārē*: both -yh'.
- 1.22 *dām*: T d'm; D d'm'c. *murnjēnom*: both mln cynm. *hāzem*: D h'cym; T h'p'm.
- 1.23 *ōy*: D OLE; T OL. *padirift*: GB both ptglyt'. *burd*: T YBLWNd, D YBLWNyt.
- 1.24 *dām-iz*: D d'mc; T d'm Y c.
- 1.25 *harwisp-āgāhih*: D -'k'syh; T -'k's. *kārezār-iš*: GB both k'lyc'lc Y ZYš. *dahom ēg-iš*: GB OBYDWNm ADYN. *kōxšīn*: D kwhššn'; T khš'n. *wiyābānēnidan*: IB both wyd'p'nytn'; GB as nštn. *abārōnih*: T 'p'lk'yh, D 'p'lk. *warzēnd*: IB wlend; GB both wlcyt.
- 1.26 *kun*: GB both OBYDWNt; IB OBYDWN. *tā*: T = IB; D om. *ō*: T om. *abganēm*: T LMYTWNm; D lmycwnm. *kardan*: GB OBYDWN.
- 1.28 *andar ēn*: T BYN ZNE; D HD BYN. *hamē*: GB both hm'k. *andar*: D om. *rawēd*: T SGYTWNyt; D SGYTWNt'. *kardan*: T krt'n; D ptn'. *petyāragih*: D pytyd'lk'yh; T pytyd'lk'yh.
- 1.29 *yaθā-ahū-wairyō-ēw*: T yt'k'-hwk-wylywk-1; D yt'w'kwlylywk'. *ristāxēz*: IB lyst'hyc; T lst'hyc; D lst'hc.
- 1.30 *agārih*: D 'k'lyh; T 'k'ls. *abesihišn*: D om. °. . °. *būd*: D YHWWNt'; T YHWWNyt'.
- 1.31 *kūr*: D AYK; T AYKš. *sē*: T om. *bowandag guft būd*: D om. YHWWNt'. *anāgih*: D 'k'lyh; T 'k'lk'yh; cf. M PWN d'm'n Y 'whrmzd' n'kyh krt.
- 1.32 *sayist*: K, K_b YKOYMWNT; M om. °. . °. *dād*: IB here jumps to § 53a.
- 1.33 *dām-dahišnih*: T d'm-dhšnyh; D d'm-dhšn'. *mēnōgihā*: D mynwkyh'; T mynwkyhyh.
- 1.34 *pēs*: T pyš; D LOYN'. *nē*: both 'd. *būd (xwadāy)*: T YHWWNt; D YHWWNyt'.
- 1.35 *nazdist*: T nzdst'; D nzst'. *yazadān xwadīh*: both dhšn' hwt'y, but cf. § 49. *xwēs*: D NPŠE; T hwyšn. *kard*: both krt'n. *dām-dahišnih*: D d'm-dhšn'; T om. d'm-. *xwadāyih*: T hwt'dyh; D hwt'yh.
- 1.36 *petyāragih*: T pytyd'lk'yh; D pytyd'lk'. *petyāragih*: T pytyd'lk'yh; D pytyd'lk'yh.
- 1.38 *čār*: D om. *čāragōmandih*: T c'lk'wmndyh'; D c'l'wmn'dyh'.
- 1.39 *akanārag*: T 'k'lk'yh'; D 'kn'lk'yh'. *axwārih-rawišnih*: D om. -lwbšnyh. *būd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNyt'. *dēwān*: T ŠDYA'n; D ŠDYAn. *xwārih*: both hw'lk. *axwārih-rawišnih*: both 'hw'lyh-glyh-lwbšnyh. *a-be-wardišnih*: T 'BRAwltšnyh; D 'bwdwltšnyh. *az*: D om. *a-be-wardišnih*: D om. 'BRA-. *būd*: D YHWWNt'; T YHWWNyt. *dām-dahišnih*: D om. -yh.
- 1.40 *adādestānih*: D om. -yh.
- 1.41 *kōxšīd*: D kwhšyt'; T kwhšyt'. *xwadāy*: D hwt'y; T hwt'. *frazānagih*: D plc'nkyh; T pl'nkyh. *pahlomih*: D adds 'hlmn'. *agārih*: D adds Y.
- 1.42 *būd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNyt'. *gumēzišnih*: D gwmycšnyh; T gwmycyh. *kanāragōmand*: D kn'lk'wmnd; T k'lk'wmnd. *akanāragih*: T 'kn'lyh; D 'kn'lk'. *dād*: T YHBWNt'; D d't'. *abēzagihā*: T 'pyckyh'; D 'pycyh'.
- 1.43 *handāzag*: D hndc'k'; T as 'y'pk. *dādestān*: D adds zm'n' pwrššnyktl. *az*: D adds 'n'. *wizīr*: D wcył; T w'e'l. *šāyēd*: both šyt. *zamān-mān*: both zm'n' Y m'n. *petyāragih*: T pytyd'lk'yh; D pytyd'lk'. *zamān-iz dēsidag*: both as zm'n' psytk. *ōšōmandān*: T 'wd'mnd'n; D as hnd'm d'n'. *ulih*: both LALA. *čāh-ēw*: both cy'h-1.
- 1.45 *aziš*: both š. *ast tuwān*: T om. AYt'. *dagrand-xwadāy*: T -hwt'; D -hwt'k pl'c.
- 1.46 *u-š*: T AṔš; D š. *dagrand-xwadāy*: T -hwt', D -hwt'k. *wād-iz*: T w'dc; D w^odc. *abzār-ēw*: T 'p'z'l-1; D 'p'z'l Y. *abāyist*: T 'p'st'; D 'p'yt'.

- 1.47 *wazay*: both ZK. *siyā*: both s'yh. *ādurestarēn*: T 'twrystln'; D 'twrystl n. *tam-arzānig*: both -'lp'nyk.
- 1.48 *waran*: T wln'g, D wln'd. *pāygirb*: both NTLWNyt, for *p't-.
- 1.49 [*ān* . . . *tārigh*]: D om. ° . . . °. *kirrēnīd*: D klynit; T blyhynyt. *xwēš*: D adds tn'. *andar ān*: T BYN ZK; D MN. *bawēd*: D YHWWNyt; T YHWWNt'.
- 1.50 *būd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNyt'. *āθrō kerpa*: T 'sl klpk'; D 'sl klp' Y. *asar-*: T 'sl-; D 'sl Y. *hamāg*: T hm'k; D hm'yk. *āθrō-*: T: 'slwk; D 'sl k here and for the next two occurrences. *sazišn*: D se'sn'; T syc'sn'. *yaθā-ahū-wairyō*: T yt'k 'hwk ylywk'; D yt'^{yn}hwklywk. *bundahišnih*: both BRAdhšnyh. *dagrand-xwadāy*: both -hwt'k.
- 1.52 *xwadāyih*: T hwt'yih; D hwt'yš. *bālistih*: T b'lystyh; D b'lstyh. *xwāhrih*: both as HNA 'lyh. *zofāyih*: both zw'pkyh. *axwāhrih*: both as dšnw'lyh.
- 1.53 [*abēdā*]: T 'pyt'; D 'pyt'k. *gētīg*: T gytidy; D gyt'hyh'. *amahraspandān*: D 'mhrs'pnd'n; T 'mhrs'pnd. *xwad*: T BNPŠE; D hwt'. *čē*: T ME; D TME. *gētīg*: T gytidy; D gyt'k.
- 1.53a *nazdist*: IB continues here. *miθōxtihā*: both as m't-. [*ud* . . . *asmān*]: This whole corrupt interpolation anticipates §§ 54, 55. *gētīg*: T gyt'k; D gyt'hyh'. *ā-š*: D 'š; T w's. *Šahrewar*: T štywr; D štywr. *Amurdād*: in IB there follow excerpts from § 55, followed by the first sentence only of § 54. *Srōšahlā*: T -hlyy; D -hlc. *buland*: D bwld; T blnd. *frāx-gōyōt*: T pl'sgwt; D pl'dgwywt'. *Pārand*: T p'nd; D as p'lng! *xwāb*: T as HNA, D hwy. *wād*: D w't; T 't. *pēšēmāl*; T p'dšm'l-; D pyšm'l-. *āštih-abzōnig*: T 'pzyk; D 'pzywnkyh.
- 1.54 *asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 'sym'n'. *čahārom*: D ch'lwrm; T Y we'lwrm. *xwad*: T BNPŠE; D hwt'.
- 1.55 *kamālīgān*: D km'lyk'n; T km'yl'k'n. *kirrēnīd*: D klynit; T klynt'. *Nāngheθ*: both as n'hbyh'! *Tarwiz*: D tlwyc (repeated at the beginning of the next line); T tlyc. *Zēriz*: T zylyc; D zylwyc. *dēwān*: D ŠDYAn; T ŠDYA'n.
- 1.56 *Gannāg Mēnōg*: D om.
- 1.57 *tis*: D MNDOM; T Y MEš. *padist-iz*: T PWN styc'c; D PWN stycc. *barēd*: both YBLWNym!
- 1.58 *pīhih*: both as tly'yh. *pīhih*: both as tlysyh. *būd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNyt. *homānāg*: T hm'n'k; D hwm'n'k. *būd*: T as g'n; D y'n. *cāndišn*: both cndšk. *ō*: both OLE. *rawišn*: T lw'sn; D as LOYN lw'sn'. *zāyēnd*: D YLYDWNd; T as zlšn'd. *parwarihēnd*: T plwlynd; D plwld.
- 1.59 (*dād*) *ān būd*: D adds mynwk above the line. *pidarih*: T ABYtlyh; D om. -yh.
- 1a.1 *stardihā*: T stlyth'; D stlyh'. *sayist*: T ŠBKWNst'; D ŠKBHWst'.
- 1a.2 *i*: both W. *čē-š*: T MEš; D ME.
- 1a.3 *būd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNyt.
- 1a.4 *asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 's'm'n. (*āb*) *dād*: T d't; D YHBWNt'. *tišn*: T tyšn; D tšn'. *astōmandih*: T 'st'wmndyh; D AYT'wmndyh. *ayārih*: D hdyb'lyh; T hdyb'lyh; T om. ° . . . °. *ō*: T om. *kē ēn*: T MNW ZNE MNW ZNE. *barēd*: T YBLWNyt; D YBLWNyt.
- 1a.5 *gōwom*: D YMLLWNm; T YMLLWNyt.
- 1a.6 *rōšn-paydāgih*: T -pyt'k Y; D -pyt'kyh. *xāyag-dēs*: T h'dkd; DH AHLkdhs. *xwēnāhan*: both hwn's'n'. *be*: T BRA; D PWN, showing late pronunciation: *be* (< *bē*, BRA) = *be* (< *pad*, PWN). *drubušt*: D dlwšt'; T dlwšt'. *kōxšišn*: T kwššn'; D kwhššn'. *abāyēd*: D 'p'dyt'; T 'p'dst'. *homānāg*: T hm'n'k; D m'n'k'. *asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 's'm'n. *čand-iš*: T cndš; D, here and for the next two occurrences: cndyh. *drahnāy*: T dlhn'd; D, here and regularly in the text: dln'd. *bālāy*: T om. ° . . . °.
- 1a.6a *xūb-sān*: both hwps'l. *padirift*: T pytglt'; DH ptyglt'; DH adds dlng above the line. *drubuštih*: D dlwšt'lyh; TD1 dlwypwšt'lyh. *nē hišt*: T LA ŠKWNt'; T nŠKWNt'. *zrēh-ēw*: both zlyl. *abēīmihā*: T 'pyybmyh'; D 'pybmyh'. *dārēd*: T YHSNNyt'; D d'lyt'.
- 1a.6b *urwāhmanih*: both 'w'lw'hmn' Y. *urwāhmanih*: D 'w'lw'hmn'lyh; T 'w'lw'hmn' Y. *ēstēd*: D YKOYMWNyt'; T KTLWNyt'.
- 1a.7 *čiyōn*: both cnd. *ka mard-ēw*: T AMT GBRA Y1; D GBRA1 AMT. *bālāy*: D b'l'd; T b'l'. *ayārih*: D hdyb'lyh; T hdyb'hlyh. *miznē*: D mnznydy; T mnwznydy.
- 1a.8 *az*: D om. ° . . . °. *drahnāy*: T dlhn'd; D dln'd. *asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 's'm'n.
- 1a.9 *sangsār*: T CCAs'l; D CCAd'l. *arzan-āgand*: T 'lcn'kn'd; D yltn'kn'd.

- 1a.10 *gōgird*: T om. *astdār*: T 'std'l; D 'std'hl. *mard-ēw*: D GBRA1; T GBRA. *kard ēstēd*: D OBYDWNt YKOYMWNYt'; T OBYDWNt YKOYMWNYt.
- 1a.11 *mayār*: T mdy'n; D mdy'nk'. *pāy*: both pydy. *sardag*: T sltk'; D slytk'. *srešk*: D slšk; T slyšk.
- 1a.12 *bār ī*: both b'lyh. *Weh Dāitī*: D wyh|d'yty; D wyhd'yt'. (*ēn*) *bawēd*: T YHWWNt'; D YHWWNt'.
- 1a.13 *bālāy*: D b'l'd; T b'l'. (*pad*) *bār*: T b'l'd; D b'l'. *Dāitī*: D d'yty; T d'yty. *ēstēd*: T YKOYMWNYt'; D YKOYMWNYt'. *dūrih*: D dwlyh; T dwlyk. *Dāitī*: D d'yty; T d'yty. *uzwānōmand*: D 'wzw'nwmnd; T zw'n'n'wmnd. *daxšagōmandih*: D dhšk'wmndyh; T dhšk'wmnd. *ēd kū*: D HNA AYK HNA AYK.
- 1a.14 *buland*: D bwld; T blind. *Gayōmarθ*: T g'ywkmnt'; D g'ywmlt'. *nē*: T om. °...°.
- 1a.14 *māh-ēw*: T BYRA1; D BYRAYk, for both occurrences. *nām ī*: both ŠM1.
- 1a.15 *gōwom*: D YMLLWNm; T YMRRWNm.
- 1a.16 *nazdist*: D nzdst'; T nzst. *asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 's'm'n. *māh*: T BYRA; D BYRAYk. *Frawardīn*: D plwltyn'; T plwldyn'. *tā*: D adds ZNE. *māh*: T BYRA; D BYRAYk. *Ardwahišt*: D 'rtwhšt'; T 'r'thšt'. *pād tā*: D NTLWNt' OD; T NTLWNt'Y. *Day*: T adds Y. *māništ ī mihr ud āb*: T m'nyšt' Y mlt' MYA; D m'n Y yšt' mlt' MYA m'nyšt' mtr' MYA. *paydāgih*: D pyt'kyh; T pyt'k.
- 1a.17 *Ardwahišt*: D 'rtwhšt'; T 'r'thšt'. *pād tā*: D NTLWNt' OD; T as NTLWNt'Y. *Mēdyōšam*: T mytywks'm; D mytywks'm. *nazdist*: T nzdst; D nzst'.
- 1a.18 *Pētišah*: T pytyšh; D pytyšh.
- 1a.19 *čiyōn*: Here Anklesaria 1956, 28 adds: *chūn, ez rūz-ī Aūhr-mazd-ī māh-ī mitr andā rūz-ī Ērt*. °...°: T om. *wizārišn*: D wc'lsn; T c'lsn'. *kū*: T AYK; D AYKš.
- 1a.20 *Mēdyāirim kē-š*: MSS myty'yl MNWš.
- 1a.21 *dād*: T d't; D YHBWNt'. *Spandarmad*: D spndrmt'; T spdrmt'. *pād*: Anklesaria 1956, 28 adds instead *ān pañj gās-ī gāsānī*. (*kē*) *ān*: D om. ZK. *rōz*: T om. *Hamaspāthmaidim*: T hm'spsmydn; D hm'spm'dym.
- 1a.22 *gāhānīg*: D g's'nyk; T as g's'nyc. *Ahunavait*: D 'hwnwyt; T 'hwnyt. *Spantmat*: T spnytm't; D spytmt.
- 1a.23 *māhān-ēw*: T m'h'n1; D m'hyk'n Y. *Ardwahišt*: D 'rtwhšt; T 'r'thšt'. *Hordād*: D hwrđt'; T hwrđt'. *Frawardīn*: D plwltyn'; T plwldyn'. *Wahrām*: D wlh'l'n; T wlh'l'm'. *Asmān*: D 'sm'n; T 's'm'n.
- 1a.24 *az*: T om. *Frawardīn*: D plwltyn'; T plwldyn'. *Ardwahišt*: D 'rtwhšt; T 'r'thšt'. *Spandarmad*: D adds BYRA.
- 1a.25 *ēk ēk*: D 'ywk 'ywk ; T 'ywk. *gōwom*: D YMLLWNm; T YMLLWNy't.

COMMENTARY

0.1. The two independent MSS of the Iranian branch read *ān zand-āgāhīh nazdist abar*. . . ; K₂₀ has *zand ī *āgāhīh nazdist abar*. . . , while M₅₁ reads *zand-*āgāhīh nazdist abar*. . . , the MN (*az*) found in Justi (1868, 1) being added in the margin of the codex by a later hand as noted first by West (1880, 3 n. 1). Modern scholars diverge on how to read this passage. Nyberg reads **im zand-ākāsīh* 'Ceci est l'exposé de la doctrine' (1929, 206-207), justifying this interpretation on the basis of inscriptional evidence;⁵ in the glossary to his *Hilfsbuch* he further states that *zand-āgāhīh* is the title of the work commonly known as *Bundahišn* (Nyberg 1931c, 253). Zaehner (1955a, 278, 285 and 312) emends the MN of Justi's edition to ZNE and therefore reads **ēn zand ākāsīh* 'This, the Knowledge of the Commentary'. Anklesaria (1956, 4-5) has [*Ān*] *Zand-ākāsīh* '[The] Information of the Tradition'. Molé (1959, 433) retains Justi's text, reading *az zand-āgāhīh* 'selon les

⁵ More specifically he referred to a passage of the Parthian version of Šāpuhr's Hājjiabād inscription where the heterogram ZK corresponds to MP ZNE (*ēn*) (1929, 260-261). The various occurrences of Parth. ZK (*ēd*), which more regularly corresponds to MP HNA (*ēd*), are conveniently listed by Gignoux (1972, 68).

renseignements empruntés au *zand*’, which he compares to a standard formulation found in the *Dēnkard*: *az nigēz ī weh-dēn*. He does not, however, definitely deny the veridicality of the text found in the Iranian *Bundahišn*, for which he also sees the possibility of interpreting *ān* as a dittography of *zand*. Hultgård (1989, 171), noting that MN is not found in any of the independent MSS, follows the Indian tradition and reads plainly *zand ākāhīh*. Once established that readings based on the presence of MN at the beginning of the text, such as the ones by Zaehner and Molé, are denied by the manuscript tradition, one is left with only two variants, unless emending however insignificantly: the plain *zand-āgāhīh* of the Indian MSS and the *ān zand-āgāhīh* found in the Iranian tradition. The chosen solution emends but slightly, as already suggested in MacKenzie 1990, 547, reading: *ān <D> zand āgāhīh* ‘Knowledge of (i.e. deriving from) the Zand’, though one remains sceptical about the need to consider it the title of the book.

1.1. On §§ 1-2 see Belardi 1977, 100-108. A translation of §§ 1-12 is to be found in Shaked 1980, 29-30.

1.2. *Niyāmag*: MSS yd’mk. Nyberg (1928b, 220; 1929, 206-207) *yāmak*: ‘robe’; Zaehner (1955a, 278, 312), as already Justi (1868, \) reads *hāmak*: ‘totality’; Molé (1959, 433) also reads *hāmak*, like Zaehner, but translates more regularly: ‘Cette omniscience et bonté sont toutes à Ohrmazd’. Zaehner (1955a, 286-287) reports also earlier readings among which that by Scheftelowitz (1929, 46) who proposed *xēmak*, *xēm*. Though a reading **xēm* ‘nature, character’, as well as a reading **jāmag*, would be technically possible, it is far better to emend to <n>yd’mk: *niyāmag*, lit. ‘scabbard, case, sheath’, cf. NP *niyām*. For a discussion on the other possibilities see Belardi 1977, 102-103.

A passage of the third book of the *Dēnkard* reports a parallel version, close to the wording of the Indian *Bundahišn*:

Dk 3.132 (B 734.21-733.5, *DkM* 132.21-133.5; de Menasce 1973, 135) *Abar astīh ī paydāgīh *ud juttarih ī astīh az paydāgīh, az nigēz ī weh-dēn*.

*Hād cīyōn pōryōtkēšān az weh-dēn nigēz guft: *astīh ī hamēyīg Ohrmazd dādār ud *dēn-dānāgīh ī-š pad nērōg ud gāh <ud> gyāg ī-š stī abar ud zamān ī-š ast hamēyīgīh. Paydāgīh ī-šān astīh: ān ī Ohrmazd dādār az dahišn kardagīh, ān ī dēn-dānāgīh <az> saxwan <ud> *kāmag dānāgīhā ud kār, ān ī *hamēyīh *ud *gāh pad zamān andar gyāg dādan*.

On the existence of manifestation and the difference between existence and manifestation, from the teachings of the Good Religion.

As the ancient teachers said from the teachings of the Good Religion: Eternal existence is of Ohrmazd the Creator, of the wisdom of the religion which is *in potentia*, of place and space in which are (individual) beings, and of time to which is eternity. The manifestation of their existence: of the Creator Ohrmazd is from the act of creation, of the wisdom of religion from wise words and will and action, of eternity and place from <the fact> that creating is in space through time.

1.3-4. *Bundahišn* 1.3-4 describes the state and condition of Ahriman at the beginning of time. The text of the two versions differs, except for standard variants such as those underlined by Hultgård (1989, 171-173), only in a gloss found at the end of § 4 and contained in the Indian version alone. Previous editors have solved the problem in various manners: Nyberg (1929, 206-207) accepts the Iranian version, omitting the gloss; Zaehner

(1955a, 278, 312) reads *Ahriman 'andar tārīkīh 'pat pas-dānišnih 'ut zatār-kāmīh zufr-pāḍak 'būt; <'būt> 'ut 'hast 'kē 'nē 'bavēt*, and therefore translates 'Ahriman, slow in knowledge, whose will is to smite, was deep down in the darkness: <he was> and is, yet will not be'. This translation preserves the parallel with *Bd* 1.1-2, but *kē* can hardly be translated by 'yet'. A better option is to consider *ud ast kē* the introduction to the traditional formula *ud ast kē* (. . .) *gōwēd/gušt*, therefore reading any combination of the following *ud ast kē nē bawēd/būd gōwēd/gušt*. We chose to read *ast kē nē būd gōwēd* with the Indian *Bundahišn*, considering this formula as a reference to Ahreman's non-existence in the material world, as suggested i.a. by the *Čīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān*:

Čīdag 1.11 *Ōy ī druwand Gannāg Mēnōg ī būd [ī] ka nē būd andar ēn dām ud hawēd ka nē bawēd andar dām ī Ohrmazd ud pad frazām bē abēsihēd.*

That mischievous Evil Spirit who was when he was not in this creation and will be when he will not be in the creation of Ohrmazd and who in the end will be destroyed.

On the whole question of Ahreman's existence see Shaked 1967. Gnoli (1995) has shown the continuity of this religious conception which, present *in nuce* in the *Gāthās*, has taken form in the Younger Avesta.

1.5-12. Our translation is closer to Nyberg's (1929, 208-209) than to Zaehner's (1955a, 278, 313). The *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* contain a much shorter parallel section:

WZād 1.1-2 *Hād pad dēn ōwōn paydāg kū rōšnīh azabar ud tārīgīh azēr u-šān mayānag ī har dō wišādāgīh būd. Ohrmazd andar rōšnīh ud Ahreman andar tārīgīh ud Ohrmazd <az> astīh ī Ahreman madan-iz ī ō pahikār āgāh Ahreman az astīh ī rōšnīh <ud> Ohrmazd nē āgāh būd.*

Thus is it revealed in the religion that light was above and darkness below and that between them was openness. Ohrmazd was in the light and Ahreman in the darkness; Ohrmazd was aware of the existence of Ahreman and of his coming to battle; Ahreman was not aware of the existence of light and of Ohrmazd.

1.10-12. The interpretation of this passage, and particularly of § 10 is debated. The two versions read respectively:

Iranian *Bundahišn* 10. *Ud did harwisp āgāhīh ī Ohrmazd rāy har čē-š andar dānišn ī Ohrmazd kanāragōmand čē ān ī har *dōnān *mēnōg paymān *dānēd.* 11. *Did bowandag pādixšāyīh ī dām ī Ohrmazd pad tan ī pasēn tā hamē<-ud>-hamē-rawišnīh ud ān ast akanāragōmand.* 12. *Ud dām ī Ahreman pad ān zamān be *abesihēd tā [ī] ka tan ī pasēn bawēd, ān-iz ast kanāragōmandīh.*

10. Moreover, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd all which is in the knowledge of Ohrmazd is limited, because he knows the treaty of the two spirits. 11. Again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Ohrmazd at the Final Body will be for ever and ever, and that is unlimited. 12. The creatures of Ahreman will be destroyed at that time, so that the Final Body will (come to) be, that also is finiteness.

Indian *Bundahišn* 10. *Ud did harwisp-āgāhīh <ī> Ohrmazd rāy har dō tis andar dahišn ī Ohrmazd kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand, čē [ēn] ān ī andar har dōnān mēnōg paymān *dānēd.* 11. *Ud did *bowandag-pādixšāyīh *ī dām ī Ohrmazd pad tan <ī> pasēn tā hamē<-ud>-hamē-rawišnīh ākanāragōmand.* 12. *Dām ī Ahreman pad ān zamān be +abesihēd kē tan <ī> pasēn bawēd ud +ān-iz ast akanārīh.*

10. Moreover, on account of the omniscience of Ohrmazd both things are in the creation of Ohrmazd, the finite and the infinite, because he knows what is in the treaty between the two spirits. 11. Again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Ohrmazd at the Final Body will be for ever and ever, infinite. 12. The creatures of Ahreman will be destroyed at the time of the Final Body and that also is infinity.

The translation of this passage implies a choice between the different options present in the two versions. Two main differences stand out, the first one in § 10 where the Iranian *Bundahišn* states that all which is in Ohrmazd's wisdom is limited while the Indian *Bundahišn* says that all which is in Ohrmazd's creation is both limited and unlimited. The second is in § 12 where the Iranian text says that the destruction of Ahreman's creation attests his (?) finiteness while the Indian narration contains the striking statement that this same act is a proof of Ohrmazd's (?) infinity.

Nyberg (1929a, 208-209) reads the crucial passages as follows:

dit harvisp-ākāsīh i Ōhrmazd rāδ har +čīš andar dānišn ī Ōhrmazd; kanāragōmand u akanāragōmand +čīšān i andar har 2 hand, patmān +dānēt. dit bavandak-pātiχšāyīh i dām i Ōhrmazd pat tan i pasēn tāk hamē-hamē-ravišnīh; u hān hast akanārakīh. dām i Ahriman pat hān zamān bē +apasihēnēt tāk i kā tan i pasēn bēt; hān-ič hast kanāragōmandīh

Puis, Ormuzd étant omniscient, toutes les choses sont dans la science d'Ormuzd: il connaît la mesure de toutes les choses que ces deux entités renferment, limitées ou illimitées. Ensuite, la domination parfaite qu'exercera la création d'Ormuzd dans le monde restauré durera jusqu'à toute éternité: c'est là une forme de l'infini. La création d'Ahriman sera anéantie avant que le monde soit restauré: c'est là une forme du fini.

In doing so he partially accepts the version of the Indian *Bundahišn* for § 10.

Henning, in his review of Nyberg's *Hilfbuch des Pehlevi* (Henning 1935, 10), accepts in the main the Indian version of § 10, considering *kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand* to be in apposition to the preceding *har (. . .) tis* and translating what follows as: 'denn er kennt das Maß dessen, was in beiden "transzendenten" (ist)'.

Zaehner (1955a, 278-279 and 313) follows more closely the Iranian *Bundahišn* though taking something from the Indian version:

*'dit harvisp-ākāsīh i Ōhrmazd rāδ 'har * 'čīš <i>'andar dānišn i Ōhrmazd kanāragōmand, 'čē ['ēn] 'ān i 'andar 'har 2-ān mēnōk patmān 'dānēt 'tāk bavandak pātaχšāyīh i dām i Ōhrmazd 'pat tan i pasēn 'tāk hamē hamē ravišnīh, 'ut 'ān hast akanārakīh. dām i Ahriman 'pat 'ān zamān 'bē aψsihēnēt 'tāk 'kaδ tan i pasēn bēt; 'ān-ič 'ast kanāragōmandīh.*

Again concerning the Omniscience of Ohrmazd – everything that is within the knowledge of Ohrmazd is finite; that is, he knows the Norm (pact) that exists between the two Spirits until the creation of Ohrmazd shall rule supreme at the Final Body for ever and ever: that is the infinite. At that time when the Final Body comes to pass, the creation of Ahriman will be destroyed: that again is the finite.

Anklesaria (1956, 6-7), in his translation of the entire *Bundahišn*, proposes yet another version:

Ū dut, har-visp-ākāsīh-ī Aūhr-mazd rā, har chis andar dahisn-ī Aūhr-mazd kenāra-aūmand; chi, ān-ī har dūān Minūy paṁmān dānēnd. Ū dut, būnda pāta-khsāyīh-ī dām-ī Aūhr-mazd, pa

tan-î pas-în, andâ hama u hama-rûbisnih; [û ân hast] a-kenârayih. Ū dām-î Ahrî-man, pa ân zamân, bê-awasihând, ka tan-î pas-în bahoṭ; ân-icha hast kenâra-aûmandih.

And again, on-account-of the omniscience of Ōhr-mazd, everything in the creation of Ōhr-mazd is finite; for, they know the covenant of both the Spirits. And again, there will be the complete predominance of the creatures of Ōhr-mazd, and the final material life, upto eternity and eternal-progress; [and that is] infinity. And may the creatures of Ahrî-man perish, at that time, when the final material-life shall-take-place; that,-too, is finiteness.

We have seen that all three translators interpret the first passage differently: Nyberg links the expression *kanāragōmand ud akanāragōmand* found in the Indian *Bundahišn* to what follows and translates ‘il connaît la mesure de toutes les choses que ces deux entités renferment, limitées ou illimitées’. Zaehner says that ‘all which is in the wisdom of Ohrmazd is finite’, and refers the reader to a passage found in *DkM* 293.15 ff. which he himself translates (Zaehner 1955a, 288 and 391-392) where it is said that knowledge is limited to past and present. Anklesaria, under the influence of the Indian *Bundahišn*, speaks of the creation, rather than the wisdom, of Ohrmazd as being finite.

Both a different conception of the finite and the infinite, and a discordance on the existence of a void between the realms of Light and Darkness are among the criticisms that *Mardānfarrox ī Ohrmazddādān* made of the Manichaeans. See the 16th chapter of the *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* (esp. *ŠGW* 16.51-65 and 102-11) and compare *inter alia* a passage of the fourth book of the *Dēnkard* (*DkM* 409.4-410.2, B 514.7-513.6).

On the whole subject see de Menasce 1945, 235-236 and 260; for a recent reappraisal of de Menasce’s translation of the 16th chapter of the *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* see Sundermann 2001.

1.15. *wimand ī dīdār ī rōšnān*: The reading of *K*_{20b}, though defective, shows that the archetype of the Indian *Bundahišn* contained the word *wimand* lost both in *K*₂₀ and *M*₅₁. Cf. *K*_{20b} 3r6-9 gnn’k mynwk [AYK bwt ’whrmzd] AHL [MN ZK zwp’d ’hyc’t W OL mn’d lwšn] d’nšnyh l’d MN AYT Y ’whrmzd LA ’k’s bwt W AHL MN ZK zwp’d ’hyc’t W OL mn’d⁶ lwšn’ mt’ *Gannāg Mēnōg* [. . .] *pas-* [. . .] *dānišnīh rāy az astīh ī Ohrmazd nē āgāh būd ud pas az ān zofāy āxēzēd ud ō *wimand <ī> rōšn mad.*

Nyberg (1929, 208-09) reads: *gannāk-mēnūk pas-dānišnē rād hač hastīh <ī> Ōhr-mazd anākās būt; pas hač hān zufrāpādak xēzist, ō vimand ī stār ī rōšnān mat*: ‘Par suite de sa connaissance tardive, le mauvais esprit ignorait l’existence d’Ormuzd; puis il se leva de ses profondeurs, et il arriva à la frontière où se trouve l’étoile des lumières’. Zaehner (1955a, 279 and 313) reads: *ganāk mēnōk ’pas-dānišnīh rād ’hač ’hastīh ī Ōhrmazd anākās ’būt; ’pas ’hač ’ān zufrāyak āxēzast, ’ō vimand ī dīdār ī rōšnān mat*: ‘The Destructive Spirit, ever slow to know, was unaware of the existence of Ohrmazd. Then he rose from the depths and went to the border from whence the lights are seen’.

1.17. For *asōhišn ud apōhišn* cf. the Avestan dyad *afriθiant- apuiiant-* ‘not putrefying, not decaying’.

1.19. The expunction of [l’d] was first suggested by Henning (1935, 10).

⁶ *K*₂₀ (88v17-18) omits all reference to *wimand*, reading: W OL lwšn’ mt’, while *M*₅₁ (222v12-13) reading: W OL BYN OD lwšn’ mt’ betrays the tentative rendering of a word not understood by the copyist.

1.21. The entire paragraph is missing in the Indian *Bundahišn*. Though admitting that in some cases passages of the Iranian *Bundahišn* might be later glosses, Hultgård (1990, 180), along with previous authors, regards § 21 as belonging to the original text and, thus, missing in the Indian version. However, it is equally possible to consider it a later comment, needed to explain the fact that Ohrmazd offered peace to Ahreman, a statement which might sound odd to a pious Zoroastrian.

1.28. The latter part of this paragraph differs quite markedly in the two traditions. The text as proposed in the transliteration and translation combines the Iranian and the Indian versions. However, both are perfectly intelligible also if taken individually. The Iranian *Bundahišn* reads: *ud pad ān ī abdom ardīg Gannāg Mēnōg agār šāyēd kardan ud az dām petyāragih abāz dārēd* ‘and in the final battle it would be possible to render the Evil Spirit powerless and he would hold off the evil from (His) creatures’ corresponding to Indian *Bundahišn*: *ud sē hazār sāl <ī> abdom⁷ Gannāg Mēnōg agār bawēd ud az dām petyārag abāz darēnd* ‘and in the final three thousand years the Evil Spirit would become powerless and they would hold off the evil from the creatures’. The corresponding passage in the *Selections of Zādspram* (*WZād* 1.10) only states: *u-š pad sē zamān kard ī har zamān-ēw sē hazārag* ‘He divided time in three (parts), each (period of) time (consisting) of three millennia’.

1.32-53. Beginning with § 33 the Indian version of the *Bundahišn* presents a long lacuna, which only comes to an end with § 53a. According to Nyberg (1931a, 36-37) this long passage, missing in the Indian *Bundahišn*, must have been present in the redaction from which both the Indian and the Iranian versions derive. Though basically arguing in favour of an early interpolation of §§ 33-53, Nyberg leaves open the possibility that they may have been present in the original nucleus of the *Bundahišn*. This same position is shared by Zaehner who accepts the idea of a Zurwanite passage (Nyberg 1931a, 36-41; Zaehner 1955a, 105-134, 277). Against this view Molé (1959, 439-445) argues in favour of the doctrinal unity of the first chapter of the Iranian *Bundahišn*.

Though no positive proof can at this stage be produced, the possibility that the Indian *Bundahišn* may preserve the original text must be kept open, since it must be noted that the text found in the Indian *Bundahišn* is not incoherent, and that in the Iranian *Bundahišn* the section going from § 33 to § 53 is introduced by a verb in the 1st pers. sg. Moreover, the passage taken from § 55, that we have expunged in § 53a because it is incoherent in the Iranian version, is better justified in the Indian text. For the sake of comparison, we shall give here the complete text of the remaining lines of the first chapter according to the Indian *Bundahišn*:

32. *Sē hazār sāl pad stardih ēstād, Ohrmazd pad stardih ī Ahreman dām dād.*

53a-55. *Nazdist Wahman frāz brēhēnīd kū-š rawāgih ī dām <ī> Ohrmazd frāz hūd; Gannāg Mēnōg nazdist Miθōxt ud pas Akōman dād; Ohrmazd az dām ī gētīg fradom asmān. U-š Wahman az nēk-rawiśnih <ud> *gētīg rōšnīh frāz brēhēnīd kē-š dēn ī weh <ī> mazdēsnañ abāg būd. Ēn kū ān ī ō dām rasēd <tā> frašgird ā-š dānist. Ud pas Ašwahišt ud pas Šahrewar <ud> pas Spandarmad ud pas Hordād ud pas Amurdād. Ud Ahreman az *gētīg tārigih Akōman, *Indar ud pas Sawar ud pas *Nānghēθ ud pas Tarwiz ud Zērīz. 54. Ohrmazd az dām*

⁷ Thus K₂₀, M₅₁ him.

ī gētīg fradom asmān ud dudīgar āb ud sidīgar zamīg ud čahārom urwar <ud> panjom gōspand <ud> šašom mardōm.

32. Three thousand years he was in stupefaction. During Ahreman's stupefaction Ohrmazd created the creatures.

53a. First Wahman was fashioned forth from whom⁸ was the currency of Ohrmazd's creatures; Gannāg Mēnōg first created Miθōxt⁹ and then Akōman. Of material creatures Ohrmazd (created) first the sky. From goodness (and) material light he fashioned forth Wahman, with whom was the good Mazdean religion. This because he knew what would happen to the creatures until Renovation. And then (He created) Ašwahišt, then Šahrewar, then Spandarmad, then Hordād, and then Amurdād. And Ahreman from Material Darkness (created) Akōman, then Indar, then Sawar, then Nānghēθ, then Tarwiz and Zēriz. 54. Of material creatures Ohrmazd (created) first sky, second water, third earth, fourth vegetation, fifth cattle and sixth man.

1.39-40. On *ham-dādestānōmandih* 'Harmony' and *adādestānīh* 'discord' see Molé 1959, 436.

1.41. *xwad-dōšagīh*: lit. 'self-love', but see Alberto Cantera's paper in this volume ('Eigenwilligkeit').

1.43. On the hypothesis that this paragraph may derive from an older metric composition, proposed by Nyberg (1928), see the convincing criticism by Henning (1935, 11). See further Bailey (1943, 94-95 n. 2, with older literature), Zaehner 1955a, 229 and Molé 1959, 437.

1.46. Zaehner (1955a, 281, 302, 316) unnecessarily adds the sentence: '*ut-aš nazdist yazdān x'atīh 'dāt, nēvak-ravišnīh, 'ān mēnōk 'i-š tan i 'x'ēš pat-iš 'veh 'bē kart* 'Then he created the essence of the gods, fair (orderly) movement, that genius by which he made his own body better'.

1.50. On *āθrō-kerpa* see Duchesne-Guillemin 1964. It shares its round form with *Gayōmarθ* and *Mārtānḍa*.

1.52. Both codices present a graphy which could be approximately transcribed dšnwlyh and may also suggest a reading **duš-xwārīh*. Less probable is the reading *dušwārīh* suggested by Nyberg (1929, 17) and Zaehner (1955a, 281).

1.53. Both Nyberg (1929, 218-219) and Zaehner (1955a, 281-282, 317 and 1955b, 243-249) propose identifying three judges (*rad*) in this passage. Thus in Zaehner's interpretation the text should read *Ōhrmazd 'pat amahraspandān brīnōmand mat. 'kaδ-aš 'dāt 'būt 'hēnd, - 3 rat, 'čē-š 'pāč 'ō gētēh apāyast, - 'dāt* 'Ohrmazd became lord over decisions through the Amahraspands. When they had been created, he made three Judges, for they were needed for the material world'. Nyberg reads *Ōhrmazd pat amahraspandān brīnōmand mat. ka-š dāt būt hand, 3 rat, čē-š apāč ō gētīk apāyēt, dāt* 'C'est par les amahraspands qu'Ohrmuzd a reçu la faculté de fixer les destinées. Les amahraspands créés, il créa une triade de juges dont il aura besoin à l'avenir pour le monde terrestre'. Molé (1959, 438) criticizes Nyberg's – and Zaehner's – position, though maintaining the reading *rad*: *Ōhrmazd 'pat Amahraspandān brīnōmand mat 'kad-iš 'dāt 'būt 'hend 3 rat. 'čē-š*

⁸ Cf. Iranian *Bundahišn* 1, 53a.

⁹ *Miθōxt* is Av. *Miθaoxta-*, regularly rendered by Pahl. *drō-gōwišn*. Here it should be considered as the evil parallel to Ohrmazd's recitation of the *Ahunawar*.

'apāč 'ō gētē apāyist 'dāt 'Par les Amahraspand, Ōhrmazd devint brīnōmand quand il eut créé trois rat. Car il devait transférer la création dans le gētē'. However, what is actually written in codices TD₁ and DH is: W^T 'whrmzd PWN 'mhrsṣnd'n' blyn'wmnd mt' AMTš YHBWNt' HWE'd, 'y LTMEš LAWHL OL gytyk 'p'(d)st YHBWNt, providing the reading that we have adopted which is not too dissimilar from Anklesaria's interpretation (1956, 16-17).

1.58. Cf. *WZād* 30.35 and *Bd.* 15.9. A concise description of embryogeny can be found in Sohn 1996, 16-17.

1a. The whole chapter is missing in the Indian *Bundahišn*.

1a.6. On the creation of the sky and its theological function, see Bailey 1943, 121-148, esp. 139 ff.

1a.9. For *sangsār* see Henning (1942, 233-234 n. 7); *arzan-āgand* is an improvement on Henning's suggestion *gard-āgand*. For *tangīrag*, cf. NP *tangire*. For a very different interpretation see Zaehner 1955, 308-309, with earlier bibliography.

1a.10. For a possible translation of *gōhr* as 'mineral' see the parallel passage in *PR* 46.5 and Williams 1990, II 206-207. For *bōrag*, cf. NP *bure*, Ar. *burāq*, *burāq*.

1a.11. Possibly *zūr* should be emended to **zūrīh* 'potentiality'.

1a.13. The interpretation of *daxšag* and *daxšagōmandīh* as references to the sexual organ of *Gayōmarθ* was put forth tentatively by Nyberg (1929, 225) and shared, also hesitantly, by Klingenschmitt apud Hoffmann 1976, 724-25, where he translates §§ 1a.12-13. On the correspondence between *Gayōmarθ* and Vedic *Mārtāṇḍa* see Hoffmann 1976.

1a.16. Here and in § 19, but not in § 13a, we have chosen to translate *zargōnīh*, lit. 'yellowness', by 'verdancy'.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

DH = *The codex DH. Being a facsimile edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht and parts of Denkard* (Iranian Culture Foundation 89, Teheran 1970).

K₂₀, K_{20b} = *The Pahlavi codices K20 and K20b* (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis 1, Copenhagen 1931).

M₅₁ = Manuscript belonging to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cf. Ch. Bartholomae, *Die Zendhandschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (München 1915), 38-72.

TD₁ = *The Bondahesh. Being a facsimile edition of the manuscript TD1* (Iranian Culture Foundation 88, Teheran 1970).

TD₂ = *The Būndahishn. Being a facsimile of the TD manuscript no. 2 brought from Persia by Dastur Tīrandāz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tahmuras' Library*, ed. T. D. Anklesaria (Bombay 1908).

Primary sources

WZād = *Wizdagīhā ī Zādspram*: Ph. Gignoux, A. Tafazzoli, *Anthologie de Zādspram* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 13, Paris 1993).

B = Manuscript B of the *Dēnkard*: M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkard: a Pahlavi text. Facsimile edition of the manuscript B of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay* (Wiesbaden 1966).

Bd. = *Bundahišn*: see Anklesaria 1956.

DkM = *Dēnkard*, ed. Madan: D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911), 2 vols.

PR = *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*: see Williams 1990.

ŠGW = *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*: see de Menasce 1945.

Čīdag = *Čīdag Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān*: M. F. Kanga, *Čītak Handarž ī Pōryōtkēšān* (Bombay 1960).

Literature

- Anklesaria, B. T., 1956. *Zand ākāsīh: Iranian or greater Bundahišn. Transliteration and translation in English* (Bombay).
- Anquetil Duperron, A. H., 1771. *Zend-Avesta. Ouvrage de Zoroastre* (Paris), 3 pts., 2 vols.
- Bahār, M. T., 1966. *Vāženāme-ye Bondaheš* (Iranian Culture Foundation 17, Teheran 1362).
- Bailey, H. W., 1933. *The Bundahišn*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford).
- Bailey, H. W., 1943. *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books* (Oxford).
- Bausani, A., 1957. *Testi religiosi zoroastriani* (Roma; 2nd ed. 1963).
- Behzādi, R., 1989. *Bundeheš-e hendi* (Teheran 1348).
- Belardi, W., 1977. *Studi mithraici e mazdei* (Roma).
- Bianchi, U., 1958. *Zamān ī Ōhrmazd. Lo zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza* (Torino).
- Boyce, M., 1957. Some reflections on Zurvanism, *BSOAS* 19, 304-316.
- Boyce, M., 1990. Some further reflections on Zurvanism, in *Iranica varia. Papers in honor of professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Acta Iranica 30, Leiden), 20-29.
- Cereti, C. G., 2000. On the manuscript tradition of the *Bundahišn*, in H. N. Modi (ed.), *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Third International Congress proceedings* (Bombay), 95-109.
- Cereti, C. G., 2001. *La letteratura pahlavi. Introduzione ai testi con riferimenti alla storia degli studi e alla tradizione manoscritta* (Milano).
- Choksy, J. K., 1986. An annotated index of the Greater or Iranian Bundahišn (TD2), *StIr* 15, 203-242.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J., 1964. The form of fire, in *Dr. J. M. Unvala memorial volume* (Bombay), 14-17.
- Gnoli, G., 1962. Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel mazdeismo e nel manicheismo, *AION*, n.s., 12, 95-128.
- Gnoli, G., 1963. Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione, *AION*, n.s., 13, 163-193.
- Gnoli, G., 1984. L'évolution du dualisme iranien et le problème zurvanite, *RHR* 201, 115-138.
- Gnoli, G., 1995. Einige Bemerkungen zum altiranischen Dualismus, in B. Fragner et al. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies* (Rome), 213-231.
- Haug, M., 1854. *Über die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundehehsh* (Göttingen).
- Henning, W. B., 1935. Review of Nyberg 1928a and 1931c, *GGA*, 1-19.
- Henning, W. B., 1942. An astronomical chapter of the Bundahišn, *JRAS*, 229-248.
- Hoffmann, K., 1976. Mārtānḍa and Gayōmart, in *German scholars on India. Contributions to Indian studies*, vol. 2 (Bombay), 100-117.
- Hultgård, A., 1990. The first chapter of the Bundahišn. Remarks on text and composition, in G. Gnoli, A. Panaino (ed.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies*, pt. 1, *Old and Middle Iranian studies* (Rome), 167-190.
- Hultgård, A., 1992. Mythe et histoire dans l'Iran ancien: cosmogonie et l'histoire du monde, in Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions from Mazdaism to Sufism* (Paris), 37-56.
- Justi, F., 1868. *Der Bundehehsh* (Leipzig).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1990. Bundahišn, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4, ed. E. Yarshater (London-New York), 547-551.
- de Menasce, J., 1945. *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IX^e siècle: Škand-gumānīk vičār. La solution décisive des doutes* (Fribourg en Suisse).
- de Menasce, J., 1962. Reflexions sur Zurvān, in W. B. Henning, E. Yarshater (ed.), *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London), 182-188.
- de Menasce, J., 1973. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart* (Paris).
- Molé, M., 1959. Le problème zurvanite, *JA* 247, 431-469.
- Nyberg, H. S., 1928a. *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, vol. 1 (Uppsala).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1928b. Ein Hymnus auf Zervān im Bundahišn, *ZDMG* 82, 217-235.

- Nyberg, H. S., 1929. Questions de cosmogonie et cosmologie mazdeénnes I, *JA* 214, 193-310.
- Nyberg, H. S., 1931a. Questions de cosmogonie et cosmologie mazdeénnes II, *JA* 219, 1-134.
- Nyberg, H. S., 1931b. Questions de cosmogonie et cosmologie mazdeénnes III, *JA* 220, 193-244.
- Nyberg, H.S., 1931c. *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, vol. 2 (Uppsala).
- Okunishi, S., 1983. The collation of the manuscripts of the Bundahishn: Preface and Chapter I, part I, *Orient* 19, 63-85.
- Scheffelowitz, I., 1929. *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion, Kāla und Zruvan* (Stuttgart).
- Shaked, Sh., 1967. Some notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and his creation, in E. E. Urbach, R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, C. H. Wirszubsky (ed.), *Studies in mysticism and religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem), 227-234.
- Shaked, Sh., 1980. Mihr the Judge, *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* 2, 1-31.
- Shaked, Sh., 1992. The myth of Zurvan: cosmogony and eschatology, in I. Gruenwald, Sh. Shaked, G. G. Stroumsa (ed.), *Messiah and Christos: studies in the Jewish origins of Christianity presented to David Flusser* (Tübingen), 219-240.
- Shaked, Sh., 1994. *Dualism in transformation. Varieties of religion in Sasanian Iran* (London).
- Sohn, P., 1996. *Die Medizin des Zādsparam* (Iranica 3, Wiesbaden).
- Spiegel, F., 1860. *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen* (Wien).
- Sundermann, W., 2001. Das Manichäerkapitel des Škand Gumānig Wizār in der Darstellung und Deutung Jean de Menasces, in J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst (ed.), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaeae Studies (IAMS)*, (Leiden), 325-337.
- West, E. W., 1880. *Pahlavi texts*, pt. 1 (Sacred books of the East 5, Oxford; repr. Delhi 1965).
- Westergaard, N. L., 1854. *Bundelesh, Liber Pehlevicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit . . .* (Havniæ).
- Widengren, G., 1967a. Zervanitische Texte aus dem "Avesta" in der Pahlavi-Überlieferung. Eine Untersuchung zu Zātsparam und Bundahišn, in G. Wiessner (ed.), *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers. Ein Dokument der internationaler Forschung zum 27 September 1966* (Wiesbaden), 278-287.
- Widengren, G., 1967b. Philological remarks on some Pahlavi texts chiefly concerned with Zervanite religion, in *Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa centenary volume* (Bombay), 84-103.
- Williams, A. V., 1990. *The Pahlavi rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Copenhagen), 2 vols.
- Windischmann, F., 1863. *Zoroastrische Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagen Geschichte des alten Iran*, ed. F. Spiegel (Berlin).
- Zaehner, R. C., 1937-1939. Zurvanica I-III, *BSOS* 9, 303-320, 573-585, 871-901.
- Zaehner, R. C., 1939-1942. A Zervanite apocalypse I-II, *BSOS* 10, 377-398, 606-631.
- Zaehner, R. C., 1955a. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford).
- Zaehner, R. C., 1955b. Postscript to *Zurvān*, *BSOAS* 17, 232-249.

ALTORIENTALISCHE UND AVESTA-TRADITIONEN IN DER HERRSCHERTITULATUR
DES VORISLAMISCHEN IRAN

Iris Colditz

Bei der Erforschung iranischer Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte stößt man in allen Epochen auf Erscheinungen und Institutionen, die sich scheinbar über lange Zeiträume als konstant erweisen. Selbst einige gesellschaftliche Erscheinungen des modernen, islamisch geprägten Iran sind nur aus dem Studium der vorislamischen Epochen heraus erklärbar, wozu auch gerade spezifisch schiitische Einrichtungen wie die Zeitehe (*mu'a*), die religiösen Stiftungen (*waqf*), und die den Imamen innewohnende und Unfehlbarkeit verleihende göttliche Substanz (*hulūl*) gehören.¹ Allerdings sind solche offensichtlichen Merkmale von Kontinuität in der Forschung oft nur summarisch und unkritisch zusammengetragen worden, u.a. für die Problematik von Herrscherlegitimation und Herrscherbild in Iran. Bis in neueste Arbeiten hinein ist hier ein Nachwirken der "Myth and Ritual School" festzustellen, die seit Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts die Grundidee einer für den Alten Orient allgemeingültigen Königsideologie des "sakralen Königtums" prägte und von Iranisten wie G. Widengren vertreten wurde.² Solche generalisierenden Arbeiten, meist Überblicksdarstellungen, gehen von einer nahezu ungebrochenen Kontinuität der iranischen Kultur aus. Dagegen hat die neuere Forschung eine stärkere Differenzierung in der Ausprägung des Königtums herausgearbeitet, zwischen den einzelnen Kulturen des Alten Orients als auch zwischen den Entwicklungsstufen innerhalb eines Kulturraumes. Dies erfordert als Methodik solcher Untersuchungen, aus ähnlichen Erscheinungen nicht ohne genaue Prüfung vorschnell eine Parallelität abzuleiten, beispielsweise in der Frage, was als tatsächliche Weiterentwicklung althergebrachter Institutionen angesehen werden kann und was als späteres "Konstrukt" durch bewußten Rückgriff auf traditionelle Elemente.³ Als weite-

¹ Vgl. bes. die Arbeiten von M. Macuch: Sasanidische Institutionen in frühislamischer Zeit, in *Transition periods in Iranian history* (Leuven 1987), 177-179; Die Zeitehe im sasanidischen Recht – Ein Vorläufer der šīitischen Mu'a-Ehe in Iran?, *AMI* 18 (1985), 187-203; Die sasanidische Stiftung "für die Seele" – Vorbild für den islamischen waqf?, in P. Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European studies. Memorial volume of Otakar Klíma* (Praha 1994), 163-180.

² Zu Entstehung und Entwicklung der Myth and Ritual School sowie ihren wichtigsten Thesen vgl. I. Engnell, *Studies in divine kingship in the ancient Near East* (Oxford 1943; 2nd ed. 1967); W. von Soden, Königtum, sakrales, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3. Aufl., vol. 3 (Tübingen 1959), 1712-1714; G. Widengren, Early Hebrew myths and their interpretation, in S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, ritual, and kingship. Essays on the theory and practice of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel* (Oxford 1958), 149-203. Als Beispiele neuerer Arbeiten, die ebenfalls in dieser Tradition stehen, können genannt werden: W. Knauth, S. Nadjmbadi, *Das altiranische Fürstenideal von Xenophon bis Ferdousi* (Wiesbaden 1975); M. Abka'i-Khavari, *Das Bild des Königs in der Sasanidenzeit* (Hildesheim 2000). Zur Kritik der These vom sakralen Königtum vgl. Ahn 1992, 17-53, 188-192; Duchesne-Guillemin 1979, 378 f.; Frye 1972, 103; Röllig 1981, 114-125.

³ Zu dieser Problematik hat Gherardo Gnoli, dem der vorliegende Band zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet ist, wichtige inhaltliche und methodologische Beiträge geleistet, vgl. u.a.: Ēr mazdēšn. Zum Begriff Iran und seiner Entstehung im 3. Jh., in *Transition periods in Iranian history* (Leuven 1987), 83-100; *The idea of*

res methodologisches Problem stellt sich die Frage der Anwendung von Theorien der neuzeitlichen Geschichtswissenschaft und Soziologie, besonders auch der Kulturanthropologie, auf Perioden der alten Geschichte, die gegenwärtig z.T. kontrovers diskutiert werden, sich aber für Teilbereiche, wie die Legitimitätsfrage des Königtums, als nicht praktikabel erwiesen haben.⁴ Das Problem von Kontinuität und Wandel in der iranischen Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte, besonders bezüglich der Königsideologie, bleibt somit weiterhin aktuell und ist bisher nur in Ansätzen kritisch und detailliert untersucht worden.⁵

Ihren jeweiligen Ausdruck findet die Königsideologie auch in der offiziellen Herrschertitulatur. Diese enthält Aussagen zum Legitimationsanspruch, zum religiösen Bekenntnis des Königs und auch zu dessen eigenem Selbstverständnis. Als Legitimationsargument⁶ erscheint sie vor allem in offiziellen Dokumenten, wie Inschriften, Siegeln und Münzen. Daneben kommen aber Titel auch in "inoffiziell" oder "traditionell" zu nennenden Quellen vor, wie in der religiösen und epischen Überlieferung. Eine Analyse von Form und Bildung der verschiedenen Titel, deren möglichen Vorbildern, ihrem Gebrauch in den verschiedenen Quellen und deren Tradierungslinien trägt somit als Detailstudie zur Untersuchung von Kontinuität und Wandel in der iranischen Geschichte bei. Anhand ausgewählter Beispiele soll im folgenden ein Überblick über die Entwicklung der iranischen Herrschertitulatur in vorislamischer Zeit gegeben werden, wobei besonders auf die Einflüsse der vorderasiatischen Hochkulturen und der eigenen iranischen religiösen Tradition des Avesta eingegangen wird.

1. ALTORIENTALISCHE TRADITIONEN UND OFFIZIELLER IRANISCHER HERRSCHERTITEL

Mit der Einwanderung der Iraner, die sich selbst noch mit dem traditionellen ethnischen Begriff 'Arier', av. *airiia-*, ap. *ariya-* bezeichneten, in das iranische Hochland seit der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh.v.Chr. begann ein langer und komplizierter Anpassungsprozeß zwischen Bewahrung eigener Traditionen und Adaption vorgefundener altorientalischer Institutionen. Als schließlich 559 v.Chr. Kyros II. die politische Macht über den Meder Astyages errang und diese in den folgenden Jahren auf den ganzen Iran und so wichtige Staaten wie Elam und Babylon ausdehnen konnte und die mächtige Dynastie der Achämeniden begründete, stand ein iranischer Herrscher erstmals an der Spitze eines Großreiches. Damit stellten sich neue Anforderungen an dessen Machtlegitimation und ihre öffentliche Darstellung, da nun auch Nichtiraner mit ihren eigenen Traditionen zu den Untertanen zählten. Um eine Akzeptanz der neuen Dynastie in allen beherrschten Ländern zu erzielen und damit auch die Stabilität des Reiches zu sichern, mußten für die Herrschertitulation Ausdrucksformen gefunden werden, in denen die Legitimation des Königs und die Darstellung seiner Macht und Größe für alle Untertanen deutlich wurde. Es ist die Frage, ob es überhaupt einen iranischen Titel gab, der diese Ansprüche erfüllen konnte. In der ak-

Iran. An essay on its origin (Serie orientale Roma 62, Roma 1989).

⁴ Zum Problem vgl. Ahn 1992, 17-20.

⁵ Vgl. neben Ahn 1992 auch W. Sundermann, *Die sasanidische Herrscherlegitimation und ihre Bedingungen* (unpubl. Dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1963); Gnoli 1974, 117-190; Rafiy 1999, 49-52, 90-95.

⁶ Zum Begriff vgl. Ahn 1992, 19 f.

kadischen Tonzyylinderinschrift⁷ anlässlich seines triumphalen Einzugs in Babylon 539 v. Chr. nennt Kyros sich selbst und seine Vorgänger noch ‘König von Anšan’ (Gebiet um Tell-e Maljan westlich von Persepolis); allerdings handelt es sich um einen Text im Stil einer babylonischen Weihinschrift, der den akkadischen Königstitel *šarru* (*šar* URU *anšan*) benutzt, welcher keinen Rückschluß auf die iranische Originalbezeichnung zuläßt. Derselbe Titel begegnet auch in den akkadischen Versionen der Achämenideninschriften seit Darius I., dort als Entsprechung zu ap. *xšāyaθiya*; ob aber dieser Terminus bereits unter Kyros II. in Gebrauch war, bleibt unklar.⁸ Die achämenidische Herrschertitulatur scheint unter Kyros II. noch nicht ihre spätere Ausprägung angenommen zu haben, sondern ist insbesondere durch den Einfluß der Terminologie der westlichen Nachbarreiche geformt worden. Das hängt mit der Möglichkeit des schriftlichen Ausdrucks iranischer Termini zusammen. Die Iraner kannten zunächst keine Schrift und bedienten sich deshalb der Schreibertradition Mesopotamiens, fremdsprachliche Texte während des Diktats zu übersetzen und in Aramäisch, aber auch in Akkadisch, Elamisch oder Ägyptisch wiederzugeben. Die offizielle Einführung der neugeschaffenen altpersischen Keilschrift erfolgte jedenfalls erst unter Darius I.⁹ Die vorderasiatischen Kulturen hatten trotz verschiedener Sprachen und Schriftsysteme über Jahrhunderte hinweg bereits einen festen Formenbestand an Termini zur Darstellung der Herrscherideologie geschaffen. In Königsinschriften, Archiven und Annalen findet sich ein System von “Schlüsseltermini”, deren Ursprünge bei den Sumerern liegen und die immer wieder von den Nachfolgekulturen entlehnt wurden, häufig sogar als Heterogramme. Solche Inschriftenformulare blieben über Jahrhunderte und über die Kulturen hinweg relativ gleich, und die Iraner lernten ihr Begriffssystem kennen, während sie Seite an Seite mit den alten Hochkulturen lebten. Bereits in den akkadischen Inschriften Kyros II. (Tonzyylinder- und Backsteininschriften) kommt eine Vermischung der überlieferten Formulare vor: neben typisch neubabylonischen Titeln wie *šar kiš-šat* ‘König des Alls’, *šar bābili*^{KI} ‘König von Babylon’, *šar KUR šu-me-ri ù ak-ka-di-i* ‘König von Sumer und Akkad’ und *šar kib-ra-a-ti er-bé-et-ti* ‘König der vier Weltufer’ treten dort Titel auf, die nur selten oder gar nicht in babylonischen Inschriften verwendet werden: *šarru rabû* ‘der große König’, *šarru dannu* ‘der mächtige König’ und *šar matāti* ‘der König der Länder’, die ihre Vorbilder in assyrischen Inschriften des 14.–7. Jh. v. Chr. sowie in urartäischen Inschriften des 9. Jh. v. Chr. haben.¹⁰ Die Urartäer sind hier das Bindeglied zwischen Assyriern und Achämeniden. Auch für die literarische Form der urartäischen und altpersischen Inschriften lassen sich Übereinstimmungen finden, z.B. die Gliederung in ‘so spricht der König’, ebenso wie für Architektur und Kunst beider Völker.¹¹ Die auf urartäische Vorlagen zurückgehenden Titel des Kyros

⁷ Ed. Weissbach 1911, 2-9; vgl. auch Kienast 1979, 353 f.

⁸ Ed. Weissbach 1911; E. N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisutun inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian version* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, pt. 1, vol. 2, Texts 1, London 1978).

⁹ DB 4.88-90 (§ 70), ed. Kent 1953, 130, 132. Ansätze für eine iranische Schriftreform sind vielleicht schon unter Kambyzes II. erfolgt, die aber erst durch Darius I. in abgewandelter Form realisiert wurde. Zum Problem vgl. Schmitt 1989, 61 f.

¹⁰ Zum Einfluß der urartäischen Herrschertitulatur auf die achämenidische vgl. Kienast 1979, 351-364.

¹¹ Vgl. Kienast 1979, 363 f.

sind auch Vorbild für die altpersische Titulatur des Darius geworden, wenn auch im einzelnen folgende Abweichungen bestehen: Kyros' Titel *šarru dannu* 'mächtiger König' kommt bei Darius nicht vor; Darius verwendet als einen weiteren Titel ap. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 'der König der Könige', akkad. *šar šarrāni*, ebenfalls aus urartäischer Tradition, wenn auch nicht bei Kyros benutzt.

Die offizielle Herrschertitulation besteht somit seit Darius aus vier Einzeltiteln:

<i>xšāyaθiya vaz(a)raka</i> ¹²	'der große König'
<i>xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām</i>	'der König der Könige'
<i>xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy</i>	'der König von Pārsa' (nur in DB)
<i>xšāyaθiya dahyūnām</i>	'der König der Länder'.

Bei der Vermittlung zwischen dem urartäischen Formular und dem altpersischen Ausdruck haben offensichtlich die Meder die entscheidende Rolle gespielt. Entlehnungen aus dem Medischen sowie "Medismen" kommen im Altpersischen besonders für Termini aus dem Bereich des Hofes und der Verwaltung vor.¹³ Selbst der Titel ap. *xšāyaθiya* 'König, Herrscher', der akkad. *šarru* entspricht und auf das Abstraktum *xšāya* 'Herrschgewalt, Königtum', zu *xšāy-* 'Herr sein, verfügen über', ai. *kṣā-*, zurückgeht, ist lautgestaltlich eher medisch, da er echt ap. **xšāyašiya-* lauten müßte.¹⁴ Ein weiterer "Medismus" ist die Formel ap. *vašnā auramazdāha* 'durch den Willen Ahuramazdas', die Entsprechungen in urartäisch *haldinini alsuišini* 'durch die Größe des (Gottes) Haldi' bzw. *haldinini ušmašini* 'durch die Macht des (Gottes) Haldi' hat. 'Größe' und 'Macht' fallen hier in dem Begriff *vašnā* zusammen, ebenso wie akkad. *šarru rabû* und *šarru dannu* in ap. *xšāyaθiya vaz(a)raka* zusammenfallen. Ap. *vašnā auramazdāha* könnte deshalb, entsprechend der urartäischen Vorlage, auch als 'durch die Macht/Größe Ahuramazdas' übersetzt werden.¹⁵ Von der vierfach gegliederten achämenidischen Herrschertitulatur findet einzig der Titel *Xš (= xšāyaθiya) vaz(a)raka* 'großer König (oder: Großkönig)' in den altpersischen Siegelschriften Verwendung.¹⁶

Durch die Verknüpfung älterer mesopotamischer Vorbilder mit der iranischen Sprache entstanden neue Ausdrucksformen für die iranische Kultur und Geisteswelt, neue Standards, die sich über Jahrhunderte hinaus als beispielgebend erweisen sollten.¹⁷ Jedoch wurden nicht alle Bestandteile der achämenidischen Königstitulatur bis in mitteliranische Zeit weiter tradiert. Dies ist auf einen teilweisen Überlieferungsverlust während der grie-

¹² Zu einer möglichen Lesung **vazaraka-* statt *vazraka-* bzw. *vazrka-* zum Adj. **vaza-* 'erwachsen, stark, groß' vgl. Szemerényi 1975, 335 f., 339 f.; vgl. auch Colditz 2000, 244 f.

¹³ Zu den "Medismen" vgl. Kent 1953, 8 f.; Schmitt 1989, 83 f.

¹⁴ Ap. *-šī-* gegenüber med., av. *-θī-* < ideur. *-ti-*; vgl. Benveniste 1993, 306; Kent 1953, 8 f., 32.

¹⁵ Zu dieser Übersetzung von ap. *vašnā* aufgrund der urartäischen Parallelen vgl. Szemerényi 1975, 325-343, der das Wort zurückführt auf ein Instr. Sg. von **vaza-* 'erwachsen, stark, groß', im Gegensatz zur üblichen Erklärung des Wortes als Instr. Sg. von **vaš-na-* 'Willen', av. *vasnā*, zum Vb. av. *vas-* 'wollen, wünschen'.

¹⁶ Auf Siegeln des Xerxes und des Artaxerxes III. (SXa, SA³b), ed. Schmitt 1981, 24, 36. In weiteren Siegeln kann der Titel trotz des fragmentarischen Zustands vermutet werden.

¹⁷ Der (indirekte) Einfluß der altpersischen Inschriften und Reliefs ist über die Sasanideninschriften bis hin zu den Inschriften des Herrschers Aśoka in Indien spürbar, vgl. Dandamaev 1976, 88-90.

chischen Herrschaft in Iran zurückzuführen. Der Sieg Alexanders des Großen hatte das Ende des achämenidischen Großreiches herbeigeführt. Doch bereits mit den Nachfolgestaaten der hellenistischen Periode, dem Seleukidenreich, dem ptolemäischen Ägypten und dem antigonidischen Makedonien, wurden neue Dynastien als Erbkönigtum wieder eingeführt, die Herrscher führten seit 305 v.Chr. den Titel βασιλεύς 'König'. Obwohl die Kultur der Seleukiden, die ihre Herrschaft über das ehemalige alexandrinische Reich ausdehnten, im wesentlichen griechisch geprägt war, blieb der griechische Einfluß hier auf die Städte beschränkt, und es kam zu einer teilweisen Übernahme vorderasiatischer Traditionen. So führte Seleukos den akkadischen Titel *šar bābili* 'König von Babylon', von seinem Sohn Antiochos I. sind Bauinschriften mit akkadischen Titeln wie *šarru rabū* 'der große König' überliefert.¹⁸ Tigranes I. von Armenien (94-65 v.Chr.) führte seit der Rückeroberung armenischer Gebiete, die dem Tod des Arsakiden Mithradates II. 88/7 v.Chr. folgte, auf Münzen mit griechischer Legende den Titel βασιλεὺς βασιλέων 'König der Könige', "geradezu als ob er die Parther verhöhnen wollte".¹⁹ Doch schon Tigranes III. (12-6 v.Chr.) trug ebenso den Titel βασιλεὺς μέγας 'Großkönig', der sich danach als armenischer Herrschertitel durchsetzte und der ebenso bei den Königen von Syrien (2. Jh.v.Chr.) und der Kommagene (1. Jh.n.Chr.) auf Münzen im Gebrauch war.²⁰ Somit werden auch in hellenistischer Zeit einzelne Elemente altorientalischer wie auch der achämenidischen Herrschertitulaturen weitergeführt.

In weiten Teilen des ehemaligen Achämenidenreiches hatte das Aramäische als Verwaltungssprache und Lingua franca die Funktion des kulturellen Gedächtnisses übernommen; so haben Abschriften der aramäischen Version die Achämenideninschriften zumindest dem Inhalt nach bewahrt, während der genaue Wortlaut der altpersischen Originale längst nicht mehr bekannt war. Zugleich bot die aramäische Schrift die Möglichkeit, Iranisch zu schreiben, und in einem langen Prozeß bildeten sich die Pahlavik- und die Pārsik-Schrift heraus mit ihrer besonderen Eigenart der heterographischen Schreibung. Dieser Übergang ist besonders für die Arsakidendynastie zu beobachten, die bis ins 2. Jh.n.Chr. Münzen mit griechischen Legenden prägte. Darunter finden sich solche mit den Titeln βασιλεὺς μέγας 'Großkönig' (Tiridates I.-Mithradates III., 248-54 v.Chr.), βασιλεὺς βασιλέων 'König der Könige' (Orodes I.-Vologeses VI., 57 v.Chr.-222 n.Chr.) sowie als Variante βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας 'großer König der Könige' (Phraates III.-Orodes I., 70-37 v.Chr.).²¹ Einen ähnlichen Befund bieten Keilschrifttafeln in akkadischer Sprache aus parthischer Zeit. Hier nennen sich Mithradates II. und Phraates IV. (datiert 108/7 bzw. 35/4 v.Chr.) akkad. *šar šarrāni* 'König der Könige'.²² Der Gebrauch dieser Titel besonders seit Mithradates I. (171-139/8 v.Chr.) ist Ausdruck für den

¹⁸Vgl. Minns 1915, 34.

¹⁹Schippmann 1980, 33.

²⁰Zu den griechischen Münzen aus Armenien, Syrien und der Kommagene vgl. Babelon 1890, 227-231, 242. (In den Legenden steht der Titel in der Genitiv-Form.)

²¹Vgl. Petrowicz 1968, 199-206; dazu mit abweichenden Angaben für die Datierung bzw. Zuordnung von Titeln zu den einzelnen Herrschern Sellwood 1983, 279-298.

²²Daneben kommt bei Phraates II. auch noch der alte Titel akkad. *šar matāti* 'König der Länder' vor (datiert 133/2 v.Chr.). Vgl. Minns 1915, 34-36, 38 f.

Aufstieg der parthischen Macht "in response no doubt to territorial acquisitions and increased imperial pretensions", er spiegelt sich auch äußerlich in der Ablösung der bartlosen Herrscherdarstellung mit Baschlyk-Mütze auf den Münzen durch ein Bildnis mit Bart und Diadem in achämenidischer Tradition.²³ Auch ein Felsrelief Mithradates II. in Behistun, in unmittelbarer Nähe der großen Triumphinschrift Darius I. mit dazugehörigem Relief zeigt, daß "all reveals an attempt, politically motivated, to relate the Arsacid and the Achaemenid dynasties".²⁴ Bereits der Arsakidenherrscher Vologeses I. (51-76/80 n.Chr.) läßt Münzen mit seinem Namen in Pahlavik-Schrift prägen, ab Mithradates VI. (um 116 n.Chr.) wird in den Münzlegenden der Titel parth. *šāh* <MLK'> 'König' hinzugefügt. Später setzt sich auch in der heterographisch-parthischen Schreibung der offizielle Königstitel *šāhīn šāh* <MLKYN MLK'> 'König der Könige' durch, der griech. βασιλεὺς βασιλέων und ap. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* entspricht. Dagegen wird der Titel 'großer König/Großkönig' unter den Arsakiden immer seltener gebraucht. Bezeichnenderweise kommt er in Inschriften des Gotarzes vor,²⁵ eines nahen Verwandten Mithradates II. (ca. 124/3-88/7 v.Chr.), unter dem er den Titel eines 'Satrapen der Satrapen' trägt, wohl als Nachbildung von 'König der Könige'.²⁶ Gotarzes ergriff die Herrschaft in Babylon und erhob sich zum arsakidischen "Gegenkönig" (Gotarzes I.), wie auch babylonische Keilschrifttafeln für die Zeit zwischen 90-78 v.Chr. belegen.²⁷ Dieser König trägt auch den parthischen Titel *šāh wuzurg* <MLK' RB'> 'Großkönig' in einer ein Relief begleitenden Inschrift in Sarpol, möglicherweise eine Belehnungsszene.²⁸ Es fällt auf, daß im Westiran und den angrenzenden Gebieten (Babylonien, Armenien, Syrien, Kommagene) offenbar der Titel 'großer König/Großkönig' bevorzugt wurde, während sich für den eigentlichen Iran und den Osten unter den Arsakiden der Titel 'König der Könige' durchsetzte.

In der Persis verwendeten die persischen Frataraka-Fürsten bereits seit Ende des 2. Jh. v.Chr. den Titel mp. *šāh* <MLK'> in Münzlegenden in Pārsik-Schrift. Dieser einfache Titel zeigt, daß die Fürsten der Persis keine Großmachtambitionen verfolgten wie die Arsakiden. Das änderte sich erst mit der Thronnahme der Sasanidendynastie durch Ardashīr 224 n.Chr. und der erneuten Reichseinigung unter persischer Herrschaft. Ardashīr führte die fortan verbindliche offizielle sasanidische Titulatur ein: *mazdēs n bay, šāhān šāh i ērān, kē čīhr az yazdān* 'mazdaverehrende Majestät, König der Könige von Ērān, dessen Herkunft von den Göttern (ist)', die sein Nachfolger Šābuhr I. nach umfangreichen Eroberungen durch den Zusatz *ud an-ērān* 'und den nicht-ērānischen (Ländern)' ergänzte; als Kurzform des vollständigen Titels wird in den Inschriften, auf Münzen und Siegeln *šāhān šāh*

²³ Vgl. Sellwood 1983, 281.

²⁴ Colledge 1967, 32 f.

²⁵ Zu Gotarzes und zum Problem der Identifizierung bzw. Gleichsetzung von Personen mit diesem Namen in den verschiedenen Quellen vgl. u.a. Colledge 1967, 32-35; Sellwood 1976, 6-8; Schippmann 1980, 31-33, 108 Anm. 39-42 (mit weiterer Literatur); Bivar 1983, 41 f., 44, 51, 78; Gropp 1968, 315-319.

²⁶ In der griechischen Inschrift auf einem Felsrelief Mithradates II. in Behistun, vgl. Herzfeld 1920, 35 ff.; Bivar 1983, 41; Colledge 1967, 32 f.; Gropp 1968, 317.

²⁷ Vgl. Herzfeld 1920, 39; Gropp 1968, 316; zur Datierung vgl. Debevoise 1938, 48 f.

²⁸ Vgl. Trümpelmann 1976, 14-16; Schippmann 1980, 32; Gropp 1968, 315-319.

<MLK'(?)n MLK'> 'König der Könige' verwendet.²⁹ Dieser Titel ist ein direkter Fortsetzer von ap. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*, während die anderen Bestandteile der sasanidischen Herrschertitulatur als sehr freie Entsprechungen der achämenidischen Vorbilder angesehen werden können: mp. *i ērān ud an-ērān* erscheint als eine sinngemäße Kombination von ap. *xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy* und *xšāyaθiya dahyūnām* und mp. *kē čīhr az yazdān* ist eine Übersteigerung von Formeln wie ap. *vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya āham/ami* 'durch den Willen (oder: die *Macht/Größe) Ahuramazdās bin/war ich König' oder *Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara* 'Ahuramazdā verlieh mir die Herrschaft'. Obwohl die Sasaniden versuchten, bewußt an das große iranische Vorgängerreich der Achämeniden anzuknüpfen, u.a. durch das Konstrukt einer dynastischen Verwandtschaft mit diesen, hatten sie offenbar nur noch wenige detaillierte Kenntnisse über das achämenidische Herrschertum.³⁰

Neben *šāhān šāh* wird unter den Sasaniden auch noch der Titel *wuzurg šāh* 'großer König' weitergeführt, allerdings nicht als Bestandteil der dynastischen Herrschertitulatur, sondern als Titel von Herrschern abhängiger oder fremder Länder.³¹ So trägt der sasanidische Thronfolger bevorzugt den Titel mp. *wuzurg šāh arminān*, griech. μέγας βασιλεὺς ὁρμενίας, 'Großkönig von Armenien', der – wie bereits oben bemerkt – schon bei den armenischen Herrschern während der Arsakidenzeit verbreitet war.³² Statt *šāh* findet auch mp. *šahryār* 'Herrscher' Verwendung, so in einem ähnlichen Titel *wuzurg šahryār i hindūgānīhā* 'Großkönig der Inder' für den tributpflichtigen Herrscher Devasārm.³³ Auch die manichäisch-iranische Literatur überliefert diesen Titel für einen nichtiranischen König. In einer Hymne wird hier ein uighurischer Herrscher als mp. *wuzurg šahryār* bezeichnet.³⁴ Eine gewissermaßen analoge Bildung ist parth. *wuzurg hēgemōn* 'der große Herrscher' als Titel neben *šāh* 'König' für Pilatus in einer manichäischen Kreuzigungshymne über Jesus.³⁵ Ein deutlicher Wandel in der sasanidischen Herrschertitulatur vollzieht sich jedoch ab Mitte des 5. Jh.n.Chr. durch die Einführung des Gebrauchs von mp. *kay*, der Weiterentwicklung von av. *kauui-*, als offizieller Herrschertitel, worin sich ostiranischer Einfluß abzeichnet.

2. AVESTATRADITIONEN: AV. *KAUUI-*, MP. *KAY*, PARTH. *KAW*, SOGHD. *KAWI*

Ein ganz anderes Bild zeigt das Avesta in seiner heutigen Gestalt. Besonders die Gāthās, die Yašts und der *Vidēvdād* überliefern eine Reihe von Termini, die bestimmte Titel

²⁹ Zu den Inschriften vgl. besonders ANRm-a 1-3 und ŠKZ 1, ed. Back 1978, 281-520; für die Siegel (Kurzform) vgl. Yamauchi 1993, 70; für die Münzen (Lang- und Kurzform) vgl. Göbl 1968, Tabelle XV; Göbl 1983, 330.

³⁰ So die unhistorische Behauptung, Ardaxšīr würde väterlicherseits auf 'Dārā, Sohn des Dārā' zurückgehen, im *Kārnamag i Ardaxšīr i Pābagān* und bei Tabarī, die keine Basis in der achämenidischen Herrscherchronologie besitzt.

³¹ Zum Problem vgl. auch Colditz 2000, 247-250. In der Identifizierung des Gotarzes in der Sarpol-Inschrift mit Gotarzes I. folge ich jetzt Gropp 1968, 318.

³² ŠKZ 23/18/40-41, 25/20/48, ed. Back 1978, 332 f., 339 f. Träger des Titels waren u.a. Ohrmazd-Ardaxšīr, Sohn Šābuhr I., Narseh, Sohn Wahrām II., Yazdegerd, Sohn Šābuhr III.; vgl. Chaumont 1968, 81-93.

³³ *Wizārišn i Čatrang* 1, ed. Jamasp-Asana 1897, 115; Nyberg 1964, 118.

³⁴ MIK 6371 /r/i/4/, ed. Müller 1912, 192 f.

³⁵ M 132 a /r/3-6/ und fast identisch M 5861 /r/ii/3-6/, ed. Müller 1904, 36; Boyce 1975b, 130, Text *byc*.

oder Würden bezeichnen. Der soziale Hintergrund des Avesta basierte auf einer patriarchalisch geprägten Gesellschaft sesshafter Hirten mit dem Rind und primitiver Weidewirtschaft, später auch einfachem Getreideanbau, als Wirtschaftsgrundlage. Mit ihrer alten indoiranischen Dreiergliederung in Priester (av. *āθrauuan-*, daneben weitere Priesterklassen), Krieger (*nar-*, *raθaēštar-*) und Hirten/Bauern (*vāstriiō.fšuiiant-*),³⁶ später erweitert um die vierte Gruppe der Handwerker (*hūiti-*), neben einer vierfachen geographischen Gliederung in 'Familie, Haus' (g.av. *x'aētu-*, j.av. *nmāna-*), 'Siedlung, Gemeinde' als Sitz des Clans (g.av. *vərəzāna-*, j.av. *vis-*), 'Stamm' (g.av. *airiīaman-*, j.av. *zan̄tu-*) und 'Wohnplatz, Heimstätte' (g.av. *šōiθra-*) bzw. 'Landgebiet, Landschaft' (g.av., j.av. *dañiu-*, j.av. auch *dañhu-*) gibt sie keinen Hinweis auf eine umfassendere staatliche Einheit.³⁷ An der Spitze dieser Gesellschaft stand der mit dem avestischen Titel *kauui-* bezeichnete 'Häuptling' oder 'Fürst', dessen Herrschaftsgebiet die größte der genannten geographischen Einheiten darstellte.³⁸ Av. *kauui-* wird im allgemeinen zu ved. *kavi-* 'Seher, Weiser', vielleicht auch 'Dichter' gestellt, das zahlreiche Ableitungen im Vedischen hat.³⁹ Es muß sich ursprünglich nicht notwendigerweise um einen Priester gehandelt haben, eher um einen 'weisen Mann' mit der Gabe des prophetischen Sehens, die in bestimmten Familien vielleicht als erblich angesehen wurde.⁴⁰ Eine dieser Familien könnte dann in Zarathustras späterem Wirkungsgebiet zu dynastischer Macht gelangt sein und *kauui-* als Herrschertitel angenommen haben.⁴¹ Der Titel *kauui-* wird für zwei verschiedene Personenkreise im Avesta verwendet:

Erstens, als von Zarathustra geprägte pejorative Bezeichnung von Fürsten, die der Daēuua-Verehrung anhängen und Zarathustra feindlich gesinnt waren. In den Gāthās finden sie mit den Priesterklassen der *karapan-* und *usig-*, in den Yašts mit den *sātar-* (< *sāstar-*) 'Machthabern, Gebietern' und den *karapan-* Erwähnung.⁴²

Zweitens, im jüngeren Avesta als Titel der auf *Kauuāta-* zurückgehenden Dynastie, die als katalogartige Liste von acht Fürsten oder einzeln in den Yašts erscheinen: *kauui*

³⁶ Daneben auch der religiös besetzte Terminus g.av. *drəgu-*, j.av. *driyu-* 'Hirte, Angehöriger des dritten Standes'; vgl. Colditz 2000, 174-177 mit weiterer Literatur.

³⁷ Vgl. Boyce 1975a, 13; Yarshater 1983b, 462 f.; mit jedem Entwicklungsstadium des Kayaniden-Sagenzyklus wurden auch die zugrunde liegenden gesellschaftlichen Zustände prunkvoller beschrieben, so z.B. die Verhältnisse der Sasanidenzeit rückprojiziert.

³⁸ Nicht eingegangen wird an dieser Stelle auf weitere Titel. Dazu gehört u.a. av. *sāstar-* 'Machthaber, Herr', zu *sah-* 'lehren, heißen', dazu ved. *sāstár-* 'Gebietern', *sās-* 'gebieten'; zum Titel vgl. Szemerényi 1951, 153-166; Hintze 1994, 163. Schon im Avesta wird der Titel pejorativ verwendet, besonders aber mp. *sāstār* steht in der zoroastrischen Literatur für den 'Gewaltherrscher, Tyrann', den trughaften, nichtzarathustrischen Herrscher, dessen Tun nicht den ethischen Normen des Zoroastrismus entspricht. Dieser Titel wurde dementsprechend auch nicht Bestandteil der offiziellen Herrschertitulatur der großen iranischen Dynastien.

³⁹ Vgl. Hintze 1994, 421; Mayrhofer 1992, 328 f.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Boyce 1975a, 11 f.

⁴¹ Vgl. Gershevitch 1959, 185 f. Nach Meinung Hintzes (1994, 172) ist das Wort "erst allmählich auf den Gebrauch als Beiwort von Fürsten eingeschränkt" worden.

⁴² Y. 32.15, 44.20, 46.11; in den Yašts nur in der Formel *daēuuanam mašiiānāmca yāθβam pairika-nāmca sāθram kaōiām karafnāmca* 'über Daēvas, Menschen, Zauberer und Hexen, Machthaber, Seher und Ritualpriester', ed. Hintze 1994, 161-164. Hintze übersetzt an anderer Stelle aber allgemeiner 'verstockte Fürsten' (ebd. 172).

Kauuāta, ~ Aipi.vohu, ~ Usaḍan/Usan, ~ Aršan, ~ Pisina, ~ Biiaršan, ~ Siiāuuaršan, ~ Haosrauuah, wobei Haosrauuah besonders gewürdigt wird.⁴³ Begleitet vom 'kavischen Machtglanz' (av. *kauuaēm x'arənō*) bitten sie in Opferhandlungen an die jungavestischen Götter um Herrschgewalt. Mit Haosrauuah endet jedoch diese Kauui-Linie, denn sein Sohn Āxrūra führt diesen Titel nicht mehr (Yt. 13.137).

Erst Vištāspa, der Gönner und Förderer Zarathustras aus dem Geschlecht der Naotari-den, wird – offenbar nach einem Interregnum unbekannter Länge – als ein weiterer und zugleich als letzter Träger des Kauui-Titels genannt. Die Quellen aus sasanidischer und islamischer Zeit konstruieren eine Verwandtschaft von Vištāspas Vater, Luhrāsp, der auch in Yt. 5.105 als av. *Auruuat.aspa* genannt wird, über eine Nebenlinie mit den Kayaniden, jedoch bleibt offen, ob Vištāspa eine solche Abstammung auch selbst deklarierte.⁴⁴ Der Titel eines Kauui wurde zu seinen Lebzeiten nicht exklusiv für seine Dynastie benutzt, da sich auch die feindlichen Fürsten so nannten. Vištāspas Nachfolger führten den Titel nicht fort. Nyberg vermutet, daß die Bezeichnung des Vorstehers der zoroastrischen Gemeinde, av. *zaraθuštrōtāma* 'der am meisten Zarathustra-gleiche' (Yt. 13.21), "zuerst der höchste Herrschertitel der zoroastrischen Gemeinde, dem zoroastrischen Stammesoberhaupt eigen und dem alten Kavi-Titel gleichwertig" war.⁴⁵ Es bleibt unklar, inwieweit der *kauui*- als Priesterkönig oder Stammeshäuptling mit sakralen Funktionen aufgefaßt werden kann.⁴⁶ Hintze hält den Gedanken "an ein Staatspriestertum der alten iranischen Stammeskönige ... immerhin für erwägenswert".⁴⁷ Ohne Zweifel hat es noch zur Zeit Zarathustras eine enge Beziehung zwischen der Priester- und der Kriegerklasse gegeben, die an eine Gewaltenteilung an der Spitze des Stammes denken läßt. So werden die feindlichen Kauuis noch zusammen mit anderen Priestertiteln genannt und somit der Titel nah an seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung verwendet,⁴⁸ andererseits werden sie hinlänglich als Herrscher gekennzeichnet (Y. 48.5: *dušəxšaθrā* 'schlechter Herrscher', Y. 48.10: *dušəxšaθrā daxiiunam* 'schlechter Herrscher der Länder'). Für Haosrauuah, den letzten der Kauui-Liste der Yašts, sind weitere Titel überliefert, die Einblick in seine Amtsaufgaben geben: er ist *ahura*- 'Herr; Gerichtsherr; Machthaber, Fürst' (Yt. 19.77), ein Amt mit juristischen Funktionen;⁴⁹ außerdem wird er *arša airiianam daxiiunam xšaθrāi han-kərəmō* 'Held der

⁴³ Yt. 3.49, 5.45, 49, 8.18, 9.18, 21 f., 13.112, 121, 132, 137, 15.32, 17.38, 19.71, 73-77, 93. Zu einer Übersicht über die Stellen vgl. Kellens 1976, 52 f.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Boyce 1975a, 105; Yarshater 1983b, 465 f.

⁴⁵ Nyberg 1938, 298.

⁴⁶ Zu dieser Erklärung vgl. Nyberg 1938, 48.

⁴⁷ Hintze 1994, 172 Anm. 2.

⁴⁸ Hintze (1994, 164) übersetzt den Terminus in dem entsprechenden Formular mit 'Seher', Gershevitch (1959, 185) 'hymn-mongers'.

⁴⁹ Zu av. *ahū*-, *aṇhū*- 'Herr', ein Terminus, der Autorität und richterliche Oberhoheit bezeichnet und zusammen mit av. *ratu*- 'Richter' verwendet wird, vgl. Bartholomae 1904, 281-283, 293. Im mp.B entspricht *axw ud rad* 'Herr und Meister', zwei Kategorien juristischer Autorität der *dastwars*; schon Ohrmazd besitzt derartige Autorität: *ōy i abardom axw ud rad dādār ohrmazd* 'jener höchste Herr und Meister (ist) der Schöpfer Ohrmazd' (DkM 874.22 = Dk IX 46.13, ed. Sanjana 1874-1928, 18/61,45). Die Rechtstexte beschreiben besonders den *rad* als Richter in kaufmännischen Angelegenheiten und Strafsachen; vgl. Macuch 1981, 15, 19, 60 f. Anm. 3 zum Instanzenweg.

arischen Länder, Befestiger der Herrschaft' genannt (*Yt.* 5.49 = 15.32). Wenn hiermit wirklich ein authentischer altiranischer Herrschertitel vorliegt, kann man eine Parallele zu *aršak*, dem Thronnamen der Arsakiden auf deren Münzen ziehen, den alle Herrscher dieser Dynastie trugen und dem nur bei Thronstreitigkeiten (z.B. Gotarzes, Orodes) der Personenname hinzugefügt wurde. Parth. *aršak*, wohl zu air. *aršan*- 'Held', geht dann nicht auf den mythischen Kauui Aršan oder auf einen Clannamen zurück,⁵⁰ sondern auf einen Titel *aršan*-, der noch in den Personennamen der Kauuis *Aršan*, *Biiaršan* und *Siiāuuaršan* anklingt. Dieser Titel wäre dann möglicherweise älter oder anderen ethnischen Ursprungs als der Titel *kauui*-, seine eigentliche Bedeutung in den Hintergrund getreten. Kauui Aršan kann man dann als Dopplung von Titeln verstehen wie das arsakidische βασιλεὺς αρσάκου. Die Naotariden sind eindeutig als Vertreter der Kriegerschaft gekennzeichnet, so durch den Besitz von schnellen Rossen bzw. die Bitte darum.⁵¹ Vištāspa ist in den Gāthās (*Y.* 51.16) auch Opferherr. Vištāspas Bruder Zairiuuairi (mp. Zarēr) sowie dessen Sohn Spəntōδāta (mp. Isfandiyār) sind Krieger, die im Glaubenskampf gegen den gegnerischen Herrscher Arjāspa zu Märtyrern werden; Zairiuuairi wird als 'zu Roß kämpfend' (*Yt.* 5.112) beschrieben. Auch Frašaoštra aus der Familie der Huuōguua ist ein Krieger (av. *nar*-), sein Bruder Jāmāspa der Überlieferung nach Minister des Kauui Vištāspa. Die erfolgreiche Missionierung des Vištāspa und seines Hofes hat zur Bildung eines Legendenkreises geführt, der Eingang in das altiranische Helden- und Herrscherepos fand. In den sogenannten "Adorantenkatalogen" der Yašts, Listen von Personen, die den unterschiedlichen Gottheiten geopfert haben, markiert die Kauui-Dynastie nach den mythischen Herrschern und den Heroen den Übergang zur "historischen" Zeit.⁵² Bei der mittelpersischen Bearbeitung des Stoffes in *Ayādgār i Zarērān*, *Ayādgār i Zāmāspīg* und *Zāmāsp-nāmag*⁵³ wird für die handelnden Personen eine Terminologie aus der sasanidischen Sicht des 6. Jh.n.Chr. verwendet: Vištāspa ist *šāh* 'Herrscher, König' und *bayān* 'Majestät' und hat den *gāh i šahryārīh* 'den Thron der Herrschaft' inne, Zarēr trägt den Titel eines *spāhbed* 'General, Armeeführer', während Zāmāsp mit dem aus arsakidischer Zeit übernommenen Titel *bīdaxš* 'Markgraf' bezeichnet wird,⁵⁴ was seine hervorragende Stellung als zweiter nach Vištāspa illustrieren soll.

⁵⁰Vgl. Lukonin 1983, 684-692.

⁵¹Kauui Vištāspa bittet Arəduui sūrā anāhita darum (*Yt.* 5.98) ebenso wie die Krieger (*Yt.* 5.85 f.). Schon Kauui Haosrauuaah siegte aufgrund der schnelleren Pferde auf der Rennbahn über den Türer Fraṇrasjān (*Yt.* 19.77).

⁵²Die Historizität der Dynastie wird unterschiedlich bewertet: während sie Christensen (1931, 27 f.) und Yarshater (1983b, 436 f.) bejahen, wird sie dagegen von Kellens (1976, 7-49) bis auf Vištāspa als indoiranischer Mythos erklärt; Hintze (1994, 40) sieht darin einen historischen Kern mit episch ausgeschmückten Details. Die Kanonisierung zu einer regelrechten "Kayaniden-Dynastie" ist wahrscheinlich erst in sasanidischer Zeit erfolgt (ebd. 172).

⁵³Editionen vgl. É. Benveniste, *Le Mémorial de Zarēr, poème pehlevi mazdéen*, *JA* 220 (1932), 245-293; A. Pagliaro, *Il testo pahlavico Ayātkār-i-Zarērān* (Roma 1925).

⁵⁴Im besonderen der vier Grenzprovinzen. Nach der Eingliederung Armeniens in das sasanidische Reich um 430 n.Chr. wurde der Titel durch *marzbān* ersetzt; die Marzbān der vier großen Toparchien trugen den Titel *šāh* und sind gleichrangig mit Angehörigen der königlichen Familie, darunter auch Prinzen; vgl. Christensen 1944, 22 f.; Herzfeld 1924, 229 f. Nr. 781; Maricq-Honigmann 1953, 322 Anm. 8; Colditz 2000, 335.

Es fällt nun auf, daß der Titel *kauui-* trotz seiner großen Rolle in der religiösen Überlieferung des Avesta keine Verwendung im achämenidischen Herrscherprotokoll findet, sich die Achämeniden also nicht auf eine Abstammung von der berühmten Dynastie des Vištāspa berufen. Ungeachtet der Frage, ob und inwieweit die Achämeniden Anhänger der Religion Zarathustras oder deren jungavestischer Weiterentwicklung waren,⁵⁵ muß der avestische Herrschertitel schon zu Lebzeiten Zarathustras aus dogmatischer Sicht stigmatisiert worden sein, da sich die meisten Kauuis feindlich gegen ihn verhielten. Nach der Bekehrung Vištāspas wurde er nicht mehr dynastisch verwendet und möglicherweise durch die o.g. Bezeichnung *zaraθuštrōtāma-* ersetzt. Doch auch dieser Terminus diente nicht als Titel der achämenidischen Herrscher. Möglicherweise war ihnen ein Titel *kauui-* aber auch nicht bekannt. Es gab noch keinen schriftlich fixierten Avesta-Korpus, und die Kenntnis dieser Lehre lag ihnen vielleicht in einer (mündlichen) altpersischen Übersetzung statt in der avestischen Originalsprache vor. Aber selbst wenn den Achämeniden der Titel *kauui-* vertraut gewesen wäre, hätte er doch in Rang und Inhalt nicht der Stellung des obersten Herrschers in einem Großreich entsprochen.

Über Jahrhunderte hinweg blieb der Titel eines Kauui nun auf die epische Überlieferung beschränkt, deren älteste Schicht sich in den Yašts konstituierte. Die spätere Tradition hat weitere mythologische und historische Personen in diesen Sagenkreis integriert. Besonders in der arsakidischen Ära fanden Kompositionen der höfischen Barden (parth. *gōsān*) um herausragende arsakidische Herrscherpersönlichkeiten und Kriegshelden (z.B. Gotarzes I.), aber auch um den sakischen Helden Rustam, darin Eingang und wurden Teil des "kayanischen Zyklus", der nationalen Überlieferung.⁵⁶ Trotzdem fand *kauui-* keine Verwendung als Titel bei den Arsakiden, die mit *aršak* ebenfalls auf einen altiranischen Titel zurückgriffen. Da die höfische Epik mündlich tradiert wurde und keine originalen parthischen Quellen dazu vorliegen, ist die spätere Bezeichnung der integrierten Arsakiden als mp. *kay*, np. *key* möglicherweise erst in sasanidischer Zeit auf diese übertragen worden. So wurden historische Fakten gewissermaßen zurückverlegt.⁵⁷ In sasanischer Zeit wurden diese alten Vorlagen in mittelpersischen Versionen wie dem *Xwadāy-nāmag* niedergeschrieben, dessen erste Aufzeichnungen vermutlich ebenfalls in das 5. Jh.n.Chr. datieren, ein wichtiger Schritt zur Herausbildung der iranischen "Nationalgeschichte".⁵⁸ Schließ-

⁵⁵ Die Diskussion um die Religionszugehörigkeit der Achämeniden hat bis heute noch zu keiner vollständig akzeptierten Gelehrtenmeinung geführt. Ohne Zweifel bieten die Inschriften Darius I. inhaltliche und terminologische Anklänge an die Gāthās, wie das Bekenntnis zu Ahuramazdā als oberstem Gott und Schöpfer und die dualistische Gegenüberstellung von ap. *arta-* 'Wahrheit, Ordnung' und ap. *drauga-* 'Lüge', vergleichbar mit *aša-* und *draoga-* im Avesta. Dagegen nennen spätere Achämenideninschriften mit Mithra und Anāhita auch aus dem jüngeren Avesta bekannte Götter. Zum Forschungsstand vgl. Ahn 1992, 95-130 mit weiterer Literatur, der selbst einen zoroastrischen Hintergrund der altpersischen Inschriften annimmt. Er betont aber, daß man bei der Beantwortung dieser Frage noch nicht von einem klar fixierten Religionssystem im Achämenidenreich ausgehen kann.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Yarshater 1983b, 458 f.; Boyce 1957, 19-45.

⁵⁷ "... the instance of Gotarzes has shown that some at least of its spectacular episodes were transferred to the legendary period of Kai Kāvūs, and incorporated there" (Yarshater 1983a, 44, 51).

⁵⁸ Zur epischen Überlieferung der Iraner, zum *Xwadāy-nāmag* und zur Vorgeschichte des *Šāhnāme* vgl. Boyce 1957, 19-45; Boyce 1968, 57-60; Christensen 1931; Christensen 1936; Christensen 1943; Huyse

lich fanden sie über arabische Übersetzungen wie die des Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ Eingang in das große nationale persische Helden- und Königsepos *Šāhnāme* des Ferdoussi.⁵⁹ Np. *key* ‘König, Herrscher; Held’ bezieht sich hier im wesentlichen auf den Personenkreis des Kayanidenzyklus.

Die Sasaniden wiederum trugen mit mp. *šāhān šāh i ērān ud an-ērān* bis in das 5. Jh.n.Chr. einen offiziellen Titel, der sich aus der Herrschertitulatur Vorderasiens rekrutierte. Aus ihrem religiösen Selbstverständnis und Legitimationsbedürfnis heraus bekannten sich die sasanidischen Herrscher als mp. *mazdēsn bay* ‘Mazda-verehrende Majestät’, erhoben in ihrem Reich den Zoroastrismus in den Rang einer Staatsreligion und kanonisierten die avestische Überlieferung mit Hilfe der Schaffung einer eigenen Avesta-Schrift. Man kann bei ihnen also eine große Vertrautheit mit der Avesta-Überlieferung und der avestischen Terminologie voraussetzen, die durch die Anfertigung einer kommentierten Übersetzung des Avesta auch ihr mittelpersisches Gegenstück erhielt, worin dem av. *kauui-* nun mp. *key* <kd> entsprach. Doch erst in die Zeit Yazdegerd II. (438-459 n.Chr.) datieren Münzen⁶⁰ mit der Legende mp. *mazdēsn bay kay yazdegerd*. Der Titel *šāhān šāh* wird hier durch *key* ersetzt, das damit in seiner Bedeutung von ‘Stammesfürst’ zu ‘König der Könige’ aufgewertet wird. Auch die folgenden Herrscher Pērōz (459-484 n.Chr.) und Walāš (484-488 n.Chr.) setzen solche Münzprägungen fort, wobei sich unter Pērōz eine Vereinfachung der Legende zu *mazdēsn kay pērōz* und weiter zu *kay pērōz* beobachten läßt; Walāš nennt sich *hu-kay* <hwkd> ‘guter Herrscher’.⁶¹ Der Terminus *key* impliziert zu diesem Zeitpunkt also bereits den ‘mazdayasnischen König der Könige’. Unter Kawād (488-531 n.Chr.), der schließlich an seiner Unterstützung für die Reformbewegung des Mazdak scheiterte, ist eine radikale Änderung der Münzlegenden zu beobachten: nach der Wiedereroberung des Thrones mit Hilfe der Hephthalithen, die um 500 n.Chr. seinem Sturz und seiner Einkerkierung folgte, bricht er mit der Tradition der bisherigen Titulatur und nennt sich mp. *afzōn* <pzwn> ‘der Mehrende’. Diesen Titel behalten auch die folgenden Sasaniden bei. Somit diente *key* als offizieller Herrschertitel der Sasaniden von ca. 438-500 n.Chr. Der Grund für diese über ein halbes Jahrhundert währende Renaissance des avestischen Titels in mittelpersischer Gestalt bleibt im Dunkel. Während dieses Zeitraumes befand sich Iran in einer tiefen Krise. Nach einer militärischen Niederlage war das Sasanidenreich zu einem tributpflichtigen Vasallen des mittelasiatischen Hephthalithenstaates geworden, im Westen flammten immer wieder Kämpfe gegen Byzanz als Erbe Roms auf, hinzu kamen mehrere Naturkatastrophen. Vielleicht ist es gerade diese Phase nationaler Demütigung gewesen, die zu einer verstärkten Beschäftigung mit Irans ruhmreicher Vergangenheit und erneuten Rezeption des Sagenkreises um die Kayaniden führte. Bereits in arsakidischer Zeit waren diese Legenden mit ostiranischem Hintergrund nach Westen vorgedrungen; vielleicht hat aber auch die hephthalithische Oberherrschaft

1990, 177-181; Nöldeke 1920; Reichelt 1909, 5-27; Skjærvø 1985, 593-604; Yarshater 1983b, 359-477.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Hintze 1994, 34; Yarshater 1983b, 366 f.

⁶⁰ Zu den sasanidischen Münzen, die den Titel *key* enthalten, vgl. Göbl 1968, Tabelle XV; Göbl 1983, 330; Cocolija 1981, 81-98.

⁶¹ Göbl (1983, 330) liest stattdessen *hu-kar* ‘Wohltäter’.

zu einem verstärkten ostiranischen bzw. mittelasiatischen Einfluß geführt.⁶² Es ist jedenfalls auffällig, daß sich die sasanidische Namensgebung noch nach Aufgabe des Titels *kay* mit *Kawād* und *Husraw* vorübergehend stark an der der Kayaniden orientierte.

Außer der episodenhaften Renaissance des avestischen Titels als mp. *kay* und seinem Fortleben in der nationalen epischen Überlieferung Irans findet av. *kauui-* auch seine Fortsetzung in iranischen Nebenüberlieferungen, namentlich in den iranisch-manichäischen Texten, als mp., parth. *kaw* bzw. soghd. *kawi* in unterschiedlichen Kontexten. Parth. *kaw* ist Epitheton des Mār Zakū,⁶³ eines Jüngers Manis im Rang eines Lehrers, der als Missionar in Palästina und Garamāa tätig war. Außerdem wird Zakū *gurd* 'Held', *xwadāy* 'Herr', *tahm nēw kirdagār* 'Starker, Wackerer, Mächtiger' und *pādgāhīg . . . pad harw šahrān* 'Throninhaber . . . in allen Ländern' genannt, den 'die Herrscher und Exzellenzen' (*šahršārān ud wuzurgān*) verehrten. Aufgrund dieser herrscherlichen Epitheta kann man *kaw* mit 'Fürst, Herr', vielleicht auch 'Held' übersetzen. Auch die Bezeichnung von Sonne und Mond als Lichtschiffe der manichäischen Erlösergottheiten Dritter Gesandter und Jesus, welche beide zahlreiche herrscherliche Attribute besitzen und auch direkt mit ihren Wagen identifiziert werden, als *kawān razmyōz(ā)n* kann daher besser mit 'kampfplustige Fürsten (oder: Helden)' übersetzt werden anstelle von Hennings Übersetzung 'kampfplustige Riesen'.⁶⁴ Die Verwendung von *kaw* in Manis Gigantenbuch, dem *Kawān*, scheint dagegen eine Sonderentwicklung durch mythologische Identifikation zu sein.⁶⁵ In dieser Bearbeitung des äthiopischen Henochbuches über den biblischen Mythos von den gefallenen Engeln (ἑρῆγγροποι, bei Mani Dämonen) bezeichnet mp., parth. *kaw*, soghd. *kawi* (Pl. *kawišt*) die mit den Menschentöchtern gezeugten Giganten und bedeutet 'Riese', für syr. *gabbārē*, was den *Gibbōrīm* der Genesis entspricht. Jedoch bedeutet auch christl.-soghd. *kawyāk* 'Heldentum, Heroismus', *par kawyāk* 'heldenhaft, heroisch'.⁶⁶ Die schon für Mitglieder der avestischen Kauui-Dynastie belegten Epitheta wie 'Held' oder 'heldenhaft' als typische Eigenschaften der Kriegerklasse sind also im Mitteliranischen mit dem Titel *kay*, *kaw* identifiziert worden, dessen ursprüngliche indoiranische Bedeutung 'Weiser' nicht mehr bekannt war. Jedoch hat das Neupersische neben der Weiterführung des Titels mp. *kay* als np. *key* 'König, Held' daneben mit *kou* (< parth. *kaw*) 'klug, weise; geschickt, erfahren, bewandert' ein Echo auf den Ursprung des av. *kauui*.

3. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der zu den ältesten iranischen Herrschertiteln zählende Terminus av. *kauui-* ist im Avesta die Bezeichnung von Stammesfürsten einer patriarchalischen Hirtengesellschaft,

⁶²Vgl. Yarshater 1983b, 390; Cocelija (1981) verweist auf die Existenz eines *hu-kay* vergleichbaren Titels in Choresmien, vgl. Wejnberg 1977, 83.

⁶³Zu diesem und den weiteren Titeln Mār Zakūs vgl. den parthischen Text M 6, ed. Andreas-Henning 1934, 20-22; vgl. auch Colditz 2000, 312.

⁶⁴M 77/28/, ed. Andreas-Henning 1934, 887.

⁶⁵Ed. Henning 1943, 52-74; Sundermann 1973, 76-78; Sundermann 1984, 491-505; Colditz 2000, 297-299. Boyce (1960, 147, A 3) hat weitere Stücke als zugehörig oder thematisch verwandt erkannt.

⁶⁶Vgl. Benveniste 1959, 128.

Titel	Avesta	Achämeniden	Seleukiden	Arsakiden (akkad., griech., parth.)	Sasaniden (mp.)	Inoffizielle Überlieferung (Epik, Manichaica)
Fürst, Häuptling		Kyros II. (akkad.)	Seleukos, Antiochos (akkad.)	Armenien, Syrien, Kommagene (griech.)		a) mp. <i>kay</i> , parth. <i>kaw</i> 'König, Herrscher; Held', chr.-soghd. <i>kawārk</i> 'Heldentum', b) mp., parth. <i>kaw</i> , soghd. <i>kawi</i> 'Riese, Gigant' (Gigantenbuch)
	<i>kauui-</i>				<i>kay, hu-kay</i> (ca. 438-500 n.Chr.), dannach <i>afzōn</i>	
Held, Herrscher	<i>aršan-</i>			<i>aršak</i>		
Großer König, Großkönig	<i>šarru rabū</i>	<i>xšāyaθiya</i> <i>vaz(a)raka</i>	<i>šarru rabū</i>	βασιλεὺς μέγας <i>šāh wuzurg</i>		Thronfolger, Provinz- u. Vasallenherrscher: griech. μέγας βασιλεύς, mp. <i>wuzurg šāh</i> , <i>wuzurg šahrjār</i> , <i>wuzurg xwadāy</i>
Mächtiger König	<i>šarru dānu</i>					
König der Könige	* <i>šar šarrāni</i>	<i>xšāyaθiya</i> <i>xšāyaθiyānām</i>		<i>šar šarrāni</i> , βασιλεὺς βασιλέων <i>šāhin šāh</i>	<i>šāhān šāh</i>	
König von (Stamm)land)	<i>šar URU</i> <i>Anšan</i>	<i>xšāyaθiya</i> <i>Pārsaiy</i>	<i>šar Bābili</i>		<i>i ērān</i>	
König der Länder	<i>šar māti</i>	<i>xšāyaθiya</i> <i>dahyūnām</i>	<i>šar māti</i>	<i>šar māti</i>	<i>ud an-ērān</i>	<i>arminān</i> , Ἀρμενίας, <i>i hindūgānīhā</i>

die als Angehörige der Kriegerklasse gelten. Auf eventuelle priesterliche Funktionen gibt es keine deutlichen Hinweise mehr. Als Folge der zarathustrischen Religionsreform verlor das Wort durch seine religiös-dogmatische Stigmatisierung den konkreten sozialen Bezug und fand keine weitere Verwendung als Herrschertitel. In der weiteren religiösen Überlieferung verband sich *kauui-* jedoch untrennbar mit einer Dynastie von acht Herrschern von Kauuāta bis Haosrauuh sowie mit Vištāspa. Mit der Herausbildung der iranischen nationalen Überlieferung wurde der Titel av. *kauui-* bzw. mp. *kay* auch auf weitere in den Kauui-Zyklus aufgenommene Personen übertragen und erhielt damit das Flair des Legendenhaften und Altertümlichen. Die historischen Dynastien Irans griffen in ihrer Titulatur auf andere Vorlagen zurück.

Die Achämeniden orientierten sich in ihrer Herrschertitulatur an den Formularen mesopotamischer Inschriften. Dabei scheinen besonders urartäische Vorlagen über Vermittlung des Medischen eine Rolle gespielt zu haben. Das Ergebnis, der vierfache Titel 'großer König, König der Könige, König von Pārsa, König der Länder' stellt durchaus eine Neuerung dar, indem einzelne überlieferte Elemente neu kombiniert und mit iranischen Entsprechungen versehen wurden. So entstand eine neue iranische Herrscherterminologie, welche für die folgenden Jahrhunderte Maßstäbe setzte. Nur durch die Rezeption der vorderasiatischen Herrschertraditionen war es den Achämeniden möglich, ihren Herrschaftsanspruch auch in den eroberten und ihrem Großreich eingegliederten Reichen Babylon, Assyrien, Elam und Medien zu legitimieren. Die einzelnen Bestandteile der achämenidischen Titulatur sind dann in unterschiedlicher Weise tradiert worden. Während die Titel 'König von Pārsa' und 'König der Länder' erst bei den Sasaniden in abgewandelter Form als 'König (der Könige) von Ērān und den nichtiranischen (Ländern)' wieder aufgegriffen wurden, lebten die Titel 'Großkönig' und 'König der Könige' kontinuierlich fort, zunächst in griechischer Gestalt und dann, über aramäische heterographische Schreibung, auch in iranischen Termini. Besonders unter den Arsakiden fällt die große Vielfalt der Bezeichnungen auf, ebenso wie ihr Konservatismus, selbst noch akkadische Titel zu verwenden. In dieser Hinsicht kann die Arsakidenzeit als eine Periode des Übergangs betrachtet werden. Die Verwendung des Titels 'Großkönig' erwies sich in dieser Zeit als deutlicher politischer Anspruch auf die Vorherrschaft besonders in West-Iran und den angrenzenden Ländern. Die Sasanidendynastie präferierte dagegen den Titel eines 'Königs der Könige', den sie von den Arsakiden übernahmen und als einen dem 'Großkönig' übergeordneten Herrschaftsanspruch über ganz Iran verstanden. 'Großkönig' blieb als ein traditioneller Titel des Thronfolgers bzw. nichtsasanidischer Herrscher erhalten.

Es zeigt sich, daß das System der Herrschertitulatur in Iran von altiranischer Zeit an fast ausschließlich von den westlichen Traditionen der mesopotamischen Vorgängerkulturen geprägt war. Von diesen wurden Titel übernommen und im Iranischen nachgebildet. Eigene iranische Herrschertitel, wie sie in der Überlieferung des Avesta und der Epik vorlagen, blieben im wesentlichen unberücksichtigt, da sie nur noch mit der Vergangenheit in Verbindung gebracht wurden. Nur vorübergehend, während einer schweren Krise des Reiches im 5. Jh.n.Chr., griffen einige sasanidische Herrscher auf den sagenhaften Titel der Kauuis zurück. Eine Ausnahme bilden darüber hinaus die Arsakiden mit ihrer Bezeichnung als *aršak*, die wohl an den altiranischen Titel *aršan-* anschließt. Wesentlich konservativer

zeigen sich dagegen die "nichtoffiziellen" Quellen (Epik, religiöse Überlieferung wie zoroastrische, manichäische und christliche Texte) in der Verwendung von Titeln. Neben der Fixierung auf den Sagenkreis um die Kayaniden und Zarathustra findet hier der altertümliche Titel der Kauuis für die Helden der Vorzeit oder des Mythos Verwendung. Es zeigt sich wiederum, daß diese Quellen die alten iranischen Traditionen der Herrschertitulation besser widerspiegeln als die jeweiligen zeitgenössischen offiziellen Dokumente.

LITERATUR

- Ahn, G., 1992. *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im achämenidischen Iran* (Acta Iranica 31, Leiden–Louvain).
- Andreas, F. C., Henning, W., 1934. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III* (SPAW, no. 27), 846-912.
- Babelon, M. E., 1890. *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris).
- Back, M., 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Acta Iranica 18, Téhéran–Liège).
- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Straßburg).
- Benveniste, E., 1959. Études sur quelques textes sogdiens chrétiens, *JA* 247, 115-134.
- Benveniste, E., 1993. *Indoeuropäische Institutionen. Wortschatz, Geschichte, Funktionen*, hrsg. v. St. Zimmer (Frankfurt).
- Bivar, A. D. H., 1983. The political history of Iran under the Arsacids, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge), 21-99.
- Boyce, M., 1957. The Parthian *gōsān* and the Iranian minstrel tradition, *JRAS*, 19-45.
- Boyce, M., 1960. *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan Collection* (Berlin).
- Boyce, M., 1968. Middle Persian literature, in *Iranistik. Literatur* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.4.2.1, Leiden), 31-66.
- Boyce, M., 1975a. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1, *The early period* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.8.1.2.2A, Leiden–Köln).
- Boyce, M., 1975b. *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Téhéran–Liège).
- Chaumont, M. L., 1968. Les grands rois sassanides d'Arménie, *IA* 8, 81-93.
- Christensen, A., 1931. *Les Kayanides* (København).
- Christensen, A., 1936. *Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique* (Paris).
- Christensen, A., 1943. *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (København).
- Christensen, A., 1944. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen).
- Cocelija, M., 1981. *Katalog sasanidskix monet Gruzii* (Tbilisi).
- Colditz, I., 2000. *Zur Sozialterminologie der iranischen Manichäer* (Iranica 5, Wiesbaden).
- Colledge, M. A. R., 1967. *The Parthians* (Ancient peoples and places 59, London).
- Dandamaev, M. A., 1976. *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, übers. v. H.-D. Pohl (Beiträge zur Iranistik 8, Wiesbaden).
- Debevoise, N. C., 1938. *A political history of Parthia* (Chicago).
- DkM = D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911).
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J., 1979. La royauté iranienne et le *xʾarənah*, in G. Gnoli, A. V. Rossi (ed.), *Iranica* (Napoli), 375-386.
- Frye, R., 1972. Gestures of deference to royalty in ancient Iran, *LA* 9, 102-107.
- Gershevitch, I., 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge).
- Gnoli, G., 1974. Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides, in *Hommage universel*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 2, Commémoration Cyrus, Leiden–Téhéran–Liège), 117-190.
- Göbl, R., 1968. *Sasanidische Numismatik* (Braunschweig–Würzburg).
- Göbl, R., 1983. Sasanian coins, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge), 322-339.
- Gropp, G., 1968. Die parth. Inschrift von Sar-Pol-e *Zohāb*, *ZDMG* 118, 315-319.

- Henning, W.B., 1943. *The Book of the Giants*, *BSOAS* 11, 52-74.
- Herzfeld, E., 1920. *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin).
- Herzfeld, E., 1924. *Paikuli. Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sassanian empire* (Berlin), 2 vols.
- Hintze, A., 1994. *Der Zamyād-Yašt. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 15, Wiesbaden).
- Huyse, Ph., 1990. Noch einmal zu Parallelen zwischen Achaimeniden- und Sāsānideninschriften, *AMI* 23, 177-181.
- Jamasp-Asana, J. M., 1897. *Pahlavi texts* (Bombay), 2 vols.
- Kellens, J., 1976. L'Avesta comme source historique: la liste des Kayanides, *AAAH* 24, 7-49.
- Kent, R. G., 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2nd ed. (New Haven).
- Kienast, B., 1979. Zur Herkunft der achämenidischen Königstitulatur, in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für H. R. Römer* (Beirut), 351-364.
- Le Rider, G., 1965. *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes* (Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran 38, Paris).
- Lukonin, V. G., 1983. Political, social and administrative institutions: taxes and trade, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.2 (Cambridge), 681-746.
- Macuch, M., 1981. *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch "Mātakdān i hazār dāristān" (Teil II)* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 45.1, Wiesbaden).
- Mariq, A., Honigmann, E., 1953. *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique 47.4, Brüssel).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1992. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg).
- Minns, E. H., 1915. Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan, *Journal of Hellenic studies* 35, 22-65.
- Müller, F. W. K., 1904. *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan, II* (APAW, Anhang).
- Müller, F. W. K., 1912. Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs, in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig), 207-213.
- Nöldeke, Th., 1920. *Das iranische Nationalepos* (Berlin-Leipzig).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1938. *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1964. *A manual of Pahlavi*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden).
- Petrowicz, A. von, 1968. *Arsaciden-Münzen* (Graz).
- Rafiy, D., 1999. *Politische und soziale Implikation des Zarathustrismus: Eine Untersuchung von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main).
- Reichelt, H., 1909. *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg).
- Röllig, W., 1981. Zum "Sakralen Königtum" im alten Orient, in B. Gladigow (ed.), *Staat und Religion* (Düsseldorf), 114-125.
- Sanjana, D. P., 1874-1928. *The Dinkard* (Bombay), 19 vols.
- Schippmann, K., 1980. *Grundzüge der parthischen Geschichte* (Darmstadt).
- Schmitt, R., 1981. *Altpersische Siegelinschriften* (SÖAW 381, Wien).
- Schmitt, R., 1989. Altpersisch, in *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden), 56-85.
- Sellwood, D., 1976. The drachms of the Parthian "dark age", *JRAS*, 2-25.
- Sellwood, D., 1983. Parthian coins, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge), 279-298.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1985. Thematic and linguistic parallels in the Achaemenian and Sassanian inscriptions, in *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 25, Leiden), 593-603.
- Sundermann, W., 1973. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berliner Turfantexte 4, Berlin).
- Sundermann, W., 1984. Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch, in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica 23, Leiden), 491-505.
- Szemerényi, O., 1951. Sogdicism in the Avesta, in F. Altheim (ed.), *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (Tübingen), 153-166.
- Szemerényi, O., 1975. Iranica V, in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 5, Leiden-Téhéran-Liège), 313-394.
- Trümpelmann, L., 1976. *Sarpol-i Zohāb* (Iranische Denkmäler 2, Iranische Felsreliefs 7, Berlin).

- Weissbach, E., 1911. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig).
- Wejnberg, B., I. 1977. *Monety drevnego Xorezma* (Moskva).
- Yamauchi, K., 1993. *The vocabulary of Sasanian seals* (Studia culturae islamicae 46, Tokyo).
- Yarshater, E., 1983a. Introduction, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge), xvii-lxxv.
- Yarshater, E., 1983b. Iranian historical tradition, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge), 343-477.

Simone Cristoforetti

Trattando qui di temi direttamente e indirettamente collegati con la complicata e problematica questione del calendario iranico, ritengo sia necessario premettere una succinta descrizione dello status quaestionis. Come è noto, secondo l'ipotesi “classica”,¹ sembra che il calendario solare vago iranico antico prevedesse una doppia formula:

a) esistenza (certa) di un calendario “civile” senza alcuna intercalazione oltre ai cinque giorni epagomeni (*andargāh*) che venivano inseriti alla fine di ogni anno (con mesi tutti di trenta giorni) per portare il numero dei giorni a trecentosessantacinque e che, sede rituale del *farwardgān* di fine inverno, annunciavano quindi il *nawrūz* o capodanno susseguente (il calendario “civile” perdeva così un giorno ogni quattro anni rispetto al momento in cui avveniva il passaggio apparente del sole sul punto equinoziale primaverile – intorno alla festa del *nawrūz* – il quale dava inizio all'anno);

b) esistenza (teorica) di un calendario “religioso” con lo stesso numero di mesi dallo stesso nome, il quale, per ovviare alla perdita di quel giorno ogni quattro anni e allo sfasamento tra feste e stagioni, avrebbe subito l'inserzione di un intero mese, contestuale al rinvio dell'*andargāh*, ogni centoventi (o centosedici) anni, risultando vieppiù sfasato di tot mesi rispetto al calendario “civile”.

Ebbene, al tempo della conquista araba l'*andargāh*, la cui posizione sarebbe il segnale delle intercalazioni via via effettuate, era collocato dopo il mese di *ābān*, che è l'ottavo nell'ordine a partire da *farwardīn*; ci si sarebbe trovati in altre parole in una situazione calendariale successiva a un'avvenuta ottava intercalazione. La conquista araba avrebbe poi congelato la situazione per alcuni secoli fino alla riforma calendariale di età buide, di incerta attribuzione, in base alla quale intorno al 1006 AD sarebbe avvenuto il trasferimento dell'*andargāh* dalla fine di *ābān* (VIII mese) alla fine di *isfand* (XII mese), riportando il *nawrūz* al primo giorno di *farwardīn*, in un momento astronomicamente adatto, in coincidenza cioè quell'anno (e i due anni successivi) con l'equinozio primaverile.

Se però il calendario iranico in uso in Asia Centrale e in Armenia non conosceva la formula di cui sub b), con relativo segnale nella forma “civile” dello stesso, come mai la differenza con il calendario d'Iran, nel quale si sarebbe operato secondo la formula di Kūšiyār, ammonta a soli cinque giorni (v. De Blois 1996, 42)? Taqīzāda (1938, 143-147, 257) era dubbioso in materia, correggendo più volte il tiro. Ma va detto che, nelle fonti, la differenza tra i due calendari (iranico “interno” e iranico “esterno”) è individuata in quei soli cinque giorni di sfasamento e non compare alcun riferimento all'esistenza o meno dello schema teorico di cui sub b).

¹ Riprendo per sommi capi gli argomenti esposti, con maggior dovizia di particolari, in una recente pubblicazione dedicata ad alcuni aspetti della questione calendariale iranica (v. Cristoforetti 2000). Impiego qui la forma neopersiana dei menonimi iranici, così come si presentano nel calendario iraniano attuale.

Tutte le teorie più recenti, per quanto differiscano tra loro, si accordano grosso modo sul fatto che a portare l'*andargāh* dopo *ābān*, determinando così un *nawrūz* il primo giorno di *ādar*, dev'essere stata una riforma avvenuta in epoca tardo-sasanide e non un'ottava intercalazione: l'*andargāh* sarebbe cioè stato trasferito d'un tratto alla vigilia dell'equinozio primaverile.²

Ciò premesso, va ricordato che Abū al-Ḥasan Kūšiyār b. Labbān b. Bāšahrī al-Ġilī,³ il celebre autore di varie opere di argomento astronomico-astrologico e matematico, era ovviamente al corrente, come risulta da alcuni suoi scritti (cf. ad es. Ideler 1825-1826, 546-548), della situazione del calendario iranico e della problematica relativa all'intercalazione e alle differenze tra le due forme assunte da quel calendario, situazione che egli presentava secondo uno schema prefigurante il modello proposto da quella che sopra ho

² De Blois (1996a, 50) liquida quale "leggenda" la teoria delle intercalazioni, ipotizzando un solo spostamento, di epoca tardo-sasanide, dell'*andargāh* da dopo *isfand* (XII mese) a dopo *ābān* (VIII mese) a monte delle due distinte forme (armeno-centrasiatica e iranica) di un calendario che fino a quel momento era stato uno solo. Un po' scettico al riguardo Panaino (1999), che ritiene la mancanza nelle fonti di tracce esplicite di un'operazione di riforma isolata un poco plausibile "atto assolutamente rivoluzionario" (ma v. *infra* circa la "riforma buide"), e la presenza, viceversa, nelle medesime di riferimenti a intercalazioni e a diversità tra anno civile e anno religioso argomenti a sfavore della tesi di de Blois (Panaino 1999, 115). Inoltre, per Scarcia (in corso di stampa), il modello di de Blois non fornisce lumi di sorta né sulla presenza di festività duplicate negli ultimi quattro mesi (nei quali non v'è discrepanza tra la forma propriamente iranica e quella armeno-centrasiatica del calendario) né sulla duplicazione del *farwardgān* nella sua nuova posizione a cavallo tra *ābān* e *ādar* (mesi VIII e IX). Secondo Scarcia, dunque, Birūnī ci parlerebbe di un riaggiustamento del calendario operatosi in epoca tardo-sasanide (anche se attribuito a Zoroastro) mediante un taglio di cinque giorni sul solstizio estivo (in relazione alla rilevanza di un capodanno fiscale), probabilmente in coincidenza con l'inizio di un mese (per l'alternativa così prodottasi v. il grafico di Scarcia riprodotto in Cristoforetti 2000, 156). Anche Abdullāhī (1996-1997) concorda su di una riforma del calendario avvenuta in età tardo-sasanide, ma senza rifiutare la teoria delle intercalazioni, a cui si sarebbe provveduto nel solo calendario "religioso" mediante la reiterazione di *isfand*, mese a cui seguiva sempre, e solo in quel calendario, un *andargāh* precedente *farwardīn* (I mese), con la conseguenza di un *andargāh* "religioso" (*farwardgān*) sempre più sfasato rispetto all'*andargāh* "civile", rimasto a seguito di un *isfand* che non avrebbe mai conosciuto iterazioni. La riforma sarebbe consistita in un'unica operazione di trasferimento dell'*andargāh* a seguito di *ābān* nel calendario "civile", in modo da ottenere un parallelismo tra *andargāh* "religioso" e *andargāh* "civile": parallelismo da mantenersi in seguito mediante successive intercalazioni di un mese ogni centoventi anni. L'esito dell'operazione avrebbe portato a due capodanni anche in sede ufficiale: uno il primo di *ādar* (di rilevanza religiosa) e uno il primo di *farwardīn* (di rilevanza fiscale e civile, nonché religiosa per alcune correnti). Quest'ultimo capodanno sarebbe stato mantenuto in quella posizione d'inizio estate sotto gli ultimi sasanidi. La caduta di quella dinastia sotto l'urto delle armate arabe avrebbe fatto sì che tale calendario solare tardo-sasanide tornasse ad arretrare attraverso le stagioni a causa della sopravvenuta negligenza in fatto di intercalazione, dando comunque origine al calendario fiscale d'età islamica (il calendario *ḥarāġī*). Su questo punto, Hūmand – perlopiù concorde con 'Abdullāhī in materia – diverge nettamente da quest'ultimo, postulando riforme locali dei calendari caspici di epoca tardo-sasanide che, con l'introduzione del giorno intercalare quadriennale (ma senza far parola di eventuali influenze dell'ambiente cristiano sulla cosa), avrebbero resi fissi i calendari di quelle regioni (v. Hūmand 1996, in particolare 91-95), "matrici" del calendario *ḥarāġī*.

³ Nato tra il 323 e il 333 dell'Egira (934-944 AD), fu uomo di scienza attivo tra la seconda metà del IV e il primo quarto del V secolo dell'Egira.

chiamato “teoria classica”. Leggiamo tuttavia in Taqizāda (1937-1938, 9): “È strano che Kūšiyār, nel manoscritto di Berlino del *Kitāb al-mudḥal*, quando nella lista dei menonimi sogdiani giunge a ‘ābān.ġ.’ (*ābān-māh*), dica: ‘e i cinque giorni epagomeni sono in quello!’”. E lo studioso commentava: “L’affermazione dev’esser probabilmente frutto di una svista”. L’argomento veniva poi ripreso da Taqizāda parecchie pagine dopo (p. 141 n. 291), più o meno negli stessi termini: “Bīrūnī fornisce ripetutamente delucidazioni . . . sulla posizione dei cinque giorni epagomeni alla fine dell’anno” nel calendario iranico “esterno” di Sogdiana, nel quale si trovavano collocati tra il mese di *isfand* (mese XII) e quello di *farwardīn* (mese I), “ma Kūšiyār, pur avendo detto altrove le stesse cose che sostiene Bīrūnī, afferma che i sogdiani considerano [cadere] i cinque giorni epagomeni alla fine del mese di *ābān.ġ.*, il corrispondente del mese persiano di *ābān* [mese VIII], cosa generata probabilmente da una svista”.

Altra svista dev’essere quella dello stesso Taqizāda quanto al manoscritto consultato. Se infatti si procede a un primo controllo sul repertorio di Setzgin (*GAS* 182-183), si può immediatamente notare che l’opera in questione (ms. di Berlino n. 5884 del catalogo Ahlwardt), dal titolo completo di *al-Mudḥal fī sināʾat aḥkām al-nuġūm* e composta di quattro trattati (*maqālāt*), suddivisi in vari *bāb* (il primo di questi porta il titolo *al-mudḥal wa al-uṣūl*, il secondo *fī al-ḥukm ‘alā umūr al-‘ālam*, il terzo *al-ḥukm ‘alā al-mawālīd wa taḥwīl sinihā*, il quarto *fī ‘amal al-iḥtiyārāt*), è interamente dedicata ad argomenti di tipo “astrologico” e non tratta specificamente di astronomia (*ilm al-falak*), scienza che tratta, tra le altre cose, della durata dell’anno solare tropico e quindi del calendario. Solitamente, è infatti in trattati astronomici che si trovano sezioni dedicate a trasformazione di date da vari calendari, struttura dei mesi, ere note, etc.

L’opera di cui sopra, ancora inedita, si è conservata in numerosi manoscritti, uno dei quali è custodito nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Arabo 1398/1). Ebbene, all’esame di tale manoscritto vaticano, non risulta nessuna lista di mesi in generale, tantomeno “sogdiani”, né riferimenti di sorta a ere – se eccettuiamo le *sanawāt al-fārisiyya* di Yazdaġird del fol. 32b – o calendari di alcun tipo. D’altra parte, ecco che Taqizāda stesso annota di sua mano a margine di p. 9 della propria copia del saggio da lui composto (Taqizāda 1937-1938): “. . . Il titolo originale dell’opera è in realtà *Muġmal al-uṣūl*”. Ed ecco che, a p. 226, incontriamo un’altra precisazione dello stesso Taqizāda: “Quanto al titolo dell’opera menzionata come *Kitāb al-mudḥal* di Kūšiyār, . . . mi baso su alcuni miei appunti e sul confronto dei medesimi con manoscritti di Londra. Non si tratta in ogni caso della copia di un manoscritto dell’opera di quell’autore intitolata *Muġmal al-uṣūl* o *al-Muġmal fī aḥkām al-nuġūm* . . .”.

Non ho avuto purtroppo la possibilità di operare un confronto puntuale fra i vari manoscritti in questione. Tuttavia, scorrendo quanto riassunto da Ahlwardt a proposito di un’altra celebre opera del nostro, di argomento prettamente astronomico e contenente numerose tavole, cioè *al-Ziġ al-ġāmī* (ms. 5751 di Berlino), si può notare che al fol. 165 è segnalata una “Zusammenstellung der Monatsnamen bei verschiedenen Völkern (*al-maġrib, al-rūm, al-suġd, al-qibṭ und al-yahūd*)” (Ahlwardt 1893, 205). Potrebbe essere questo il luogo di origine del passo appuntato da Taqizāda. In tal caso, va ricordato che quella copia di *al-Ziġ al-ġāmī* è datata da Ahlwardt all’incirca al 700/1300.

In ogni caso, l'autorevole "appunto" di Taqizāda lascia spazio ad alcune considerazioni. Kūšiyār b. Labbān pare infatti parlare di sogdiani che consideravano l'*andargāh* (o *ḥamsa al-mustaraqa*) "far parte" di *ābān*, intendendo con ciò dire che esso cadeva alla fine di quel mese, giusta l'espressione utilizzata dallo stesso Kūšiyār in *al-Ziğ al-ğāmi*⁴, quando, nel punto in cui spiega misura e funzionamento del calendario iranico, afferma che "ognuno dei mesi conta trenta giorni, eccetto *isfandārmad-māh* che ne conta trentacinque . . . I cinque in eccesso sui giorni di *isfandārmad-māh* si chiamano *al-mustaraqa*" (v. il testo pubblicato in Ideler 1825-1826, 624).

Sogdiani talora coerenti, quando a posizione dei giorni epagomeni, con il calendario d'Iran? O altro? Certo, può trattarsi di una "svista", come diceva Taqizāda, ma mi pare che la cosa, se approfondita, possa esser intesa in altro modo. Più che di una svista, infatti, potrebbe forse trattarsi di un vero e proprio lapsus dell'astronomo, o forse, e in certo senso meglio ancora, del copista. In tal caso, la cosa si fa gravida di conseguenze per quel che riguarda l'interpretazione di un assunto di base, da sempre tenuto in gran considerazione, su cui poggia la ricostruzione storica della formazione del sistema calendariale iranico proposta dalla "teoria classica".

Se le usanze viventi in campo calendariale possono servire a capire come si siano verificati certi fenomeni, anche antichi, riguardanti la struttura del calendario, ecco che le peculiarità dei calendari tradizionali e degli usi e costumi della regione compresa tra Qum e Iṣfahān, nei dintorni di Naṭanz e di Kāšān, possono fornire indicazioni di un certo peso in relazione a quello "strano" passo di Kūšiyār. Il calendario tradizionale di queste zone, sovente definito "dei contadini", presenta una struttura identica a quella del calendario iranico varato nel 1079 AD con la riforma del selgiuchide Malikšāh, chiamato perlopiù calendario *ğalālī*. Presenta, dunque, mesi tutti di trenta giorni e un segmento di cinque giorni (*paṅğa*) – che talora divengono sei per necessità di corrispondenza con l'anno solare tropico e che qui, per praticità, chiamerò *andargāh* – collocato alla fine del dodicesimo mese, *isfand* (in loco il menonimo risulta presentare sempre questa forma). Ciò a Kāšān, a Naṭanz e in molte altre località minori. Ma, in quella regione, il sistema non si presenta ovunque secondo tale schema. In quel di Abiyāna, infatti, e in alcuni altri villaggi,⁴ l'*andargāh* precede il mese di *isfand*.

In un significativo parallelismo, tale differenza si ripone anche nel rituale. Mentre a Kāšān e in molte località circconvicine, tra cui "Wreh", Bād, Ḥālid-ābād, Dih-ābād, è permasto quel ricordo/doppione di *nawrūz* che è l'*ā'in-i isfand* – la festa del primo giorno di *isfand* (corrispondente al 25 *bahman* del calendario solare dell'Egira attualmente in vigore nel paese) che viene celebrata con grande solennità, pur senza presentare traccia di *andargāh* nelle sue immediate vicinanze – a Abiyāna, dove il calendario tradizionale segnala quella singolare posizione dell'*andargāh* che induce quasi inconsapevolmente a considerare il primo di *isfand* come il momento di pertinenza del *nawrūz*, per il primo giorno di *isfand* non risulta si organizzino celebrazioni particolari.

⁴ Come nelle località lungo il Čīma-rūd e lungo il Barz-rūd a partire da Haṅgan, verso Yārand, Kamḡan, Barz e ʿTara, e come a Ġahaq e Zingān, Naṣr-ābād-Ġirwiya, Tutmāğ (Afšār/Taqizāda 1971-1972, 151).

Ora, lo *ā’in-i isfand*, cioè la celebrazione del primo giorno di quel mese come *nawrūz*, è ricorrenza osservata diffusamente (v. Cristoforetti 2000, 126-134). Probabilmente, proprio grazie a tale diffusione, sono stati operati in loco – e solo in loco – tentativi di spiegazione di una simile particolarità. Si noti infatti che, tale e quale a ciò che avviene sul Caspio con la produzione di più o meno spontanee paretimologie a giustificare menonimi tradizionali il cui significato originale sarebbe altrimenti in aperta contraddizione con il momento stagionale in cui attualmente si collocano i segmenti mensili da quegli stessi menonimi individuati (per alcuni esempi in merito, v. sempre Cristoforetti 2000, 41-47, in particolare 42 n. 18), a Kāšān si cerca di attribuire al *nawrūz* di *isfand* (primo di *isfand*), che in realtà è solo un *nawrūz* d’altri tempi (secc. IX-X AD), caratteristiche di *attualità* stagionale: con l’arrivo di quel giorno vi sarebbe la certezza della fine della cattiva stagione; la ricorrenza sarebbe dunque *più importante e solenne* dello stesso *nawrūz* di *farwardīn*! (v. Taqizāda 1971-1972, 150). Si confronti il verso *sangsarī* menzionato da A’zamī (1968, 248) *sharvara mo avoli viharah* (‘il mese di *sharvara* è l’inizio della primavera’), il quale riflette con ogni evidenza una situazione del sec. XVII, non essendo *sharvara* (*šahrīwar*) mese primaverile né nello schema paradigmatico riflesso dal calendario attuale d’Iran né nell’attuale calendario locale di Sangsar. Inoltre, in varie zone dell’Iran settentrionale, come sul Caspio e a Firdaws (v. Nawgānī 1969), esiste anche la denominazione di *isfand* quale “*nawrūz-māh*” (‘mese del *nawrūz*’), con parallelismo a Sangsar: “*nū-sāl*” cioè *isfand* (v. A’zamī 1968, 245-246). È certo che *isfand*, in un determinato periodo, è stato il “mese del *nawrūz*”; e appartiene alla pretestuosità anche la spiegazione secondo cui quel mese si chiamerebbe così perché è quello che ha termine con l’arrivo del *nawrūz*.

In questo ordine di idee, si spiega agevolmente anche il fatto che alcuni menonimi iranici possano presentare un “nuovo ...” in quella che è, piuttosto che un “nome del mese”, una qualificazione o perifrasi a indicare quel mese. È il caso del *biddigonosardalo* preso in esame da Sims-Williams e de Blois (1996), anche se la datazione del documento in cui il menonimo è attestato pone problemi nel senso che dovrebbe trattarsi di una “denominazione di inerzia”.⁵

Certo è che un sistema iranico di ridenominazione di mesi è chiaramente esposto in un passo, mai messo nel dovuto rilievo, di Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥāsib al-Ṭabarī – astronomo contemporaneo di Alp Arslān e del selgiuchide Malikšāh. Anche se redatto in un’epoca (sec. XI) in cui il calendario iranico era ormai tornato a presentare (almeno ufficialmente) il suo schema ideale, il passo ci spiega perfettamente questo genere di “denominazioni di inerzia”. Infatti, nel suo *al-Zīg al-mufrad* (opera persiana della seconda metà del quinto secolo dell’Egira), egli scriveva: “Il conto della *kabīsa* dei persiani era in antico di un mese ogni centoventi anni, e ora quell’abitudine è stata tralasciata . . . e il loro uso era il seguente: il primo del mese di *day*, giungendo il Sole al primo [grado] dell’Ariete, lo chiamavano *āḍar-māh* e [chiamavano] il mese di *āḍar ābān* e i [cinque giorni] rubati [scil. l’*andargāh*] li ponevano alla fine di [quel] mese di *ābān*; [quando]

⁵ La tradizione che vuole essere *ābān* il primo mese dell’anno è stata con tutta evidenza molto resistente: Ibn Bābawayhi la attesta infatti in tempi di *ā’in-i isfand* (v. Cristoforetti 2000, 129-130).

rimanevano quattro mesi fino a che il Sole si facesse in Ariete [qui Taqīzāda appone un *sic*] nel giorno *hurmazd* del mese di *day*, *Yazdġird* fu ucciso e cadde l'abitudine di fare l'intercalazione . . ." (fol. 3a del ms. O.10 di Cambridge; riporto il passo da Taqīzāda 1937-1938, 252-253). Qui l'autore parla appunto di un *ādar* che è un nuovo *ābān*; non lo chiama così – cioè nuovo *ābān* – ma una prassi del genere è perfettamente plausibile.⁶

Ma ad Abiyāna succede qualche cosa di particolarissimo. A fronte di un ricordo generico dei riti per il ritorno delle anime dei morti conservatosi nelle usanze legate all'*andargāh* di fine anno in quel di Kāšān,⁷ ad Abiyāna dove l'*andargāh* non cade prima del *nawrūz* equinoziale, ma un mese in anticipo rispetto a quest'ultimo, permangono usi simili a quelli di Kāšān (per Naṣr-ābād-Ġirwiya abbiamo la testimonianza del sig. Maḥdī Abiyāna'ī in Taqīzāda 1971-1972, 155-156, che parla di acqua piovana raccolta come negli usi *kāšī* e caspici), ma celebrazioni funerarie vere e proprie sono collocate comunque a fine anno cioè negli ultimi dieci giorni (di antica memoria) di quel che, per Abiyāna, è il mese di *isfand*, ma che a Kāšān corrisponde, secondo il computo tradizionale (cioè *ġalālī*), al periodo che va dal 26 *isfand* sino alla fine dell'*andargāh* (o *paṅġa*) che quel mese segue, vale a dire al periodo 20-29 *isfand* del calendario iraniano ufficiale. A fronte di una differenza calendariale abbiamo una coincidenza simbolico-rituale.

Le usanze funerarie di Abiyāna, descritte con sufficiente dovizia di particolari in un recente saggio di Ḥwānsārī-yi Abiyāna (1999-2000; v. in particolare le pp. 140-146), costituiscono un ottimo esempio di mescolanza di elementi autenticamente iranici con i rituali tipici dell'islām di queste zone. Il rito funerario del mattino successivo all'inumazione (chiamato *ḥatm* 'conclusione', anche se con esso iniziavano i tre giorni del lutto con le visite di parenti e conoscenti), in voga fino a tempi recenti, cioè anteriormente all'introduzione degli usi cittadini in materia, prevedeva la riunione degli uomini in una piazza adiacente l'abitazione del defunto prima del sorgere del sole, intorno a un fuoco di fascine di artemisia (*darmana*)⁸ preparate in precedenza. Recitazione della Sura Aprente e

⁶ Quanto alla datazione dei documenti in cui sono attestati sia un *abano* (*ābān*) sia un *aniabano*, il 'secondo *ābān*', il 'nuovo *ābān*' (492 AD, v. de Blois 1996, 150), essa pone problemi un po' diversi: a quell'epoca (V sec.), il primo mese dell'anno (quello con l'equinozio di primavera) doveva essere *ābān*, ma nel 492 AD l'equinozio di primavera cadeva nella seconda metà di un *ābān* ufficiale, e *ādar* si stava soltanto avviando a diventare il "nuovo *ābān*" del momento.

⁷ Per quel che riguarda la ritualità dell'*andargāh* della regione di Kāšān, va detto che esso accoglie usi analoghi a quelli di cui parla Nātrī Hamadānī a proposito del *pītak* delle regioni caspiche ("La pioggia caduta in questi cinque giorni è veicolo di grazia, tanto da venir conservata in bottiglie chiuse; in caso di malattia se ne cosparge il corpo e talvolta la si fa bere al paziente"; v. Taqīzāda 1937-1938, 2, annotazione autografa), anche se con la variante di sapore più arcaico di un'acqua raccolta in orci collocati sui tetti a disposizione delle anime dei defunti (v. Taqīzāda 1971-1972, 154-156).

⁸ Ḥwānsārī-yi Abiyāna (1999-2000, 149), quando parla della legna da ardere che "il curdo" – secondo una tradizione locale, in cui può individuarsi un ricordo della festa del *sada* – porta sulle spalle scendendo dai monti il giorno più freddo dell'anno, specifica in nota il tipo di materiale trasportato: trattasi di fascine di artemisia e di astragalo (*gawan*). Va notato che la legna di *darmana* costituiva anche il materiale tradizionale per il rituale falò matrimoniale. Naturalmente andrebbe condotto uno studio approfondito sull'impiego rituale di particolari tipi di piante.

salmodia del *Corano* ne costituivano il fulcro e duravano fino all'apparire del sole da dietro il monte; in quel momento gli anziani presenti dichiaravano chiusa l'assemblea e i congiunti del defunto si ritiravano in casa per espletare i doveri dei tre giorni del lutto. Negli ultimi anni, l'usanza dell'accensione del fuoco è andata perduta e il raduno rituale si tiene, pursempre prima dell'alba, all'interno di una moschea della zona. La cosa notevole è che il rito, ormai quasi completamente islamizzato, non ha cambiato il suo momento temporale. Ma questa cerimonia “iniziale” era completata da altri due riti, in commemorazione del defunto, da tenersi durante l'anno. Fino alla seconda metà degli anni cinquanta del secolo scorso, infatti, chiunque avesse subito un lutto durante l'anno era tenuto a celebrare due riti: uno, chiamato *fiṭr-gīrī*, aveva luogo nel vecchio cimitero alla vigilia della festa di *fiṭr*; un altro, simile nell'impostazione, aveva luogo alla vigilia di *nawrūz*, ma con preparazione che partiva dal 21 di *isfand* del calendario tradizionale per un periodo, dunque, di dieci giorni. Tali commemorazioni funebri erano una sorta di doppione l'uno dell'altra, si assiste cioè a una sorta di sdoppiamento della celebrazione, che viene proposta sia nel calendario lunare, in connessione con la ritualità legata alla fine del digiuno islamico, sia in occasione della fine dell'anno solare, nella posizione classica di fine inverno ricoperta dai riti funerari di tradizione iranica antica (*farwardgān*).

Il primo di essi (*fiṭr-gīrī*) è legato allo ‘*id al-fiṭr*’ (primo giorno di *šawwāl*) o festa della rottura del digiuno di *ramadān* e si svolgeva come segue. Una o due settimane prima dello ‘*id al-fiṭr*’, i congiunti del defunto invitavano i parenti e i maggiorenti della città a ritrovarsi la mattina del giorno del *fiṭr* al cimitero vecchio, allora ancora in uso, per celebrare l'usanza tradizionale e per consumare in seguito la colazione in casa del defunto. Prima dell'alba la famiglia del morto stipava del dolce di sesamo (*ḥalwā*) e del pane fresco, cotto per l'occasione e noto come “pane della vigilia” (*nān-i ‘arafa*), in contenitori di legno, ponendoli sul dorso di un mulo o di un asino e coprendo il tutto con un tappeto o con una stuoia a colori vivaci. Giunti al cimitero, il tappeto veniva disteso sulla tomba in attesa dei invitati. Questi ultimi, giungendo anch'essi prima dell'alba, recitavano dapprima la Sura Aprente e si disponevano poi ordinatamente in fila uno dietro l'altro, ritti in contegno rispettoso, con il viso rivolto nella direzione (“mithraica”) in cui sorge il sole. Si formavano così tante file quante erano stati i decessi durante l'anno e ogni famiglia desiderava che la propria fosse la più lunga e fosse composta dalle persone più in vista; per questo gli inviti erano inoltrati con gran sollecitudine.

Anche le famiglie che non avevano portato il lutto durante l'anno in corso preparavano un po' di pane speciale per quel giorno, chiamato sempre pane della vigilia, e lo portavano con sé in una ciotola sulla tomba dei congiunti, distribuendolo in beneficenza ai presenti convenuti da ogni parte. Altri che non erano stati invitati o che non si erano messi in fila, a piccoli gruppi, si recavano in testa alle varie file per recitare la Sura Aprente e fare le condoglianze ai famigliari del defunto. La cerimonia finiva quando il sole faceva capolino dalla vetta del monte e le file si scioglievano. Tutti gli abitanti si recavano allora a far visita alle case dei vari defunti, recitandovi la Sura Aprente, facendo le condoglianze e espletando le convenienze del caso. Ciò continuava fino a mezzogiorno circa.

Il secondo è la versione islamizzata del *farwardgān*: aveva luogo alla fine dell'anno solare prima di *nawrūz* (era cioè collocato nella sua sede “naturale”). Si svolgeva come

segue. A partire dal 20 *isfand* la famiglia del defunto passava le notti in lutto. Si succedevano le visite dei conoscenti con recitazione della Sura Aprente. I visitatori erano accolti con l'offerta di *pālūda*, preparato con neve dei monti circostanti, grano locale e sciroppo di uva, o di tè. Le serate di lutto proseguivano. Nelle due notti prima della vigilia di *nawrūz* si invitava la gente a partecipare alla colazione di chiusura del rito che si sarebbe tenuta la mattina di quel giorno. All'aurora la zona antistante l'entrata di casa veniva lavata e spazzata. Distesi i tappeti e sistemati uno o due bracieri a seconda dei partecipanti, i quali vi si sistemavano intorno, recitando la Sura Aprente (così avrebbe fatto anche il passante occasionale prima di proseguire per la propria strada). Al sorgere del sole si passava in casa per la colazione. Dopo la recitazione della Sura Aprente, le condoglianze al padrone di casa e la consumazione dei cibi (soprattutto zuppa calda, tè e formaggio, ma anche altro), la riunione finiva. In seguito avvenivano le visite di altri conoscenti così come nel *fiṭr-gīrī*, fino al mezzogiorno circa, con il padrone di casa sulla porta che invitava ad entrare per prendere il tè.

Esiste un parallelismo chiarissimo tra le due celebrazioni in commemorazione del defunto: in entrambi i casi il rito segnava la fine di un periodo di privazione (il digiuno di *ramadān* e la dura stagione invernale), in un momento cruciale del giorno (l'aurora), che richiama palesemente il rinnovamento del mondo dopo il trapasso mortale, dando così il via, con l'apparire del sole, all'espressione di una lecita gioia.

Non è questo l'unico caso di trasposizione di festività tradizionali del calendario solare iranico sul calendario lunare dell'Egira. Si confronti il trasferimento delle cerimonie del *čahāršanba-yi sūrī*, festa dell'ultimo mercoledì dell'anno solare persiano, all'ultimo mercoledì del mese di *šafar*, il secondo mese del calendario lunare dell'Egira, in connessione con la celebrazione dell'*arba'in* per il lutto di Ḥusayn (v. Mukrī 1963, 289), momento religioso appartenente alla tradizione islamica sciita. Ma clamorosa è, in sede estetica (v. Ḥāfiz, ed. Ḥānlari, p. 110 n. 47) l'identificazione di *šawwāl*, il mese lunare dell'Egira successivo a *ramadān*, con *farwardīn*, il primo mese (solare) della primavera, a celebrare contestualmente *'id-i fiṭr* e *nawrūz*.

È molto importante rilevare che quella parte dei riti del *farwardgān* (nel complesso d'aspetto piuttosto genuino) rimasta legata al calendario solare veniva celebrata in un momento *non coincidente* con l'*andargāh* tradizionale collocato tra *bahman* e *isfand*: ecco un caso preciso di calendario iranico che presenta l'*andargāh* in una certa posizione e il *farwardgān* in un'altra, a testimonianza vivente della possibilità di scissione tra *farwardgān* e *andargāh*. I riti di commemorazione dei defunti, che da una parte rimangono indissolubilmente legati alla ritualità della rinascita tipica delle celebrazioni equinoziali primaverili, dall'altra si "islamizzano", inserendosi in un punto del calendario dell'Egira lunare che per certi versi può richiamare simbolicamente il momento finale del periodo invernale.

Ciò significa che quel che Kūšiyār – o chi per lui – avrebbe scritto non è necessariamente frutto di una svista, perché magari anche certi sogdiani, che avevano quel loro calendario "antiquato" (con un *andargāh* precedente in modo stabile *farwardīn*), avrebbero potuto, nel caso del *farwardgān*, celebrare al momento giusto come i persiani "interni", cioè a fine inverno. Quindi, in Kūšiyār, ci sarebbe soltanto un lapsus: avrebbe parlato semplicemente di *andargāh* (*ḥamsa al-mustaraqa*) invece di usare una parola o una

perifrasi più appropriata per indicare il *farwardgān*. L'astronomo, o forse un anonimo copista della sua opera, avrebbe cioè potuto inconsapevolmente associare i cinque giorni epagomeni con i giorni dedicati alle celebrazioni per il ritorno delle anime dei defunti. Dovrebbe in ogni caso essere un relitto: tale associazione di idee sarebbe più facilmente spiegabile ove poggiasse su una sua sedimentata tradizione.

Riconsiderando in questa luce lo “*ā'in-i īsān*” del *Nawrūznāma*, cioè la leggenda secondo cui, stante un *nawrūz* ufficiale opportunamente estivo (per via delle necessità legate all'esazione delle tasse) o addirittura più alto (per via della cautela per il futuro), ecco che Ḥusraw Anūšīrwān, avrebbe portato l'*andargāh* a prima di *ādar*, obbedendo allo “*ā'in-i īsān*”, cioè obbedendo all'usanza del paese. L'usanza, si intende, che voleva che il *farwardgān* cadesse al momento giusto (a primavera). Il Re dei re vi si sarebbe adattato, facendo in modo di avere contestualmente un *nawrūz* (primo giorno di *farwardīn*) in una posizione adatta alle esigenze dell'esazione fiscale. Ḥusraw I – o chi per lui – avrebbe fatto ciò dicendo: aspettiamo che finisca il ciclo e saremo tutti a posto col calendario. E, per mantenere questa situazione ideale, potrebbe esser stato proprio a quell'epoca che si escogitò anche il famoso sistema intercalare centovennale o centosedicennale. Poi arrivarono gli arabi e la leggenda dell'intercalazione registrata da questi ultimi, o meglio dagli esponenti di spicco della nuova acculturazione, potrebbe essere il residuo di un progetto di quell'epoca.

Il caso del calendario di Abiyāna – inspiegabile per Taqīzāda (1952, 610) – costituisce testimonianza di quella che deve essere stata una costante pratica di popolo (quello che il *Nawrūznāma* chiama “*ā'in-i īsān*”, cioè “l'uso loro [*scil.* dei persiani]”).⁹ Esso, secondo me, rappresenta non certo il segno superstite di un calendario sasanide non intercalato (Krasnowolska 1998, 38), quanto, al contrario, la fossilizzazione relativamente recente con trasposizione su calendario *gālālī* di una pratica popolare di intervento sul calendario che si esplicava nel semplice spostamento (rinvio), quando reputato necessario, del *farwardgān* sulla vigilia dell'equinozio primaverile reale. Ma ad Abiyāna – e, stanti le attuali conoscenze in materia, solo là – abbiamo una traccia dello spostamento, contestuale, anche dell'*andargāh*. Il passo successivo, però, cioè l'ultimo spostamento del *farwardgān* sull'equinozio primaverile, non comportò uno spostamento dell'*andargāh*, rimasto colà, come visto sopra, collocato tra *bahman* e *isfand*, cioè su posizioni antichate.

Una pratica del genere rende perfettamente comprensibile la “riforma buide”, o meglio l'adattamento di gran successo del calendario iranico alla situazione astronomica occorso in epoca buide. E va osservato a questo proposito che, curiosamente, di tale riforma – l'unica ad essere accettata dalla comunità zoroastriana di Persia, puntigliosa e conservatrice in materia – non si conosce l'autorità responsabile, mentre, nel caso di numerose altre riforme del calendario iranico, indubbiamente di minor rilievo, si conoscono bene promotori e motivazioni, e *niente altro* quanto a attuazione ed effetti pratici delle medesime. Insomma, la “riforma buide” è stata solo la presa di coscienza generale e di un'evidenza astronomica e di una prassi popolare “pan-iranica”.

⁹ Per un'analisi filologica dei passi del *Nawrūznāma* riguardanti la “storia” del calendario iranico, v. Cristoforetti 2000, 60-66.

Nel passato, molto probabilmente, si era data una sola operazione calendariale del genere: lo spostamento dell'*andargāh* a dopo *ābān*. Ciò nell'intento da parte dell'ufficialità di venire incontro a esigenze popolarmente molto sentite; certo non un'ottava intercalazione: le intercalazioni non sarebbero cioè né realtà né leggenda, ma solo un progetto tardo-sasanide, mai potutosi realizzare, che ha costituito la base su cui in età islamica (con Kūšiyār, Bīrūnī, ecc.) è stata riconsiderata l'intera questione. Di qui il "mito". Del progetto tardo-sasanide conosciamo la reinterpretazione d'età islamica della storia del calendario iranico alla luce del sistema intercalare in quel progetto definito; della pratica popolare (lo spostamento/rinvio del *farwardgān* quando necessario, e talora anche dell'*andargāh*) rimane – cospicua traccia altrimenti di difficile plausibilità – l'idea di per sé piuttosto astrusa del turno intercalare secondo cui, di volta in volta, si sarebbe dovuto duplicare il mese nell'ordine di successione.

Purtroppo, tra le conseguenze di tutte le considerazioni di cui sopra, c'è anche una perdita di mordente della testimonianza di fonte siriana relativa a un *farwardgān* di marzo sotto Qubād, che porta a individuare nel 518 AD il *terminus ad quem* (v. de Blois 1996, 47) della "riforma tardo-sasanide" ripristinante un *andargāh* a fine inverno e introducendo un *nawrūz* di *ādar*.

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

- ʿAbdullāhī, R., 1996-1997. *Taʾrīḥ-i taʾrīḥ dar Īrān*, 2^a ed. (Tehran 1375 H.Š.).
- Ahlwardt, W., 1893. *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 5 (Berlin).
- Aʿzamī, Č., 1968. Gāhnumāʾi-yi sangsari, *Barrasiḥā-yi tāriḥi* 3, n. 3-4 (ābān 1347), 243-252.
- de Blois, F., 1996. The Persian calendar, *Iran* 34, 39-54.
- Boyce, M., 1970. On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts, *BSOAS* 33, 513-539.
- Cristoforetti, S., 2000. *Forme "neopersiane" del calendario "zoroastriano" tra Iran e Transoxiana* (Eurasistica. Quaderni del Dipartimento di studi eurasiatici, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 64, s.l.).
- GAS = F. Setzgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 7 (Leiden 1979).
- Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. P. N. Ḥānlari, 2a ed. (Tehran 1362/1983-1984).
- Hūmand, N., 1996. *Gāhšumārī-yi bāstānī-yi mardumān-i Māzandarān wa Gilān wa pajūhiš dar bunyān-i gāhšumārīhā-yi irānī hamrāh bā taqwīm-i bāstānī-yi tabarī-daylumī* (*The ancient chronology of the people of Māzandarān and Gilān*) (Āmul, Māzanderān, 1375).
- Ḥwānsārī-yi Abiyāna, Z., 1999-2000. *Abiyāna wa farhang-i mardum-i ān* (Tehran 1378).
- Ideler, L., 1825-1826. *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, vol. 2 (Berlin).
- Krasnowolska, A., 1998. *Some key figures of Iranian calendar mythology (winter and spring)* (Kraków).
- Mukri, M., 1963. Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé à l'occasion de son 75ème anniversaire* (Tehran), 288-302.
- Nawgānī, A., 1969. Sada dar Firdaws, *Našriya-yi farhang-i Hurāsān* 6, n. 9-10 (1347), 41-42.
- Panaino, A., 1999. Giovanni V. Schiaparelli e la storia dei più antichi calendari iranici, in A. Panaino e G. Pellegrini (a c. di), *Giovanni Schiaparelli: storico della astronomia e uomo di cultura. Atti del seminario di studi tenutosi a Milano il 12-13 maggio 1997 presso l'Osservatorio astronomico di Brera* (Milano), 99-128.
- Scarcia, G., in corso di stampa. Zoroastrian calendar myth, comunicazione tenuta il giorno 10 ottobre 1998 in occasione del VI seminario ESCAS a Venezia (Venezia).
- Sims-Williams, N., de Blois, F., 1996. The Bactrian calendar, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10, 149-165.
- Taqizāda, S. Ḥ., 1937-1938. *Gāhšumārī dar Īrān-i qadīm* (Tehran 1316), rist. con annotazioni autografe dell'autore in S. Ḥ. Taqizāda, *Maqālāt-i Taqizāda*, a c. di Ī. Afšār, vol. 10 (Tehran 1357/1978-1979).

Taqizāda, S. H., 1938. *Old Iranian calendars* (London).

Taqizāda, S. H., 1952. The Old Iranian calendars again”, *BSOAS* 14, 603-611.

Taqizāda, S. H., 1971-1972. Taqwīm wa paṅḡa-yi Kāšān [note manoscritte pubblicate a c. di Ī. Afšār], *Farhang-i Irān Zamīn* 18 (1350), 138-156.

THE MAZDEAN NOTIONS OF CREATION AND BIRTH: SOME REFLEXES
IN THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Ela Filippone

1.1. It is well known that the Mazdean cosmogony, as it appears in the different Pahlavi religious texts, shows traces of different, sometimes very archaic myths and different theological elaborations.¹ However, some tenets seem to be common to (almost) all traditions: the two principles (good and evil) and the three periods in the history of the universe (creation, mixture and salvation). The two modes of being, *mēnōg* and *gētīg*, are also basic notions, which play a crucial role within Zoroastrian theological and mythological texts and therefore have been an object of interest for many scholars. Among these is Gherardo Gnoli, the eminent Iranologist to whom this volume is dedicated, who discussed the matter in one of his early works, devoted to the Mazdean doctrine of creation (Gnoli 1963). For a deeper understanding of the *mēnōg* and *gētīg* notions, their historical development and possible foreign influences, I refer to Gnoli's remarks, as well as to Shaked 1971, which is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject available so far. As far as we are concerned here, suffice it to recall that the material world, the *gētīg* world, is derived from Ohrmazd's first creation in *mēnōg*, the immaterial creation, which is not perceptible through senses. When speaking of cosmogony, then, one has to distinguish between the two different phases of creation: the creation in *mēnōg* (*āfurišn*) and the creation in *gētīg* (*dahišn*),² characterized by mixture; in what follows, however, unless otherwise specified, the term "creation" will be used with reference to the creation of the *gētīg* world.

In order to recall the relationships between the two modes of being, without entering into philosophical-religious details, I will resort here to an often quoted passage from the *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*, which, in the translation of de Menasce (1945) sounds as follows:

Le *gētīh* est le fruit du *mēnōg*; le *mēnōg* en est la racine . . . Que le *gētīh* soit le fruit, le *mēnōg* la racine est évident par le fait que l'on constate que toute chose visible et tangible passe de l'invisibilité à la visibilité [*har vīnašnī gīrašnī θis ež apēdāi ō pēdāi madan*] . . . On peut donc savoir, sans risque d'erreur, que ce *gētīh* visible et tangible a été créé d'un *mēnōg* invisible et intangible, et de même, il est hors de doute qu'il retournera de la visibilité et de la tangibilité à l'invisibilité et à l'intangibilité du même *mēnōg* (*ŠGW* 8.24-38).

If 'invisibility', 'intangibility' and 'unmanifestation' (*awēnašnīh*, *agīrašnīh* and *apaydāgīh*) are features of the *mēnōg* state, the *gētīg* state is characterized by 'visibility', 'tangibility' and 'manifestation' (*wēnašnīh*, *gīrašnīh* and *paydāgīh*). There seem to be no doubts on this: we find it expressed over and over, sometimes with lexical variations, in several passages of the Pahlavi religious texts. Also in the *Bundahišn* passage (*GrBd*.

¹ Cf. Shaked 1994, 5-26.

² Even if with many exceptions, *āfrīdan* and *dādan* 'to create' differ in that they are mainly reserved respectively to the *mēnōg* and *gētīg* creation; cf. Gnoli 1963, 174, Shaked 1971, 67-68 fn. 30.

1a.16-21, ed. Anklesaria 1956) where the origin of the Zoroastrian feasts is described, corresponding to the days in which Ohrmazd allowed himself a rest during the creation process, the different stages of creation are represented as manifestation acts [(16) . . . *māništ ī Mihr ud Māh ud zargōnīh ō paydāgīh mad* 'the abode of the Sun and the Moon and verdure came into manifestation'; (18) . . . *pāyag ud rawišn ī dāmān pad zamīg paydāg be kard* 'he made the basis and the progress of the creations manifest on Earth'; (19) . . . *warg ud bōy ud gōnag ud zargōnīh paydāg būd* 'the leaf, fragrance, colour and verdure became manifest'; etc.].

The MPrs. adjective *paydāg*, its nominal derivative *paydāgīh*, or the denominative verbs, with respectively an active or passive sense, i.e. *paydāgēnīdan* and *paydāgīhistan*, frequently occur in Pahlavi texts where allusions to, or explicit mentions of, creation are made. MPrs. *paydāg* basically means 'visible', and with an extension from a physical to a mental vision also means 'manifest, evident, obvious', and 'revealed'.³

The etymology of *paydāg* still awaits a sure explanation. A few proposals have been put forward; none of them, however, has reached a unanimous consensus. I will list here some of them, without taking sides. On the one hand, there are scholars who support a connection of MPrs. *paydāg*, Prs. *peydā* etc. with Av. *paityank-* 'entgegen gewendet' (Bartholomae); among these, Horn (1893) and Nyberg (1974, 149), who takes the writing *pty'k* of the Haḡjiābād inscription as the one reflecting the original word. On the other hand, Hübschmann (1895), following Darmesteter, and Bartholomae (ss.vv. *paityank-* and *paiti-daya-*) suggest a connection with Av. *paiti-daya-* 'der die Aufsicht führt' belonging to ²*dā(y)-* 'sehen', which would appear semasiologically more grounded. Back's suggestion (< **pati-y-ā-kas-*; 1978, 252) was definitely rejected by MacKenzie (1982, 290). Kanga (1960, 105), also quoting Prs. *hovaydā* 'evident, manifest', cites a derivation of *paydāg* proposed by Bailey:⁴ MPrs. *pyt'k*, to compare with NPrs. *paydād* 'produced, manifest', should derive from **pati-dā-*. It is not said explicitly which base *dā-* the author has in mind; the mention of Prs. *paidād*, however, implies MPrs. *dādan*.

1.2. The *gētīg* world, fruit of God's will, finds its *raison d'être* in the salvation of creation, and therefore is bound to last until the final victory. By going forth and multiplying, human beings will make any attempts by the evil principle to destroy Ohrmazd's creation by means of death unsuccessful, and will contribute to the victory of the good cause. Generative power provides then a sort of immortality to the creatures fighting against the antagonist; in old age, they renew their youth through their sons (*Dd.* 36.29). It is a natural instrument, provided by God with a purposive function; this is ensured by the fact that in a world freed from evil, when the specific function of procreation fails, men and women (as well as male and female animals) will couple, but no longer generate (*Dd.* 36.92;

³ From a statistical point of view, 'revealed' is the most recorded sense of *paydāg*; this is due to the religious content of the Pahlavi books. A technical sense is recorded in juridical texts, where *paydāg kardan* "indicates an official declaration both at a trial and at the performance of some legal action" (Perikhanian 1980).

⁴ Kanga does not provide any bibliographic reference and I have not been able so far to find the relevant location in Bailey's copious production.

PahlRivDd. 48.106). Therefore all good Zoroastrians know well that if their first duty is to embrace the Good Religion and to adhere totally to it, their second duty is ‘to marry and to continue the lineage of the world, to be diligent in it and not to turn away from it’ (*Čīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān* § 5, ed. Kanga 1960. 21)⁵.

2.1. According to the macrocosmos–microcosmos parallelism, well known in the Mazdean (as well as Manichaeic) tradition, “creating the material world” is a process conceived to be very similar to that of “giving birth to a child”.

The relationship existing between a child and its parent’s semen, where the former is present in potentiality, is exactly the same as that existing between *gētīg* and *mēnōg*. As a confirmation of this, I will resort once again to the clear exposition given by the author of the *ŠGW*:

On sait bien déjà que l’homme et les autres créatures visibles et tangibles proviennent du *mēnōg* invisible et intangible; de même, la forme, l’espèce, la hauteur, la largeur d’un être sont celles-là même de l’être qui l’a engendré; le corps de l’homme et des autres créatures, qui est manifesté, était caché et invisible dans la semence, laquelle provient des parents; et la semence elle-même qui était dans les reins des parents est passée à l’état de manifestation, de visibilité et de tangibilité [*u tan i mardum u awarē dām pēdāi andar θūm i ež pīdarq apēdā avīnašni būt, xvadiča θūm andar q i pīdarā *pušt ō pēdāi u vīnašni gīrašni mat*] (8.29–32; tr. de Menasce 1945).⁶

The birth of a human being is represented as an epiphanic event, just as the creation of the world by Ohrmazd is; using Gnoli’s words, “la esistenza *gētē* è il *mēnōk* portato fuori dalla tenebra, manifestato, *paitāk*, reso ‘visibile’, *vēnišnik*, ‘afferrabile’, *gīrišnik* . . . : il *gētē* . . . è l’essere che viene alla luce, come il neonato che esce dal ventre materno” (1964, 192).

A famous passage of the *Greater Bundahišn* (corresponding to I.58–59 in Anklesaria’s edition)⁷ explicitly connects the different phases of the cosmogonic process to the phases of human gestation:

(58) *dām ī Ōhrmazd pad mēnōgih ēdōn parward kū tarrīgih estād amenīdār ud agriftār ud arawāg čiyōn šus^{ar} homānāg pas az tarrīgih gumēzagih šus^{ar} xōn homānāg pas az*

⁵ See also *Dēnkard* V 13.8 (Amouzgar–Tafazzoli 2000): *zan dāštan ud frazand dranjēnidan (?) ud paywand rāyēnidan* (‘Se marier et engendrer (?) des enfants et se faire une postérité’). As rightly pointed out by the editors (cf. p. 119), the meaning of the phrase *frazand dranjēnidan* in that position can only be something like ‘engendrer des enfants’, although *dranjēnidan* is lit. ‘to speak; to recite’. A possibility still to be verified is to attribute here to *dranjēnidan* one of the senses given by Bartholomae to Av. ¹*drang-* ‘firmare’, such as, for example, ‘sich etwas sicher stellen, sichern wollen’. In this case *frazand dranjēnidan* should properly mean ‘to secure offspring’.

⁶ Cf. also *Dēnkard* III.191 (1–2) in Shaked 1971, 100–101.

⁷ This passage has been edited several times with translations (with or without new reading and/or new interpretation proposals). Cf. Anklesaria 1956, 18–21, Nyberg 1929, 220–221, Zaehner 1955, 282, Gnoli 1962, 109–110, Sohn 1996, 121. See also Bailey’s unpublished thesis (unavailable to me). A new edition of the whole first chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* by C. Cereti and D. N. MacKenzie is now available in this volume; I got acquainted with it when the book was going to press.

gumēzagih xwurdagih⁸ būd daštağ⁹-ē homānag pas az xwurdagih wiškīdagih 𐭥𐭥¹⁰ dast ud pāy pas az wiškīdagih gabrih būd čašm ud gōš ud dahān pas az gabrih čandišn¹¹ būd ka be ōy pēš-rawišn¹² estād nūn-iz pad gētīg pad ān hangōšīdag andar aškomb ī mādār ham-bawihēnd¹³ zāyēnd ud parwarēnd (59) ud Ōhrmazd pad dām-dahišnīh ud mādarīh ud pidarīh ī dahišn hast: ēē ka-š dām pad mēnōg parward, ān būd mādarīh, ka-š bē ō gētīg dād ān mēnōg, būd pidarīh

In the *mēnōg* state the creation of Ohrmazd was so fostered that it remained in a moist state unthinking, unseizable, motionless like semen. After the moist state, (there was) mixture, like semen and blood; after the mixture, there was smallness, like an embryo; after smallness <there was> separation (as) hands and feet; after separation there was hollowing, (as) eyes, ears and mouth; after hollowing there was trembling when it started to move forward (or: when its moving forward appeared).¹⁴ Even now in the material world, men are in this way conceived in their mother's wombs, and are born and bred.¹⁵ Ohrmazd in the act of creation has both the motherhood and the fatherhood of the creation: for when he fostered the creation in the *mēnōg* state, that was his motherhood; when he transferred the *mēnōg* to the *gētīg*, (that) was his fatherhood.¹⁶

This Pahlavi passage, whose interpretation is clear in the main, but which in some points still remains to be explained, may be the starting-point for different research lines. For example, comparing it with other passages having relevant content, such as chap. 15 of

⁸ TD₂ <hwltkwyh> (twice); TD₁ <hwltkwyh> in the first occurrence, <hwltkyh> in the second one. Zaehner (also Gnoli) reads *āvartakih* 'conception'. This reading has been contested by Shaked 1971, 104, 106 fn. 17.

⁹ Anklesaria: *gašta*.

¹⁰ So in the mss., i.e. <g'n> which however makes no sense. Different readings have been proposed: Bailey *gēn* 'nostril'; Nyberg *pēšanik* 'forehead'; Zaehner (also Gnoli) *čēyōn* 'such as'; Anklesaria *gān* 'into life'; Sohn *būd* 'was'. This last interpretation (not explained by the author) has undoubted advantages since it restores the balance in the text structure, conforming our relevant phrase to the pattern *pas az X, Y būd*, which precedes and follows it. Worth noting is that, apart from the two diacritical dots on the first letter (a possible secondary emendation), the Pahlavi word mates with the first part (*YHW*) of the ideogram of the verb *būdan*.

¹¹ Mss. have *čndšk*. So emended in Anklesaria, Zaehner, Sohn. Nyberg reads -ič **nišak*.

¹² Nyberg *pēš rōšn*, Zaehner (also Gnoli) *pēš* <i> *rōšn*; for an objection to this reading see below. Anklesaria omits *pēš* and reads *bē ō rūbišn* in accordance with TD₁.

¹³ So in the Paris ms. (cf. Zahner 1955, 306). The actual reading <hnnbwšynnd> in TD₂ (also TD₁) has been emended by Nyberg (1929, 284-285); cf. Skjærvø 1994, 280. See also below, fn. 18.

¹⁴ Contrary to the *mēnōg* creation, the *gētīg* creation is movable and its natural movement, provided by God, is finalized to the natural advancement of the creation. I think it is this notion that is meant here. However, the Pahl. passage presents some ambiguities. It would have been more comprehensible if instead of *be ōy* [<LH>] *pēš-rawišn estād* we had had *be ō* [<L>] *pēš-rawišn estād*; cf. *be ō estādan* 'commencer à faire' in Amouzgar-Tafazzoli 2000 (Glossaire). Should one consider 'LH' a later corruption of 'L'? Otherwise, cf. *be estādan* 'to appear' in Nyberg 1974. Differently Nyberg: 'lorsque la création se manifesta lumineuse'; Zaehner: 'when it came forward to the light' (cf. also fn. 12 above); Anklesaria: 'when the creation was in motion'; Sohn: 'Wenn (dies) der Vorgang für das Jenseits (ōy) war'.

¹⁵ Some problems arise with *parwarēnd*, 3rd plur. person from *parwardan* 'to foster, nourish'. An error for a passive form **parwarīhēnd*, as suggested by Skjærvø (1994, 280)?

¹⁶ The Paris ms. and TD₁, omitting *mēnōg* (cf. Zaehner 1955, 306), present a more linear syntactic structure: *ān būd X – ān būd Y*.

the *Greater Bundahišn* and chap. 30 of the *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* (fairly detailed accounts of the conceiving act and of the different stages in human gestation), Sohn (1996, 13-18) outlines the different phases of the embryo development and the foetus growth according to the anatomical and physiological knowledge of 9th century Iran. I will not dwell on the details of his study, which, also on account of his medical approach, may result in some points in a too sophisticated analysis. What we are concerned with here, is to point to the evident analogies between creation and procreation in the Mazdean views and how these analogies are mirrored in terminology.

The semen, entered together with the vital soul into the female body, joins the egg provoking a 'mixture' (*gumēzagih*). The woman becomes pregnant (*ābustan*) and the child is conceived. What is the Pahlavi word for 'conception'? A good candidate is *hambawišn(ih)*, whose basic meaning is 'union, composition'; cf. also the verb *hambaw(ih)*- which we have seen above in the quoted *GrBd.* passage and is found elsewhere in similar contexts.

Zarathustra's birth shows a peculiarity. Contrary to the ordinary way, it is he himself who passes on his substance (*gōhr*), as well as his *fravahr* and *xwarr* to his parents. This occurs when his parents drink the milk mixed with the *hōm*, containing Zarathustra's *gōhr*, *fravahr* and *xwarr* (*Dk.* VII 2.39 f.; *WZ* 5). But, except for this, Zarathustra's birth does not differ from those of other human beings, i.e., it rests on his parents coupling. Countered by the *dēws*, Zarathustra's father and mother had some difficulties in doing it, but at last they succeeded. It is at this point that *hān mard ō ham būd kē ahlaw Zarduxšt. – ud ēdar ō ham madan tan-gōhr fravahr ud xwarrah ī Zarduxšt andar burdār mād* ('fut conçu cet homme, le juste Zoroastre. Voilà la substance du corps, la fravahr et la xwarrah de Zoroastre réunis dans la matrice de sa mère'; *Dk.* VII 2.52, ed. Molé 1993). The *dēws* did not give up and *pas az hambawišnīh ī Zarduxšt andar burdār mād* ('Lorsque Zoroastre fut (conçu) dans la matrice de sa mère', *Dk.* VII 2.53, ed. Molé), tried their utmost to kill him while he still was *andar mādār aškam* ('dans le sein de sa mère'). They were, as we know, unsuccessful.

In the *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* we find the same event in an abridged version. After a brief mention of the *fravahr* being in the *hōm* and the *xwarrah* being in the cow's milk, we are told: *pad frāz-xwarišnīh ī pidarān mādārān ān be ō hambawišn mad* (*WZ* 6). This means, I think: 'when his parents drank them, he was conceived'¹⁷ rather than 'par le fait que ses parents le burent, [la *fravashi* et la brillance] sont alors venues s'unir', as it has been proposed in Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1993, 61.

That *hambawišn(ih)* is linked to the conceptual frame of human gestation has been repeatedly noted. Nyberg points to Skt. *sam* + *bhū-* 'se produire, naître', *sambhava-* 'naissance' (1929, 284-285). Zaehner, while supporting his reading *āvartagih* 'conception' in the *GrBd.* passage quoted above (*āvartakih*; see fn. 8), which is merely a hypothetical reconstruction (< Av. *var-* 'to make pregnant'), admits that "the stage following 'mixture' is described as *ham-bavišnīh*, that is 'conception' or 'the coming together' of the male and female ele-

¹⁷ Cf. also Skjærvø 1994, 280, who however reads 𐬨𐬀 as *axw* and translates 'When his parents ate these (his) existence was conceived'. The sequence 𐬨𐬀 often occurs in *WZ* (and in no case *axw* may be intended); Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1993 read *ān* (<h'n>) and translate 'alors, ensuite (?)'; cf. also *ibid.* 157.

ment” (1955, 305 n. to l. 173). Shaked, on his part, states: “The precise sense in which this verb and its derivatives are used to designate a stage in the development of the embryo escapes me. It may denote the stage of the embryo’s ‘differentiation’ or ‘materialization’” (1971, 68 fn. 31). Skjærvø contrasts MPrs. *hambaw-* ‘to be conceived’, used of humans, to MPrs. *hambūs-* ‘to be spawned’, used of *xrafstras* and similar creatures¹⁸ (1994, 278-285).

A conceptual and lexical parallel between creation and giving birth may be drawn at this point. In fact, the term *hambawišn* belongs to a twofold lexical schema (*bawišn* : *hambawišn*), describing in theological terms the two different creation modes: *bawišn* ‘becoming’ is a notion related to the *mēnōg* and *hambawišn* ‘co-existence’ to the *gētīg*. The following passage may be illustrative: *ud gētīg dahišn ham-bawišnīg ī bawišn ī mēnōg, ud dahīg ud paydāgih ast ī mēnōg, u-š wāspuhragānīh ast ī wēnišnīg gīrīšnōmand* (‘The *gētīg* production is a co-existent of the *mēnōg* “becoming”. It is a product and a manifestation of *mēnōg*. It has a special quality: being visible and tangible’; *Dk.* III.416.2 in Shaked 1971, 67).

Admittedly, many points remain to be explained. Since the *gētīg* is visible and tangible, if the *gētīg* is *hambawišnīg*, we should assume that what is *hambawišnīg* is perceivable by senses, and this is difficult to admit for an embryo or a fetus. In fact, a new born is *hambawišnīg* already inside its mother’s womb (*andar burdār mād*), but really gets perceivable when it comes out, at birth (*pad zāyišn*).

We are faced with similar problems when we consider the fourfold schema *bawišn* : *bawišn-rawišnīh* : *bawišn-astišnīh* : *stī*, which traces the creation process, starting from *bawišn*, the primary matter, and ending with *stī*, the individual being of the *gētīg*.¹⁹ It is referred to frequently in *Dk.* III. I am not sure that the stage of *bawišn-astišnīh* corresponds to “the embryonal stage in the organic world”, as assumed by Shaked (1971, 94), in that I am not sure that it designates the embryonic stage in the gestation process.²⁰ Should this not be the case, one would admit that the notion of *stī* as a ‘*gētīg* individual body’ also includes the phases in which, after reaching the ‘mixture state’ (*gumēzagih*), a condition peculiar to the *gētīg*, the body develops and grows in the womb; according to § 194 of *Dk.* III, ‘the

¹⁸ MPrs. *hambūsīdan* is ‘to come into being, be conceived’ in MacKenzie 1986. Skjærvø’s analysis is convincing in the main. However, the “great variety of spellings encountered” for both *hambaw-* and *hambūs-* (p. 279 fn. 23), to which one should add <hmbwnykyh> and <hmbwndkšnyh> in different mss. of *Dk.* V (19b), emended by Amouzgar–Tafazzoli and read ⁺*hambūsīšnīh* (in *frazand-hambūsīšnīh*), still remains an embarrassing question. Skjærvø’s statement that it is not possible “to prove the existence of a present stem *hambūs-*” (p. 280) may conflict with <hmbyšynd> in *Dd.* 16.10, emended into *hmbwšynd* by Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998). The Prs. variants *anbuseš* and *anbušēš*, also quoted by Skjærvø (p. 279), might corroborate MPrs. *hambūš-*. Could <hnnbwš-> in the *GrBd.* passage seen above be not an error by the copyists of TD₁ and TD₂ but merely a semantic alternative to <hnnbwyh-> of the Paris ms.?

¹⁹ On the different notions carried out by *stī*, see Shaked 1971, Appendix B.

²⁰ In *Dk.* III, § 123, the *bawišn-astišnīh* is said to correspond to the ‘four elements’ (*ristagān*); in § 191 it is defined as a ‘substance’ (*mādag*) [‘celle dont provient le produit purifié . . . ainsi le père est la matière du fils qui a la même forme que lui identiquement’]; in § 194, as a product (*dahīg*), ‘qui est le seul à être compris dans les germes qui sont au-dessus de lui . . . Sur le plan de la nature, c’est le germe qui est dans la constitution . . . du progéniteur, comme la semence de l’homme dans le ventre de la mère’ (tr. de Menasce); the reference could be here to the semen inside the female womb, but before impregnation. Lastly, § 365, also edited in Shaked 1971, 104-107, still remains obscure in many points and does not resolve all our doubts.

definition of *stī* is the individual bodies, like such-and-such a thing, or such-and-such a person', while as regards nature, it corresponds to the *bawandag nigārdagih ī zahag andar burdār uruθwar* ('the complete acceptance of form of an offspring in the womb'; Shaked 1971, 94). Is *bawandag nigārdagih* to be considered as a process or as an arrival point?

2.2. The union of men and women has been established by God to make procreation possible. He created woman for this purpose, arranging her reproductive organs in such a way that natural pleasure would bring them into contact with man's semen; this is reported in a passage of the *Bundahišn* (*GrBd.* 14a.1).²¹ However, a substantially positive evaluation of the sex act within the marriage frame may clash with other, independent ideological assumptions, such as the dualistic understanding of the human body, which the *kustīg* conveniently divides into two parts: an upper, positive one, the place of the human senses and the human intellect, and a lower, negative one, 'the place of (our) forefather's reproduction' [*ān ī zāyīšn ī pid mān*; *Dd.* 38.29]. On these grounds, the author of the *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* may challenge the Christian assumption of a God, who became incarnate from a woman and was made man, as being incompatible with the divine nature to stay inside a woman's womb, 'the most impure and stinking place' [5.37 *rīmantar u gandatar jā*]. But nowhere, in the Pahlavi texts, is mention made of the negativity of body parts when involved in conceiving and giving birth to a child.

Since procreation is the result of a natural power provided by God, any new child is ultimately the fruit of a divine action, as we are told in different Pahlavi passages, where Ohrmazd personally states to 'have arranged' (*WZ* 34.20 *be winnārd*) or to 'have produced' (*GrBd.* 34.4 *dād*)²² the child inside the mother's body. Through his creatures which give birth to children, God unceasingly renews his creation. And it is not by accident that some verbs used with reference to God's creation are sometimes used with reference to the father's function in procreation. This is probably the case with *dādan*, as in the passage of *Dk.* VII (7.25) where antagonists of the Religion, who do not respect the rules of correct procreation, justify themselves for having matrilineal descent, and for buying women, as well as the children women give birth to, with these words: *šmāh ō hamīh dād hēm* ('Nous les avons faits en commun', Molé 1993, but, evidently, 'nous vous avons faits etc.'). This is also the case with *kardan* 'to do, make', as in the *Ardā Wirāz nāmag* passage *ēn ruwān ī awēšān hēnd kē-šān pidar andar mādar kard ud ka be zād hēnd pidar abar nē padīrift* ('Ce

²¹ The quoted passage, however, has been object of discussion for its ambiguous and contemptuous attitude towards women and the sex act, unknown in most Pahlavi texts; cf. Zaehner 1955, 188-189 and Shaked 1994, 24.

²² Skjærvø (1994, 286 fn. 39) is surely right when he claims that "the meaning of *dādan* in its various occurrences needs to be investigated". I will add that all the lexicon related to the conceptual field of creation deserves a thorough examination in order to take the general observations we have seen above (fn. 2) further. However, I think there is no need to see here a 'placement' as opposed to a 'gētīg creation' [Skjærvø translates: 'I . . . placed a son in the womb of the mother'], especially if one agrees with the fact that the verb *dādan* should have been chosen as 'to create' "because it could convey the notion of a transference or 'giving over' of what has previously existed in *mēnōg*" (Shaked 1971, 68 fn. 30).

sont le âme de ceux que leur père a façonnés dans [le sein de leur] mère, mais quand ils sont nés [leur] père ne [les] a pas reconnus'; chap. 42.3, ed. Gignoux 1984).²³

3. Conceptual links between 'birth' and '(visual) perception' are traceable in different cultures.²⁴ The centrality of light in the conceptual frame of birth, for example, is underlined by common expressions where light or sight are taken into account, such as *to come to light*, *to see the light of day* in the meaning of 'to be born' (and, in Italian, *dare (al)la luce* in the meaning of 'to give birth to'). Other metaphors, also depending on light symbolism, are inherent in more restricted linguistic traditions, such as 'to see (the light of) the sun' with the meaning of 'to live' (or better 'to live in the psychophysical conditions granted by the light of the sun'), shared by the Indo-Aryan and Greek traditions.²⁵

The connection of the notions of 'birth' and 'perception' is explicitly stated in Pahlavi texts.

In order to justify the reading *pēš <i> rōšn* proposed for 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 in the *GrBd.* passage quoted above, Zaehner (1955, 306) recalls "the 'movement' of the child from the uterus towards the 'light' of day", which according to him "suits the context admirably". Gnoli (1962, 110) accepts his interpretation ("... l'essere compiutamente articolato, vivente nel mondo della luce, fuori dalla tenebra del grembo materno"), and, quoting Hartman, states that "lo stadio *mēnōk* corrisponde al periodo in cui le creature si trovano nelle tenebre. La creazione del *mēnōk* (*ābārišn*) e la creazione del *gētēh* (*dahišn*) sono ... la stessa creazione che dalla tenebra passa alla luce" (*ibid.* 119 fn. 104). As is well known, "light" and "darkness" are crucial notions of the Mazdean dualistic thought. However, they do not match the two different modes of being. Never is the *mēnōg* said to be essentially dark, or the *gētīg* to be essentially light. If birth (*zāyišn*), as it appears in Pahlavi texts, is conceived as the moment in which one becomes manifest (*paydāg*), just as it is the creation (*dahišn*) of the *gētīg* world, this is due to a feature acquired by the new-born, which is not influenced by particular external conditions (presence vs. absence of light). And just as *paydāg* and *paydāgīh* frequently occur in texts concerned with creation, many occurrences are found of *paydāg* and *paydāgīh* in contexts where the reference is to 'being born', to 'existence in life', to 'production of a fruit', etc. A few examples may illustrate this point:

²³I prefer Gignoux's interpretation to that of Vahman (1986, 32 ll. 3-4), who, probably inspired both by the crude language of the text, and by the use in Middle (as well as Modern) Persian of *kardan* as a euphemistic substitute of the more transgressive *gāyidan* 'to copulate', reduces the man from a 'maker' to a simple 'copulator', translating: 'These are the souls of those <children> whose fathers copulated with their mothers and when they had been born the fathers did not acknowledge them'.

²⁴Moving to cultures far away, one may remind the procreative function of the eye in ancient Mesoamerican cultural expressions: birth, for example, may be iconically represented as a V-shaped cleft 'secreted' by an eye (Houston-Taube 2000, 281).

²⁵Cf. Durante 1976, 116-117. This metaphor seems unknown in Iranian. Remarks on the different interpretations of the expression 'to see with one's own eyes the cow and the sun' in the Avesta (*Y* 32.10), 'to continue to live' according to Insler (on the basis of the Vedic tradition) and 'to see again the dawn' according to Humbach *et al.* and Kellens-Pirart, are in Piras 1998, 171-172.

GrBd. 33.19 *andar xwadāyīh ī Kavād Mazdak ī Bāmdādān ō paydāgīh mad* ‘during the reign of Kavād, appeared Mazdak son of Bāmdād’ (ed. Anklesaria 1956);

WZ 34.48 *ka ān spurrgar frēstag ī ast Sōšāns <ī> parwānag Ērmān pad zamīg paydāg bawēd* ‘Quand le messenger qui achève (la Rénovation), qui est Sōšāns, avec Ērmān pour guide apparaîtra sur la terre’ (ed. Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1994);

Dd. 38.4 . . . *az namāz-barišnih ēč sūd ī gētīgīg nē paydāg ī čiyōn az draxtān bar ud az xwarišnān mizag ud az sprahmān bōyud az gōnagān bām ud az wiškuftagān hu-čīhrīh *ud az rūragān bēšazišnih ud az saxwanān wizīdārīh paydāg* ‘no worldly benefit is produced from the paying of homage, as fruit is produced from trees, taste from foods, fragrance from flowers, splendour from colours, beauty from blossoms, healing from medicinal herbs and understanding from words’ (ed. Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998).

Mapping “being born” and “reaching a visibility state” may be considered a universal, being common to many cultures, and consequently reflexed in different languages. In *The Conceptual Metaphor* site in the Internet,²⁶ for example, one finds the metaphor “Existence is visibility” listed among other metaphors having “visibility” as their source domain. This does not sound strange to anyone, *to appear, to disappear* etc. being commonly used with reference to contexts in which birth or existence are taken into account. However, the metaphor “Existence is visibility” does not fit completely with the understanding of birth and existence which may be found in Pahlavi texts. In the Mazdean doctrine, “existence, being” as an abstract notion, is in fact independent of perceptibility, which characterizes only one of the modes of being. This is time and again stressed in texts such as *Dk. III*, where the difference (*jūtārīh*) between ‘existence’ (*hastīh*) and ‘manifestation’ (*paydāgīh*) is clearly pointed out.²⁷

A good example of this understanding, and of the terminology associated with it, is provided by a passage from the *Wizīdāgīhā ī Zādspram*. The background is the following: Gone to the forest at the command of Kay-Uš in order to kill the Gāv, Srid listens to the Gāv’s words which reveal the future coming on the earth of Zarathustra [*pad zamīg paydāg bawēd*] and is convinced not to kill him. Acquainted by Srid with the latest developments, Kay-Uš claims: *nē paydāg kū ān kē-š frawahr andar Hōm ī dūr-ōš xwad ast ayāb nē ud agar ast zāyēd ud paydāg bawēd ayāb nē* (‘il n’est pas clair que celui dont la *frawašhī* (est) dans le *hōm* qui éloigne la mort, existe lui-même ou non; et s’il existe, naitra-t-il et apparaîtra-t-il ou non?’; chap. 4.16, ed. Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1994).

4.1. In the Introduction to his Italian translation of the *Ketāb-e gošāyeš va rahāyeš*, Filippini-Ronconi (1959, xx) points out that some terms related to the semantic field of ‘existence’, ‘put into existence’, ‘perception’, etc., used by Nāser-e Xosrow seem to have a clear derivation from the philosophical-religious Pahlavi terminology; he provides a list of some relevant words, among which one finds *peydā šodan* ‘existence’. Giving bibliographic references, Gnoli, in his review to Filippini-Ronconi’s translation (1964, 192), observes

²⁶ *The Conceptual Metaphor Home Page*: cogsci.berkeley.edu/Metaphorhome.html (copyright G. Lakoff 1994).

²⁷ Cf. for example *Dk. III* § 40, 132, etc. (tr. de Menasce 1973).

that many of these terms, not being an exclusive feature of Nāser-e Xosrow's lexicon, are found in New Persian texts. In fact, it is possible to prove reflexes of this terminology, probably of Mazdean origin, in Persian as well as in other Iranian languages even today.

Prs. *peydā* means 'visible, apparent, perceptible'. Consequently, *peydā šodan* is 'to become visible, appear, be found', while for *peydā kardan* dictionaries primarily provide the meaning 'to find', the most common meaning of this verb, together with 'to discover'. Steingass (who collects, as is known, often uncritically a much differentiated lexicon), besides the most common meanings, provides those we are looking for (*paydā* 'born, produced'); also in Mo'in we find *peydā āmadan* 'to come into existence, to be created, to be born [be vojud āmadan]', *peydā āvardan* 'to bring into existence, to create, to generate [be vojud āvardan]' and *bačče peydā kardan* 'to give birth to a child [bačče be vojud āvardan]'. In Dehxodā, for *peydā šodan*, among other meanings 'be vojud āmadan' is given, while *peydā kardan* is also 'to create, to produce; to bring forth [iḡād kardan, be vojud āvardan]'. And it is still worth mentioning that Prs. *peydāyeš* is a commonly used word, with the meaning of 'coming into being, birth, genesis, etc.'.

It is possible that these usages of *peydā*, which seem to be unknown to a few Fārsi speakers of Tehran consulted by me about this topic, mostly represent a lexical peculiarity in Eastern Persian varieties: they are well recorded in Tajik (*FZT*) as well as in Afyān Persian (Afyāni Nevis 1961, Šālči 1991). This may also be suggested by the presence in Urdu of *paidā karnā* 'to create, to bring forth' and *paidā honā* 'to be born, to be created' (Platts), or by being *paydā kardan* the current way to say 'to create' in texts stemming from Parsi communities, such as the 18th century text published by Cereti (1991). However, in Āriānpur-Āriānpur 1979 (a small phraseological standard Iranian Persian bilingual dictionary), s.v. *peydā kardan* 'to find, discover', we find the following sentence: *hanuz bačče-yi peydā nakarde-ast* 'he doesn't have any children yet'. The actual usage of *peydā* with reference to the conceptual frame of birth and existence is definitely confirmed by its occurrence in tales, such as those recently gathered and published by Rahmāni (1995).²⁸ In "Tāher va zahre" (p. 561), for example, after having been informed that a king and his vizir, both childless, had eaten and made their wives eat the unfailing apple, we read that *yak ruz pādšāh va vazir ba šekār rafte budand ke xāne-ye pādšāh doxtar va xāne-ye vazir bačče peydā šod* ('one day the king and the vizir had gone hunting when at the king's house a she-child, and at the vizir's house a he-child were born'). The king, when he was told that *xāne-at doxtar-i peydā šode ast* ('at your house a she-child is born'), took it badly; we, on the other hand, may take cheer at finding *peydā* with a meaning which probably finds its motivation in conceptions going back to a distant past.

4.2. Both in Western and Eastern Iranian, many cognates are found of Prs. *peydā*, most of which are loans from Persian and we are not going to consider them here in their specifics. Our interest is directed towards pinpointing, in modern Iranian languages other than

²⁸This is a collection of tales from Afghanistan. The language is standard Persian with occasional Eastern dialect words or phrases, always explained in footnotes by Rahmani; no explanatory footnote is provided for *peydā*.

Persian, possible connections with Prs. *peydā kardan* and *peydā šodan* with the specific meanings of 'to give birth to' (or 'to create, to produce') and 'to be born' (or 'to be created').

In Balochi, from *pedā(g/k)* (Raxšāni *pay*^o) 'evident, visible', one finds *pedā kanag* 'to give birth to, to create, to produce; to find' (Barker–Mengal 1969, Razzaq–Buksh–Farrell 2001); *paydā biay* 'to be born' (Mayer 1910; Eastern Bal.). The two following sentences are drawn respectively from a Marw Balochi tale and an autobiographical story in a Balochi Coastal variety:²⁹

- (a) . . . *ki nu mā u nu ročī būt u zāg paydā būt* 'after nine months and nine days a child was born';
 (b) *yakk sāngeā manī pit u diga janen čukke pedāk bītagant u duhmī sāngā čukke na bītag* 'At the first marriage my father and another daughter were born, at the second marriage no child was born'.

The Kurdish dictionary of Amîrxan (1992), including lexicon from different Kurdish areal and diachronic varieties, records *pêdakirin* 'erschaffen; entstehen lassen', *pêdar* 'Schöpfer (Gott)', etc. More circumstantial data are inferred from a text in the Kurdish dialect of Akre (Mosul province), published by MacKenzie, where one finds the following sentence: *ba'da hayāmakī, sālak, dō sāl, sē sāl, dō bičûk lē paydā bôn* 'after a time, a year, two years, three years, she bore two children' (1962, 312 [692]).

As far as Eastern Iranian is concerned, Pašto has *paydā* 'trouvé; né; créature' (loan-word from Persian); cf. also *paydākawāl* 'trouver; créer'; *paydākawunkay* 'creator, inventeur'; *paydākedal* 'naître; être trouvé; être créé' (Kabir–Akbar 1999; see also Raverty 1860). For Waxi *paydō*, Grjunberg–Steblin–Kamenskij (1976) record the common meaning of 'to find etc.', but s.v. *pældō* 'visible, to be seen, to be found', Lorimer (1958) provides us with the compound verb *pældō tsər-* 'to create' (from Persian) and a useful example: *xodqye yem dnyo: paeido xšetk* 'God has created this world', bringing us back to our point of departure, i.e. the creation of the world in the Mazdean view.

What has been said on the semantic content of Prs. *peydā* and cognates, is also true for other Iranian words having meanings similar to *peydā*. This is the case of Bal. *wadī*, semantically near to Bal. *pedā(g/k)*, which we have seen above. It means 'visible, appeared, born, found' (Barker–Mengal 1969, Elfenbein 1990); *wadī būag/biag* is 'to be born' (*ibid.*) and *wadī kanag* is 'to bear, find, produce' (Barker–Mengal 1969), 'to give birth' (Elfenbein 1990), Eastern Bal. *wadī kanay* 'to foal' (Dames 1891), while for Sarawani Balochi, Spooner (1967, 61) records the meaning of 'to find'. Consider the following Makrāni Balochi sentences:³⁰

- (a) *čukk ča mâte lāpā wadī bīt ta sipat janag bīt* 'when the child comes out from the mother's womb, then the *sipat* is played';
 (b) *wājā nūr mahmad mā turbatā wadī būt* 'Mr. Nur Mahmād was born in Turbat'.

²⁹ All the Bal. sentences quoted in the present paper are taken from the Balochi textual archive belonging to the *Balochi Etymological-Comparative Project* (directed by A. Rossi at IUO, Naples, and IsIAO, Rome, and funded by the MURST/MIUR and CNR). In particular, if not otherwise specified, the texts from Marw have been collected in Turkmenistan by A. Grjunberg and S. Aksjonov; those labelled as 'Makrani' and 'Coastal' have been collected by Badal Khan Baloch in Pakistani Makran.

³⁰ See fn. 29 above.

The meaning ‘to beget, to bring to life, to produce’ has been recorded by Bray (1934) for Brahui *vadī kanning*, a compound verb with *vadī* ‘born; making an appearance; procurable; found’. But, rather than being connected to *vadd-* ‘to grow larger’, as tentatively suggested by Bray, Br. *vadī* relates to Bal. *wadī* (and not vice versa), which is in no way isolated in Iranian. Considering the area of distribution of this word, which conveys the same meaning as Prs. *peydā*, it is possible to point out an (apparently compact) band which, going from North to South, includes Eastern Persian of Xorāsān [Xorāsāni, Birjandi *vādī* (Šālči 1991), Qāini *vadi* (Zomorrodian 1989)], of Sistān [Sistāni *vādi* (Mohammadi Xomak 2000)], dialects of Lārestān [Lāri, Gerāši *vadi* (Eqtedāri 1955), Bastaki *wādi* (Bastaki 1980)], as well as Balochi.

To this lexical family, one may connect (semantically and etymologically) several forms found in dialects of Iran, mostly, but not only,³¹ in Central dialects, such as Anāraki *dī* (cf. *dī niššāy* ‘peydā šodan’ in Sahrābi 1994); Nāini *dī* (Sotude 1986), Kešei *dī*, Zefrei *dū* (Žukovskij 1888, 83 s.v. *padid*), Zor. Yazdi-Kermāni *dī* (Sorušian 1956; cf. also Yzd. *dī*, *diva* in Mazdāpur 1995, s.v. *peydā*), etc., which may easily be traced back to the Ir. base **dai-* ‘to see’. Also these latter forms, corresponding in meaning to Prs. *peydā*, are used in connection with the semantic field of ‘birth’. Evidences are found in Farizandi (*vačē dī nāka* ‘she had no child’; Christensen 1930, 222: ‘n’obtient [litt. ne trouve] pas un enfant’); in Yazdi (*kod vača-šo dī ye mda?* ‘when was your child born?’; Mazdāpur 1995, s.v. *peydā āmadan* [Yzd. *dī omdun*]); *vača še dī karta vo vača še dī mda* (‘lit.) she/he had a child and a child was born’;³² *ibid.*, s.v. *peydā kardan*); in Lakki of Aleštar (*pâtāšā-e bi, har če dāt aṛe mahāt-e-a dī kwāt-on-a makwāšt-e* ‘il y avai un roi [qui] tuait toutes les filles qui lui naissaient’; Lazard 1992, 228).³³

What has been said above leads to the conclusion that Prs. *peydā* and cognates, continuing MPrs. *paydāg*, as well as other Iranian words with meaning similar to Prs. *peydā*, represent lexical reflexes of an old Mazdean view, according to which creation and birth are conceived as visual events and what has been created or is born comes to be defined by the acquired quality of perceptibility.

5.1. In *Yasna* 44, the part including stanzas 3-7, “un des passages les plus clairs de tout le corpus viel-avestique” (Kellens–Pirart 1991, 171), has a cosmogonic content: it “permet de dégager avec précision quelques aspects du rapport entre les dieux et l’univers” (*ibid.*). Several created elements are mentioned there, and in particular: (3) the sky, (4) the earth and the intervening space, (5) the opposed pairs or triads, (6) the cow and (7) “probablement, . . . l’homme et sa piété” (*ibid.*). But, if stanzas 3-6 are easily understood, the same cannot be said of stanza 7, which in a relevant passage says: *kā uzamām cōrāt viiānāiā puθrām piθrē*.

³¹ Cf. Sul. Kurd. *dī*² in Wahbi–Edmonds 1971; similar forms are also recorded in Ir. varieties in North Iran.

³² This might be a proverb or something similar, difficult to render. The Persian translation proposed by Mazdāpur (‘bačče peydā karde-ast va baččedār šode-ast’) does not correspond to the original meaning, even if it possibly conveys the same general sense.

³³ Cf. also *ibid.* 213: *mahāt-e-a dī* = Prs. *peydā mišod*, *padid miāmad*.

According to Kellens–Pirart (1991, 176), we are faced here with “deux graves inconnues lexicales”, *uzəmām* and *viiān(a)iiā*. On the former, “on peut seulement dire que le mot est dissyllabique”; for the latter, they tentatively suggest a stem *viiāni*- ‘intervalle’. Insler (1975, 244–245) does not discuss *uzəmām*, considering *vyanyā* a locative of a stem *vyānā*- ‘attentiveness’. Humbach *et al.* (1991, 152), for their part, propose for *uzəma*- a meaning ‘outstanding, eminent’ (< **uz-zəma*- ‘elevated’, modelled after YAv. *aḍairi-zəma*- ‘living below the earth’, *upaīri-zəma*- ‘living on the earth’), and take *viiānaiiā* as an attribute of Ahura Mazda.

On these bases, the proposed translations of the relevant passage are the following:

‘Qui a rendu le fils . . . ?’ (Kellens–Pirart 1988, 150);

‘Who made a son respectful in his attentiveness to his father?’ (Insler 1975, 69);

‘Who in (His) spiritedness provides a father with an outstanding son?’ (Humbach *et al.* 1991, 158).

Among the modern editions of the Gatha, Insler’s interpretation, even with a few differences, is closer to the classical interpretation of this passage, which we find, for example, in the translation of the Avesta (by Mills) published in the series “Sacred books of the East” (‘Who, through his guiding wisdom hath made the son revering the father?’).

The differences in the proposed translations, or, as in the case of Kellens–Pirart, the giving up of any interpretation whatsoever, make the difficulties of this passage clear; the same happens with many other Avestan (and especially Gathic) texts, and we may only take cognizance of this. But what about the medieval Pahlavi translator? Did he find himself in the same difficulties? Did he understand correctly the meaning of the Avestan sentence? In any case, this is how the translator rendered our Avestan passage: *kē dōstīh kard ka windēnēd pūsar pid {kū-š pahrēz kunēd}*.

The main question here is: what does *windēnīdan*, the causative form of *windādan* (also *windīdan*) ‘to find, obtain’, translate?

Towards understanding this passage, especially its Pahlavi version, good progress was made by Molé (1963, 398–399). He comments and challenges the classic interpretation of Av. *uzəmām*, which “repose sur une étymologie *uz-ma* où le premier élément est considéré comme identique à la racine verbale *uz*, skr. *ūh* ‘respecter’; on traduit, en conséquence, ‘respectueux’”. Apart from the fact that the syntactic construction attributed to this passage does not correspond to the expected one, the question, he says, is that the content of the preceding stanzas would not justify a reference to the filial respect towards the father. It would be much better if it were possible to imagine here a reference to the human productive potential, which, being aimed at final victory, is essential to the life of the universe (*ibid.* 403). If, however, Molé leaves the interpretation of the Avestan text as an open question, confining himself to suggesting (399 fn. 1) for *uzəma*- a possible adjectival derivation from *uz*- ‘extérieur, surgi de’,³⁴ he gives us useful hints for a new interpretation of

³⁴ He himself seems not to attach much credit to it. But what about reconsidering the proposal of Humbach *et al.* 1991, i.e. *uzəma*- < **uz-zəma*-, hypothesizing the same meaning for it of *upaīri-zəma*- ‘living on the earth’, which would fit a reference to ‘existence’ or ‘birth’?

the Pahlavi translation: “La forme du causatif *windēnēi* ‘fait trouver’, ‘fait exister’ . . . , et le passage parallèle du *Varšt mānsr* indiquent que c’est le père qui est le sujet de la phrase et que l’amitié mentionnée, ainsi que la protection dont parle la glose sont celles du père envers l’enfant et non inversement”. And after having provided (399 fn. 2) an Arabic semantic equivalent to explain the polysemy of *windēnēd* (Ar. *waǧada* ‘to find’ compared with *wuǧūd* ‘existence’), Molé presents the quoted passage of the *Varšt mānsr*, which I cite with his translation in a standardized transcription:

Dk. IX.37.6 man xwadāyīh abāg bawandag menišnīh ārzōg ō ham-tuxšīdan sūdōmandtar windēnišn dād pus rāy ō pidar hān windēnišn ī windēnēd wēnišn ī u mādag juwān u-m andar hān windēnišn dād pus ō pidar, Zarduxšt . . . ‘J’ai façonné ensemble l’Empire et le désir de la dévotion parfaite; j’ai rendu plus profitable la production du fils par le père. Cette production est celle que produit un homme en voyant une femme et c’est dans cette production que j’ai créé le fils pour le père, ô Zoroastre’.

Should one accept Molé’s suggestions (and I think they deserve to be taken into consideration), one has still to admit that the occurrence of MPrs. *wind-* in contexts where the reference is to the semantic frame of ‘birth’ or ‘existence’ is not common.³⁵ Not common, but not impossible;³⁶ this is what de Menasce (1973) too must have thought, if we consider his translation of *Dk. III.142*, of which I will quote two passages: “La luminosité et l’obscurité sont toutes deux définies . . . avec l’existence (*vindišnīkīh*)” (p. 147) and “La Dēn Mazdéenne, elle, enseigne que luminosité et ténèbres sont toutes deux existantes (*vindišnīk*), définissables et proviennent de principes distincts” (p. 148).

Worth noting is also the fact that, according to Monier-Williams’s dictionary s.v. *vid*, the Skt. verb cognate to MPrs. *wind-* has been recorded in its passive form as ‘to be found, exist, be’ (since *RV*), while in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the active form, with or without *sutam* (‘child’) as an object, means ‘to obtain a child’.

5.2. MPrs. *wind-*³⁷ belongs to Av. (also Gath.) *vid-* ‘to find’. Seemingly, there do not exist modern Iranian developments of this verbal base with the meaning ‘to find’; in early New Iranian, *bind-*, *bindād* is attested in one of the oldest Jewish Persian texts (8th century?), the fragment of Dandān-Uiliq letter, and this fact corroborates the antiquity of the text according to Henning (1958, 80). In the *Qorān-e Qods*, the very valuable *Tafsīr* probably going back to the 11th century (Lazard 1990, 192), there are a lot of occurrences

³⁵No trace of this usage is found in Manichaean (both Middle Persian and Parthian) texts. I owe a confirmation of this to Werner Sundermann, whom I warmly thank.

³⁶May we think of a dialectal feature? This would also be useful in explaining the addition of the gloss {*kū-š pahrēz kunēd*} which could rest on a misunderstanding and which may be stimulated by a parallel with (Gath.) Av. ³*vaēd-* ‘dienend ehren, dienen, willfährig sein’ (Bartholomae; ³*vid-* ‘servir’ in Kellens–Pirart 1990). This holds, however, only if one assumes that the gloss has been added later, by an author different from the first translator.

³⁷See also Man.Prth. *wynd-* and Sgd. *pr-wyδ-* ‘to find’.

of *gind-/gindād*³⁸ 'to find', with the development *g-* < *w-* which, together with other peculiar linguistic features, points to Sistān as its originating place (cf. Lazard 1990, 195).

In his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Bartholomae provides two different items: ¹*vaēd-* 'kennen lernen' and ²*vaēd-* 'finden'; cf. also ¹*vid-* 'savoir' and ²*vid-* 'trouver' in Kelless–Pirart 1990. Since vision verbs commonly develop abstract senses referring to mental activity, there is a broad enough consent on the fact that Av. ¹*vid-* and ²*vid-* (as well as their correspondents in Sanskrit, *vēda* and *vindāti*) should not be separated from an etymological point of view, and both be connected to IE **uēid-* 'erblicken, sehen' (Pokorny p. 1125);³⁹ for a detailed bibliography see *EWA* s.v. *VED*. Is it, however, also possible to trace to IE **uēid-* the lexical family represented by Av. *vaēna-* ('to look'), Skt. *vémati*, OPrs. *vaina-*, MPrs. *wēn-*, Prs. *bin-* and their numerous cognates in Iranian⁴⁰ meaning 'to see', or is it necessary to hypothesize, as is maintained by most scholars, a separate Ilr. base **uēi-*? On this question, Mayrhofer appears still to be hesitating in *KEWA*, while he positively excludes the first hypothesis in *EWA*. Recently Gershevitch (1998, 117–119) reconsidered the whole matter, proposing an alternative to the classic understanding of the original IE roots involved here, according to which the 'see' set and the 'find' set could be conceived as etymologically related. This was not essential to the main reasoning of his paper, nor is it to my reasoning, and I am not going to enter into details; however, whether one agrees with him or not, nobody can deny the close conceptual affinity between the notion of 'see', and in a larger sense, 'perceive', and that of 'find', well depicted by Gershevitch (p. 116) with the semantic label PERFIND.

The semantic affinity of MPrs. *wēn-* and *wind-* (and respective cognates) permits them to alternate in contexts very similar to each other, as is shown by the following sentences from *Dēnkard* VI (ed. Shaked 1979):

Dk. VI.218 *kas-ez nēst ke čīš-ē dārēd ī pad getīg [az-eš] bar ne hamē windēd* 'there is no one who has a thing from which he does not receive any benefit in the material world';

Dk. VI.304 . . . *ud az-eš pad getīg bar ne wēnēd* ' . . . and fail to see their fruit in the material world'.

Polysemic verbs meaning both 'to see' and 'to find' are recorded in modern Iranian; this is the case, for example, of Ir. *Āzari vindan* and *Tāleši vinde* (Abdoli; mostly Southern *Āz.* and Southern *Tāl.*), of *Zazaki ditiš* (Paul 1998b), of *Kurm. Kurdish ditiin* (Rizgar 1993). A confirmation of the meaning 'to find' for *vinde* in *Tāleši*, at least in the variety spoken in *Šānkāvar*, is in Bazin 1981, 123; at sentence no. 23 ('Il ne peut pas trouver sa chemise neuve') *Šānkāvāri* may alternate *peydō karde* and *vinde*, while all the other *Tāleši* varieties considered there have cognates of Prs. *peydā kardan*. In Standard Persian, as well, when one has to say that something 'is found' somewhere, one may say that it "*dide mišavad*". Such a usage of *didan* 'to see' is already attested in the 13th-century Persian

³⁸ Cf. **gund-/gundād* <*knd-/knd'd*> in Lazard 1990, 185. The several occurrences of this verb in the *Tafsīr*'s text are easily traceable since all are signalled in footnotes by its editor Ravaqi.

³⁹ One should however assume a secondary differentiation with a nasal infix in the stem for 'to find'.

⁴⁰ A rich collection of relevant forms, especially in Eastern Iranian, is in Abaev 1989 s.v. *wynyn*.

compilation known as *Persian Diatessaron*, as repeatedly stressed by its editor Messina (1951, partic. 24 n. 1, 311 n. 1).

Bal. *gindag* 'to see' (present stem *gind-*) is the only instance in Iranian, to my knowledge, of a sure derivation of the 'see' verb from the base **ueid-*;⁴¹ it is a cognate of MPrs. *wind-*. As happens in most Western Iranian languages with the verb 'see' derived from **uei-*, which use a suppletive past stem from the base **dai-*,⁴² Bal. *gind-* (from **ueid-*) also has a suppletive past stem, which is dialectologically marked (West. *dīsta*, South. *dīta* and East. *dīθa*).

5.3. In the Balochi variety of Marw, a peculiar usage of the verb *gindag* is found. With a noun meaning 'child' as its object, it may mean not only 'to see the child', as one would normally expect, but also 'to give birth to a child'. As far as I know, nobody has till now drawn attention to this usage, which intrigued me at first sight and cued me to make a collection of the different expressions used in the Iranian languages to refer to the act of bearing forth, which will be the subject of a forthcoming publication. Consider:⁴³

(a) *bādi no mā-u no roč-u no dayīyāā jīnikko zāg dīst* 'After nine months, nine days, nine minutes the woman gave birth to a child';

(b) *yak roče mīrzāzakkī jīnen zāgā gindīt. sardār šāi soj-a kant: mīrzā, gušant ki tī jīnen zāg dīsta, ā bačakke yā jīnikke?* 'One day Mīrzazakkī's wife gives birth to a child. The sardar asks him: Mīrza, they say that your wife gave birth to a child. Is the child a he or a she?'

Balochi speakers, from areas different from Marw, whom I asked for a confirmation, showed considerable perplexity over the admissibility of such a usage for *gindag*. Nevertheless, parallels to Marw Bal. *gindag* may be found elsewhere in Iranian.

In a tale in Awromani published in MacKenzie 1966, 66-67, we read the following passage: *žānaw pāqšāy rōew ništārā, yāre zārotēš die* (II.7). MacKenzie translates: 'the king's wife sat down one day and saw (that she had given birth to) three children'. Without the bracketed integrations, the sentence would have had no sense at all in the economy of narration, but even with it one may remain perplexed. Attributing to the Awromani verb the same meaning of Bal. *gindag* seems to be more reasonable; the convenient translation for the mentioned passage is then: 'the king's wife sat down one day and gave birth to three children'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ As far as Āz. *vīdan* and Tāl. *vinde* (infinitives based on the past stem) are concerned, they belong to the group of MPrs. *wēn-* etc., with the dental stemming from the historical past ending. This statement could be considered an oversimplification. In fact, Āzari and Tālēši are generally listed among the languages with a present stem deriving from an old participle in **-ant-* (cf. recently Paul 1998a, 172-173). But, the present stem in **-ant-* is not peculiar to Southern Tālēši (on the behaviour of the verb we are concerned with cf. Bazin 1981, 279) and to Southern Āzari (cf. Yar-Shater 1969, 181 ff.).

⁴² Among the exceptions, cf. Āz. *vīdan* and Tāl. *vinde* we have seen above and Awr. *wināy* (alternative to *diay*) we will see below. No suppletive stems for this verb are generally found in Eastern Ir. languages either.

⁴³ The first sentence is from Zarubin 1949, 124. For the second, see fn. 29 above.

⁴⁴ Several examples of Awr. *die* used in the 'giving birth' frame are easily found in the tales published in Christensen 1935-1937. Cf., e.g., *ā žānā kēnāčāwāš dīe* (p. 468), translated 'that woman gave [birth to] a girl-child' by Christensen (p. 471), who interprets *dīe* as a past form of the verb meaning 'to give' (= Prs.

What conceptual motivation may justify such an extension ('to see' > 'to give birth')? If for Bal. *gind-/dista*, one thinks of a linguistic phase in which the verb could have the meaning 'to find', and then recalls here MPrs. *wind-* with the examples seen above, for Awr. *win-* (infinitive *diay* or *wināy*), an approach which draws a line between the outcomes of **uei-* and **ueid-* (etymologically and/or cognitively) prevents us from recognizing any connection whatsoever. I think that a good solution would be to remember here the label PER-FIND as coined by Gershevitch, which fits our needs like a glove. Prs. *peydā kardan* and the other Ir. expressions seen above (§ 4.2) having 'to find' as their present central meaning, show how the lexicon mirrors the notion that reaching a state of perceptibility amounts to being findable.⁴⁵ It is possible to recognize here two different perspectives, with the potential 'finder' playing the divergent roles respectively of an agent and of a patient, which may be summarized as follows: (1) making something perceivable is tantamount to finding it; (2) perceiving something is tantamount to finding it (Gershevitch's 'perfinding'). Both perspectives fit the conceptual frame of birth equally well: (1) the parents 'make perceivable' their child (who before was unperceivable), or (2) when a child, previously unperceivable, becomes perceivable, his parents perceive him. In both cases, they 'find' a child.

However, if the strong ties between 'perceptibility' and 'birth', an event which is similar to 'creation', also evidenced by the maintenance of a specific terminology (MPrs. *paydāg* : Prs. *paydā*), may be traced back to the Mazdean thought, the 'finding' schema, on its part, interlocks with, and is not easily detachable from the 'acquiring' schema, a different cognitive pattern in the birth conceptual frame, that is common to many cultures and many languages (including Iranian languages). But this is another story, which I will expand upon on another occasion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abaev, V. I., 1989. *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, vol. 4, U-Z (Leningrad).
 Abdoli, A., 1984. *Farhang-e tāti va tāleši* (s.l.).
 Afyāni Nevis, A., 1961. *Loyat-e 'āmiyāne-ye fārsi-e afyānestān* (Kabul).
 Amīrxan, 1992. *Wörterbuch Kurdisch. Kurdisch-Deutsch*, vol. 1 (Ismaning).
 Amouzgar, J., Tafazzoli, A., ed., 2000. *Le cinquième livre du Dēnkard* (Paris).
 Anklesaria, B. T., 1956. *Zand-ākāsih. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (Bombay).
 Āriyānpur Kašāni, A., Āriyānpur Kašāni, M., 1979. *Farhang-e jibi-ye fārsi-anglisi* (Tehrān).
 Back, M., 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Acta Iranica 18, Téhéran-Liège).
 Barker, M. A. R., Mengal, A. K., 1969. *A course in Baluchi*, vol. 2 (Montréal).
 Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).
 Bastaki, H. A. A., 1980. *Farhang-e bastaki* (Tehrān).
 Bazin, M., 1981. Quelques échantillons des variations dialectales du Tāleši, *StIr* 10, 111-124, 269-281.

dādan). However, his opinion is countered by the following passage: *no maṇ o no ro ši, čoar kənāčē bā jarēwə die. A čoar kənāčē dāi bā dās-u-dājanā* (p. 470; 'Nine months and nine days passed, she bore four girl-children at the same time. She gave those four girls in the hands of a nurse', p. 473), where *die*, followed by *dāi* 'gave', clearly contrasts with the latter.

⁴⁵ Other examples may be added, as for example Lāsgardi *diyār ākardon*, Sorxei *diyā kōrdōn* 'to find' (Sotude 1963), with *diyār/diyā* belonging to MPrs. *dīdār* 'sight; visible', Prs. *didār* and their numerous cognates with the meanings of 'visible' and/or 'sight'.

- Bray, D., 1934. *The Brahui language*, vol. 2 (Delhi).
- Cereti, C., 1991. *An 18th century account of Parsi history. The Qesse-ye Zartoštian-e Hendustān* (Napoli).
- Christensen, A., 1930. *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne. Dialecte guilāki de Recht, dialectes de Fārizānd, de Yaran et de Natanz* (København).
- Christensen, A., 1935-1937. Some new Awromāni material prepared from the collections of Åge Meyer Benedictsén, *BSQS* 8, 467-476.
- Dames, M. L., 1891. *A textbook of the Balochi language consisting of miscellaneous stories, legends, poems and a Balochi-English vocabulary* (Lahore).
- Dehxodā, A. A., 1959-. *Loyatnāme-ye Dehxodā* (Tehrān).
- Durante, M., 1976. *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca, parte seconda, Risultanze della comparazione indoeuropea* (Roma).
- Elfenbein, J., 1990. *An anthology of classical and modern Balochi Literature*, vol. 2, *Glossary* (Wiesbaden).
- Eqtedāri, A., 1955. *Farhang-e lārestāni* (Tehrān).
- EWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Heidelberg 1986-2001).
- FZT = *Farhang-i zābon-i tojiki*, ed. M. Š. Šukurov et al. (Moskva 1969), 2 vols.
- Filippini-Ronconi, P. 1959. *Il libro dello scioglimento e della liberazione* (Napoli).
- Gershevitch, I., 1998. Baluchi audition and the Kurdish rhinocrasis, in *Studia Iranica et Alanica. Festschrift for Prof. V. I. Abaev* (Rome), 105-139.
- Gignoux, Ph., ed., 1984. *Le livre d'Ardā Virāz* (Paris).
- Gignoux, Ph., Tafazzoli, A., ed., 1993. *Anthologie de Zādspram* (Paris).
- Gnoli, G., 1962. Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel mazdeismo e nel manicheismo, *AION* 12, 95-128.
- Gnoli, G., 1963. Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione, *AION* 13, 163-193.
- Gnoli, G. 1964. Note sul "Kitāb-e gošayeš wa rahayeš" di Nāšir-e Hosraw in relazione ad alcune analogie con la letteratura religiosa pahlavica, *AION* 14, 191-202.
- Grjunberg, A. L., Steblin-Kamenskij, I. M., 1976. *Vaxanskij jazyk* (Moskva).
- Henning, W. B., 1958. Mitteliranisch, in *Iranistik. Linguistik* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.4.1, Leiden-Köln), 20-130.
- Hom, P., 1893. *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg).
- Houston, S., Taube, K., 2000. An archaeology of the senses: perception and cultural expressions in ancient Mesoamerica, *Cambridge archaeological journal* 10, 261-294.
- Hübschmann, H., 1895. *Persische Studien* (Strassburg).
- Humbach, H. et al., 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and the other Old Avestan texts* (Heidelberg), 2 vols.
- Insler, S., 1975. *The Gāthās of Zarathustra* (Acta Iranica 8, Téhéran-Liege).
- Jaafari-Dehaghi, M. (ed.), 1998. *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, pt. 1 (Paris).
- Kabir, H., Akbar, W., 1999. *Dictionnaire pashto-français* (Paris).
- Kanga, E. M. F., 1960. *Čitak andarz i pōryōtkēšān. A Pahlavi text* (Bombay).
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1988, 1990, 1991. *Les textes vieil-avestiques* (Wiesbaden), 3 vols.
- KEWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzeftiges etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg 1956-1980).
- Lazard, G., 1990. Lumières nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan, in Sh. Shaked, A. Netzer (ed.), *Irano-Judaica II* (Jerusalem), 184-198.
- Lazard, G., 1992. Le dialecte Laki d'Aleshtar, *StIr* 21, 215-245.
- Lorimer, D. L. R., 1958. *The Wakhi language* (London).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1962. *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, vol. 2 (London).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1966. *The dialect of Awroman* (København).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1982. Review of Back 1978, *IF* 87, 280-297.
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1986. *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, repr. with corrections (London, first publ. 1971).
- Mayer, T. J., L., 1910. *English-Biluchi dictionary* (Calcutta).
- Mazdāpur, K., 1995. *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Behdinān-e šahr-e Yazd*, vol. 1 (Tehrān).
- de Menasce, J., ed., 1945. *Škand-Gumānik Vičār* (Fribourg).
- de Menasce, J., 1973. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart* (Paris).
- Messina, G., 1951. *Diatessaron persiano* (Roma).

- Mohammadi Xomak, J., 2000. *Vāženāme-ye Sakzi* (Tehrān).
- Mo'in, M., 1992. *Farhang-e fārsi*, 8th ed. (Tehrān), 6 vols.
- Molé, M., 1963. *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris).
- Molé, M., 1993. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes Pehlevis*, 2e éd. (Paris).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1929. Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes, *JA* 214, 193-310.
- Nyberg, H. S., 1974. *A manual of Pahlavi*, pt. 2, *Glossary* (Wiesbaden).
- Paul, L., 1998a. The position of Zazaki among West Iranian languages, in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceeding of the 3rd European Conference of Iranian Studies*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden), 163-177.
- Paul, L., 1998b. *Zazaki. Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie* (Wiesbaden).
- Perikhanian, A., 1980. *The book of a thousand judgements*, tr. Nina Garsoian (Costa Mesa).
- Piras, A., 1998. Visio Avestica I. Prolegomena à l'étude des processus visuels dans l'Iran ancien, *StIr* 27, 163-185.
- Platts, J. T., 1930. *A dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*, 5th ed. (London).
- Rahmāni, R., 1995. *Afsānehā-ye dari* (Tehrān).
- Raverty, H. G., 1860. *A dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto or language of the Afghāns* (Hertford; repr. Karachi 1980).
- Razaq, A., Mula Buksh, Farrell, T., 2001. *Balochi Ganj. Balochi-English dictionary* (unpublished, kindly provided by Tim Farrell).
- Rizgar, B., 1993. *Kurdish-English, English-Kurdish dictionary* (London).
- Sahrābi Anāraki, A., 1994. *Vāženāme-ye Anāraki* (Mašhad).
- Šālči, A., 1991. *Farhang-e guyeš-e Xorāsān-e bozorg* (Tehrān).
- Shaked, Sh., 1971. The notions *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi texts and their relation to eschatology, *AcOr* 33, 59-107.
- Shaked, Sh., ed., 1979. *The wisdom of the Sasanian sages (Dēnkard VI)* (Boulder, Colo.).
- Shaked, Sh., 1994. *Dualism in transformation. Varieties of religion in Sasanian Iran* (London).
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1994. Of lice and men and the Manichean anthropology, *SII* 19, 269-286.
- Sohn, P., 1996. *Die Medizin des Zādsparam* (Wiesbaden).
- Sorušīān, J. S., 1956. *Farhang-e Behdinān*, ed. M. Sotude (Tehrān).
- Sotude, M., 1963. *Farhang-e semnāni, sorxei, lāsgardi, sangesari, šahmerzādi* (Tehrān).
- Sotude, M., 1986. *Farhang-e nāini* (Tehrān).
- Spooner, B., 1967. Notes on the Baluchi spoken in Persian Baluchistan, *Iran* 5, 51-71.
- Steingass, F., 1963. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, 5th impr. (London).
- Vahman, F., ed., 1986. *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag. The Iranian "Divina commedia"* (London-Malmö).
- Wahby, T., Edmonds, C. J., 1971. *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford).
- Yar-Shater, E., 1969. *A grammar of Southern Tati dialects* (The Hague-Paris).
- Zaehner, R. C., 1955. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford).
- Zarubin, V. I., 1949. *Beludžskie skazki*, vol. 2 (Moskva-Leningrad).
- Zomorrodian, R., 1989. *Barrasi-ye guyeš-e Qāyīn* (s.l.).
- Žukovskij, V. A., 1888. *Materialy dlja izučeniija persidskix" narččij*, vol. 1 (Sanktpeterburg").

CYRUS WAS NO ACHAEMENID

Richard N. Frye

In homage to an old friend, whom I met long ago with the late Giuseppe Tucci, I offer this morsel, which hopefully will bring a reaction of support or criticism. No new sources, but only a different view or slant on what is known is presented. It is speculative and impressionistic, but this is the lot of old age, when attention to details becomes difficult, if not painful. Yet in this age of intense specialization, perhaps a view of the forest will be of value to those who concentrate on trees.

I always was puzzled why Darius should order short inscriptions engraved at Pasargadae with the name of Cyrus, simply saying "I am Cyrus an Achaemenid". This brief text is found at the top of columns and on the extant lower robe of a figure in the ruins of a palace.¹ This is strange, if we accept that the Old Persian cuneiform was invented only under Darius. Consequently it was necessary to examine the usage and frequency of the word Achaemenid in all Old Persian inscriptions, and the end result was a conclusion that Darius' genealogy, traced back to his ancestor Achaemenes, whether true or fabricated, was the reason for his desire, and indeed need, to attach the family of Cyrus to his family. Let us review the evidence from the inscriptions.

Cyrus in an Akkadian inscription from Babylon says he is "the son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, . . . descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, of a family (which) always (exercised) kingship".² There is no mention of Achaemenes, and nothing more is known of the ancestry of Cyrus. What does Darius say about his family?

Only on the Behistun inscription does he give his full lineage as follows: "I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king in Persis, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achaemenid. Saith Darius the king: my father was Hystaspes; Hystaspes' father was Arsames; Arsames' father was Ariaramnes; Ariaramnes' father was Teispes; Teispes' father was Achaemenes. Saith Darius the king: for this reason we are called Achaemenids. From long ago we have been noble. From long ago our family was royal. Saith Darius the king: eight of our family were previously kings. I am the ninth. Nine kings we have been in succession".³ At once one will notice that Darius, just like Cyrus, claims that his ancestors always were kings. Is Darius simply repeating the formula of Cyrus?

In other inscriptions on his tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, and at Persepolis, Darius only says that he is the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.⁴ So it is clear that Darius emphasizes

¹ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2nd ed. (New Haven 1953), 116. Other inscriptions at the site have more text, but all are in the same style.

² W. Eilers, *Le texte cunéiforme du cylindre de Cyrus*, in *Hommage universel*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 2, Commémoration Cyrus, Leiden 1967), 25-34.

³ Translation from R. N. Frye, *The history of ancient Iran* (München 1984), 363.

⁴ R. Schmitt, *The Old Persian inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, pt. 1, vol. 1, Texts 2, London 2000), 30.

that he was the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, and the long genealogy mentioned in the Behistun inscription is not repeated. What does his son Xerxes say?

In all of his inscriptions, except XPf, Xerxes in his genealogy simply says he was the son of Darius, an Achaemenid. But in XPf, which is a foundation stone in four copies, Xerxes elaborates as follows: "My father (was) Darius; the father of Darius (was) Hystaspes by name; the father of Hystaspes (was) Arsames by name. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were (still) living. Nevertheless, thus was the desire of Ahuramazda: Darius, who (was) my father, him he made king on this earth".⁵ Xerxes here asserts that the special favor the deity Ahuramazda showed to Darius even caused Hystaspes and Arsames to be relegated to the background. The key words for Xerxes are Darius and Achaemenid, and the former survived after the fall of the dynasty, while the latter did not.

Later inscriptions of both Artaxerxes again emphasize their descent from Darius, and that they were Achaemenids. On a silver bowl in the Reza 'Abbasi museum in Tehran there is an Old Persian cuneiform inscription reading "Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, son of Darius, an Achaemenid".⁶ Again Darius and Achaemenid are the key words.

From all of the above, it is clear that great emphasis is placed on the descent from Achaemenes by all rulers after Darius, while other details usually are neglected. Since Cyrus traces his ancestry back to one Teispes, and Darius does the same but adds Achaemenes, one may conclude that Cyrus did not know he was descended from Achaemenes, but Darius did and put the record straight. But was there only one Teispes, and can we believe Darius?

Although human actions are not subject to logic, and are rarely simple, nonetheless one can follow scientists in trying to simplify a problem. A simple explanation of the anomalies mentioned above would have Darius an usurper, who needed the legitimacy of belonging to the family of Cyrus, beloved by the Persians. Those who did not accept Darius were declared to be liars and rebels, and, after suppressing them, he had to convince everyone that he belonged to the family of Cyrus and was thus entitled to rule. The name of Teispes was invoked as a common ancestor, with a father added – Achaemenes. Henceforth the dynasty was to be known as Achaemenid. Teispes as a common ancestor was no longer needed if one only concentrated on Darius the Achaemenid. In fact it was better for everyone to forget details and remember only the two names.

The names of Cyrus, Cambyses and Teispes are different from those of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Darius – Hystaspes, Arsames and Ariaramnes. The names of the line of Darius are good Iranian names, while those of Cyrus are more problematic. Was the family of Cyrus more attuned to Elamite and Babylonian beliefs, and possibly by marriage alliances, than were the ancestors of Darius? Were Hystaspes and Darius converts to Mazda worship, while Cyrus was not? Finally did Darius promote the spread of Mazda worship among Iranians after attaining power? Let us attempt a hypothetical reconstruction of events to test whether all factors can be explained.

⁵ Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 84.

⁶ Seen in a vitrine on the third floor of the Reza 'Abbasi museum in Tehran in April 1999 and May 2001. From the Mohsen Foroughi collection.

Darius, a general in the army of Cambyses, while returning from the campaign in Egypt, and either before or after the death of Cambyses, hears that Bardiya, brother of Cambyses, has proclaimed himself ruler. Bardiya has Median priests of the old Aryan faith as advisors and pursues a pro-Median policy, in religious terms possibly against the Mazda worshippers, destroying their *āyadana*, or altars or high platforms in the open air, on which they worshipped. Darius resolves to seize the throne and spread the worship of Ahuramazda among Iranians. Some Iranians had accepted Bardiya while others revolted against him, so his reign was hardly stable. Darius and his conspirators kill Bardiya and institute a *magophonia*, or massacre of the associates of Bardiya. The priests knew of Bardiya's death, and possibly were those who kept records, as priests did in that time. It was necessary to destroy evidence of regicide and to invent a story that it was not Bardiya who was killed but an usurper Median magus called Gaumata.

If we continue in this speculative vein, the *āyadana*, noted above, were restored by Darius who, we may assume, followed the teachings of Zoroaster. His successors continued to be Zoroastrians, but in Iran supporters of the old Aryan pantheon were in the majority, and a change in religious policy was required. This came with the acceptance of Mithra, Anahita, and other deities under Artaxerxes, which action becomes clear as an attempt to mollify the Medes and others by the incorporation of ancient worship and practices into the Mazdaean fold.

Darius spread his version of events leading to his accession far and wide, and, having attached his family to that of Cyrus, proclaimed the importance of Achaemenes, either solely his ancestor, or a fabrication. He even could have ordered the forgery of gold tablets with Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, two of which were said to have been found in Hamadan. They are universally considered forgeries by a later Achaemenid king because of grammatical errors in the texts, but there is no reason why they could not have been made by error prone scribes under Darius, and who else would need to fabricate such texts, proclaiming in one that Arsames was king of kings, and the same for Ariaramnes in the other?⁷ To the suggestion that these tablets are modern forgeries, one might answer that it is less likely that a clever present-day forger would make the mistake of calling the two rulers "king of kings" than an ancient scribe ordered to make tablets of the two, with "proper" but anachronistic titles. Furthermore, a modern forger would probably use a well-known formula of Darius, Xerxes, or a successor, rather than attributing the plates to ancestors of Darius.

Admittedly all of the above is highly speculative and may place too much reliance on Herodotus' claim (III.72) that Darius extolled lying, but at least the king's emphasis on other liars, who were pretenders in all of his inscriptions, causes one to reflect that Darius protesteth too much. This is not the place to discuss the ancient formulae in various cuneiform texts concerning lies and oath breaking, which is another lengthy task. Suffice it to say that a number of statements of Darius are subject to questioning, such as his claim

⁷ On these inscriptions cf. P. Lecoq, Le problème de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse, in *Hommage universel*, vol. 3 (Acta Iranica 3, Commémoration Cyrus, Leiden 1974), 25-107.

to have defeated so many rebels in one year. Incidentally, we may have a parallel search for legitimacy in the story of the rise of Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian dynasty. The figure of Sasan is an enigma, much as Achaemenes for the earlier dynasty, and since repetition seems to be a feature of Iranian history, one may postulate a dubious genealogy for both Achaemenids and Sasanians, but this requires more study.

In conclusion, even though this reconstruction of events may appear fanciful, yet all the enigmas seem to fit into a logical framework, and I can only suggest to critics, make a better suggestion.

Philippe Gignoux

En avril 1943,¹ Jean de Menasce écrivait à H. S. Nyberg:

Je prépare une étude d'ensemble sur le III Livre du Denkart:² il faut absolument livrer la substance de ce texte difficile aux islamisants, puisqu'il n'est qu'un écrit de polémique et d'apologétique dualistes contre l'Islam (avant tout, et contre tous les monothéismes à travers l'Islam).

Ce passage est signifiant à deux points de vue: tout d'abord il montre que de Menasce s'intéressait déjà au *Dēnkard* III pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, alors qu'il préparait, comme il l'indique au début de cette lettre, "une nouvelle traduction du *Škand Gumānīk Vicār*".³ Comme on le sait, sa longue réflexion sur un texte en effet difficile devait aboutir à deux ouvrages.⁴ D'autre part, en recherchant dans le *Dēnkard* III les textes de polémique contre le manichéisme pour son commentaire du chapitre 16 du *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*,⁵ Jean de Menasce avait pu penser que le *DK* III n'était qu'un livre d'apologétique et de polémique, ce qu'il n'est pas. Cette affirmation trop limitative de la lettre à Nyberg sera évidemment corrigée dans sa publication de 1958, où il reconnaîtra toute la valeur philosophique en soi du 3ème livre du *Dēnkard*.

Dans une communication présentée à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres en janvier 2001 et intitulée "Les bases de la philosophie mazdéenne", j'ai tenté de montrer quels sont les fondements de la philosophie élaborée par les théologiens mazdéens du 9ème siècle, non pas seulement dans un but défensif et polémique, mais bien pour constituer un système cohérent tel que ces bases puissent s'accorder avec les données de la religion mazdéenne. Car la philosophie mazdéenne tardive doit être comprise et reconstruite pour elle-même, avant que d'en rechercher les origines et les influences.

Dans une étude qui a été publiée à Bombay⁶ j'ai rassemblé les chapitres relatifs à la notion philosophique de *paymān*, la 'bonne mesure', opposée à celle d'excès (*frehbūd*) et de déficience (*abēbūd*). Ici je voudrais traiter du terme *zamān* sous son aspect philosophique, amplement attesté dans le *Dēnkard* III, en hommage à un collègue et ami de longue date, qui a tant fait pour le développement et le progrès des études iraniennes

¹ Mme Sigrid Nyberg Kahle m'avait aimablement transmis en 1988 une copie de la correspondance du Père de Menasce à H. S. Nyberg, qui s'étale de 1943 à 1970, soit treize lettres. Celle que je cite ici est du 18 avril. Dans une lettre postérieure de deux ans (21.09.1945), J. de Menasce reparle de son projet d'un "gros travail sur le Denkart, dont les matériaux sont déjà prêts". La suite de sa lettre indique son intention de s'assurer la collaboration d'un arabisant, car il pense toujours qu'il est indispensable de confronter la pensée mazdéenne au "syncrétisme du monde musulman". Même insistance sur la controverse avec l'Islam dans le *Dēnkard* III (lettre du 26.11.1945) comme critère de rédaction tardive de ce dernier.

² Je cite sans modification le texte tapé à la machine de l'auteur.

³ De Menasce 1945.

⁴ De Menasce 1958 et 1973.

⁵ Sur ce thème il faut lire maintenant l'intéressant article de Sundermann 2001.

⁶ Cf. Gignoux 2000.

dans son propre pays et bien au-delà qu'il me serait impossible de dire en quelques phrases tout le bien que je pense de lui et l'estime que je continue de lui porter.⁷ Bien loin d'ignorer les nombreux travaux que tant de savants ont produits sur le Temps et sur Zurvān, sur le temps divinisé et le temps de l'histoire, et dont la liste même occuperait plusieurs pages,⁸ je veux me limiter à l'éclaircissement du concept du temps que définit le mot pehlevi *zamān*. Plusieurs chapitres dont je me servirai concernent l'argumentation philosophique sur le temps: ce sont les chap. 27, 132, 192, 193, 208, 267, 284, 396 et 407 du *Dēnkard* III.

Au préalable, je désire noter la présence de la notion de "temps psychologique" dans le *Dēnkard* même, au chap. 221 (*DKM* 244.20-245.2):

abar zamān nihangīh ud dagrīh az nigēz ī weh dēn. Hād zamān ī kanāragōmand tā frašgird pad sazišnōmand nihang ud dagrīh ud nihangīh ō menišn rōn ud ō ōykē andar frāxīh xwahrīh was-iz sāl nihang ud ō ōykē andar tangīh ud dušwārīh andak-iz zamān dagr.

Sur la brièveté et la longueur du temps, de l'exposition de la Bonne Religion. Le temps limité jusqu'à la Rénovation est bref dans son écoulement, et la longueur et la brièveté sont du côté de la pensée, et pour celui qui est au large et dans le bien-être, même de nombreuses années (sont) brèves, mais pour celui qui est à l'étroit et dans le mal-être, même peu de temps (paraît) long!⁹

Sur l'écoulement du temps vécu, on trouve déjà dans l'Avesta des expressions qui témoignent suffisamment de ce que, à haute époque, les Iraniens distinguaient clairement entre passé, présent et futur. Je veux seulement citer deux passages du *Yasna*. Dans le *Y.* 19,10 en effet, il est dit: "C'est, d'entre ces paroles, la meilleure parole qui a été dite, qui est dite et qui sera dite . . .".¹⁰ Et ailleurs, en *Y.* 71,18, on lit: "C'est ainsi que nous sacrifions à l'âme de la Vache . . ., nous sacrifions aux âmes des *ašavans*, où qu'ils soient nés, hommes et femmes, dont les très bonnes *daēnās* gagnent, gagneront ou gagnèrent".

J'ai montré ailleurs¹¹ que le temps de l'histoire, ou mieux le temps cosmogonique en Iran, n'est pas *cyclique* mais bien *linéaire*, divisé en trois phases: le temps *mēnōg* d'avant la création, dit 'pur, sans mélange' (pehl. *abēzag*), le temps *gētīg* du 'mélange' (*gumēzag*), et le temps d'après la Rénovation, redevenu 'non mélangé' qui est comme le premier celui de la 'séparation' (*wizārīšn*).¹² Certes, d'un point de vue plus strictement philosophique il n'y

⁷ On pourra lire à ce sujet le discours que j'ai prononcé à l'occasion de la célébration de l'élection de G. Gnoli à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, le 24.02.2001, et dans lequel j'ai souligné l'importance de ses recherches sur la datation et la localisation de Zoroastre.

⁸ Duchesne-Guillemin 1969, a étudié le temps dans sa relation à l'espace, ce que je ne ferai pas ici. Il montre bien que Zurvān représente la divinité du Temps mais il a tort d'écrire qu'en pehlevi *zamān* est l'équivalent de *zurvān* (p. 268). Certes il n'utilise pas dans son argumentation le *Dēnkard* III, mais précisément je pense que pour l'analyse il est préférable de distinguer nettement le dieu du Temps de l'élaboration philosophique du concept qu'en ont tirée les théologiens du 9^{ème} siècle.

⁹ De Menasce 1973, 233: ma traduction diffère très légèrement de celle, plus libre, de l'auteur.

¹⁰ Cité d'après le cours d'A. Panaino prononcé au Collège de France en mai 2001, de même que le passage suivant du *Y.* 71,18. Cette expression des trois temps est courante dans la littérature pehlevie, et je me contente de renvoyer ci-dessous au chap. 127 (p. 120).

¹¹ Gignoux 1980-1981.

¹² Cf. Boyce 1989, 229-246. Le petit article de Kellens 2000, 130, pourrait faire croire à l'existence de deux phases seulement: "Il y a donc deux temps: le temps fabriqué du monde des hommes, qui est celui du

a que deux sortes de temps: le temps limité (*kanāragōmand*) et le temps illimité (*a-kanārag*), mais au plan cosmogonique de l'histoire du monde, il y a bien trois périodes distinctes.

Il est clair également que le temps symbolisé par *Zurvān* est avant tout celui du temps divinisé, d'un dieu qui en porte le nom. Notons qu'il est très peu cité dans le *Dēnkard* III,¹³ sans doute, comme l'a montré Shaked, parce que le zurvanisme n'a pas eu toute l'importance que la science occidentale a cru devoir lui attribuer, et qu'il n'avait pas grand'chose à faire dans un traité largement philosophique.¹⁴

I. LA CATÉGORIE DU TEMPS

Le temps *zamān* est cité dans des listes à plusieurs termes: au chap. 203, il est le dernier mot de six qui sont: la volonté (*kām*), la puissance (*nērōg*), l'instrument (*abzār*), l'énergie (*tuxšāgīh*), le lieu/espace (**gyāg*) et le temps (*zamān*).¹⁵ Ces six catégories sont dites les *puissances du Bien*, grâce auxquelles l'être – le *stī* –¹⁶ peut s'approprier ce qui est bien. Quelques lignes plus bas, la même liste est répétée, mais celle-ci ne comporte que cinq termes, *kām* ayant été oublié, et *gyāg* ayant été remplacé par *gāh*: c'est pourquoi il me semble qu'il vaut mieux traduire cette catégorie par 'lieu'.¹⁷ Un peu plus loin dans le même chapitre (*DKM* 223.5), se lit une liste semblable, où *tuxšāgīh* et *abzār* sont intervertis mais où *gyāg* est cette fois bien écrit. Là les six catégories s'appliquent aux puissances du Mal.

Cette liste apparaît un peu différente dans le *Dēnkard* VI:

*gētīg pad ēn šaš čīš rāyēnihēd pad zamān ud *gāh ud dānišn ud ayār ud abzār ud tuxšāgīh ud dānāg wizirēnid kū az ēn šaš sē mēnōgīg ud sē gētīgīg zamān ud *gāh ud dānišn mēnōgīg ud ayār ud abzār ud tuxšāgīh gētīgīg.*

Le (monde) matériel est gouverné par ces six choses: par le temps, le lieu,¹⁸ la connaissance, l'aide, l'instrument et l'énergie. Et le sage a décrété que de ces six, trois sont ménogiennes, et trois gétikiennes: le temps, le lieu, la connaissance (sont) ménogiennes, et l'aide, l'instrument et l'énergie (sont) gétikiennes.¹⁹

Si cette liste diffère des précédentes par deux termes (connaissance: *dānišn*; aide: *ayār*), l'important, du point de vue philosophique, c'est que le temps et le lieu, placés ici en

mélange, et le temps non fabriqué du séjour des dieux, qui peut être défini come *akarana* - 'sans bords', mais ceci se comprend dans le cadre de la définition des deux temps infini et délimité.

¹³ De Menasce n'a malheureusement pas entièrement indexé les termes importants de sa traduction, si bien que les mots *Zurvān* et *zamān* ne sont pas cités p. 442 où on les attendrait.

¹⁴ Gignoux 1980-1981, 115 n. 39: "Le Zurvanisme n'est rien de plus qu'un récit mythologique sur l'origine des deux pouvoirs divins . . .", et à ce titre il ne pouvait guère donner lieu à une méditation philosophique!

¹⁵ *DKM* 221.22-222.1; de Menasce 1973, 213; Zaehner 1955, 385-386.

¹⁶ J'ai tenté d'éclaircir ce qu'il faut entendre par ce terme technique dans ma communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Gignoux 2001, 124-125).

¹⁷ De Menasce a partout traduit par 'espace', qui a peut-être une connotation trop cosmique.

¹⁸ Shaked 1979, 174, a gardé le mot écrit *dahišn* 'instruction', qui ne convient pas; il faut nécessairement, avec Zaehner 1955, 388, restaurer le terme attendu **gāh*.

¹⁹ *DKM* 567.10-14; Shaked 1979, 174-175, C83b.

tête de la liste, sont d'ordre *mēnōg*, c'est-à-dire sont des notions pré-existantes à la création matérielle du *gētīg*. Nous allons examiner maintenant chacune de ces notions dans leur relation respective au temps, mais auparavant je voudrais citer une définition précise du temps dans son rapport au cosmos. Le temps est en soi éternel, et son ipséité est la durée, mais il est aussi limité en tant que durée du monde *gētīg*: c'est ce que l'on lit dans le court chapitre 193:

Hād zamān xwad hamē u-š xwadīh drang ud pad-iš ast kardārīh nērōg stī ast hamēīg ud ān-iš pad nērōg u-š kanārang jumbišn ī stī andar way pad spāš čiyōn rōšnān wāzišn ud wād wāyišn ud āb tāzišn urwar rōyišn ud har wīr (?) kār andar way ud hangirdīg būd bawēd hamāg.

Le temps est de lui-même éternel et son ipséité est la durée, et en lui est l'activité et la force de l'être; il est éternel et ce qui est dans sa puissance, mais sa limite, c'est le mouvement de l'être à l'intérieur de l'air grâce à l'espace, comme le mouvement des luminaires, le souffle du vent, l'écoulement de l'eau, la croissance des plantes, et toute activité (humaine?) dans l'air, en bref tout ce qui a été et sera.²⁰

Ainsi c'est le mouvement qui caractérise tous les êtres vivants qui se meuvent dans le cosmos, les astres y compris, qui est la limite du temps.

II. LE TEMPS ET LE LIEU (*ZAMĀN*, *GYĀG*)

Puisque le temps et le lieu sont d'ordre *mēnōg*, il est normal qu'ils soient éternels (*hamēīg*) comme l'enseigne le chap. 132, et créés par Ohrmazd: ainsi sont déclarés éternels le Créateur Ohrmazd, la connaissance de la religion qui est dans sa puissance bénéfique,²¹ le lieu sur lequel est son Etre²² et le temps qui est son éternité.²³ La dernière formule définit donc le temps comme l'éternité divine. De plus, le temps et le lieu manifestent l'existence d'Ohrmazd par ce qu'il a créé, et l'existence du temps et du lieu a pu être créée 'avec le temps dans le lieu'.²⁴

III. LE TEMPS ET LA CONNAISSANCE (*ZAMĀN*, *DĀNIŠN*)

Le chap. 284 compare les catégories du temps et de la connaissance, affirmant, comme on l'a déjà vu, que le temps, à l'origine des créatures, est l'éternité d'Ohrmazd, mais qu'il est limitable en ce que la création existe dans un temps décrété par Ohrmazd.²⁵ L'es-

²⁰ DKM 207.3-7; de Menasce 1973, 201 qui à mon avis fait erreur quand il comprend le mot *nērōg* dans le sens de la potentialité, suivant apparemment par là la philosophie thomiste.

²¹ DKM 133.1-2; de Menasce 1973, 135 (où il a traduit encore une fois 'en puissance', ce qui à mon avis ne convient pas): *dēn dānāgīh ī-š pad nērōg wehīh*. La *dēn dānāgīh* est probablement ce qui correspond à *dānišn* dans la liste de DKM 567.

²² DKM 133.2; de Menasce 1973, 135 (je pense que *stī* se rapporte bien à Ohrmazd, et non à prendre au pluriel comme le fait l'auteur): *gyāg ī-š stī abar*.

²³ DKM 133.2; de Menasce 1973, 135: *zamān ī-š ast hamēīgīh*.

²⁴ DKM 133.5; de Menasce 1973, 135: *ān ī *zamān gāh pad zamān andar gāh dād šāyist-iz*.

²⁵ DKM 293.21-294.1: *zamān dahišnān bun Ohrmazd hamēīgīh u-š kanāragōmandīh būd šāyēd ī dahišn andar brīnōmand zamān*; de Menasce 1973, 280, dont la traduction diffère sensiblement de la mienne.

sence du temps non limité, c'est la durée éternelle non délimitée par le passé et le futur. Mais le temps limitable, c'est la durée transitoire et délimitée par le futur et le passé.²⁶ La connaissance est alors comparable au temps, en ce qu'elle porte sur le présent et le futur, et c'est là sa limite totale; cette limitabilité de la connaissance explique la non-limitation.²⁷

IV. LE TEMPS ET L'ACTION (*ZAMĀN, KĀR*)

Le chapitre 208 associe quatre termes appartenant à Ohrmazd, dont deux seulement (*kām* et *zamān*) sont dans nos listes, les deux autres étant la sagesse (*xrad*) et l'action (*kār*). Le temps métaphysique étant éternel, Ohrmazd a néanmoins attribué une limite au temps de l'histoire: c'est la distinction bien connue entre le temps limité (*zamān ī kanāragōmand*) et le temps illimité (*zamān ī akanārag*). Ohrmazd a décrété 'dans l'action une limite de temps et dans le temps une limite de l'action'.²⁸ Cela signifie que l'action est liée au temps, cette action par laquelle l'homme collabore avec Ohrmazd pour vaincre les forces du mal et qui est nécessairement limitée comme sa propre vie, mais qui conduit à la Rénovation, comme le dit la suite du texte: 'L'action, à son achèvement, reviendra au repos primordial; le temps dans la contingence complètement limitée reviendra à l'illimitation originelle'.²⁹ Toutefois ces quatre catégories, sagesse, volonté, action et temps, parce qu'elles appartiennent en premier lieu à Ohrmazd, sont immuables (*a-wardišnīg*).

V. LE TEMPS, LA SAGESSE ET L'ACTION (*ZAMĀN, DĀNĀGĪH, KĀR*)

Le chap. 267 définit d'abord la différence entre le temps et la sagesse: le premier retourne à son origine, car le temps limité une fois achevé revient au temps illimité, tandis que la seconde fait partie des choses qui vont de l'origine à la fin, en quelque sorte comme en ligne continue. Quant à l'action, sa performance coïncide avec le temps limité et s'achève avec lui. Ce chapitre est particulièrement difficile à suivre, en dépit des traductions de Zaehner et de Menasce, mais l'auteur cite la définition que donnent du temps les dastours: 'Le temps dès l'origine fut illimité, puis il passa à la limitation, et à la fin il retournera à l'illimitation, et c'est la loi du temps'.³⁰

²⁶ DKM 294.1-3: **xwadīh ī zamān ī akanārag drang ī hamēīg ī abrīn pad būd bawēd ān ī kanāragōmand drang sazišnīg ī brīnōmand pad bawēd būd*; de Menasce 1973, 280.

²⁷ DKM 293.18-21: *čīyōn dānišn abar ast bawēd <ast> wisp-iz sāmānōmand . . . sāmānōmandīh ī dānišn . . . nigēzag akanāragīh*; de Menasce 1973, 280, restituée 'ce qui est, ce qui a été, ce qui sera', mais il manque le mot *būd* pour désigner le passé. N'y aurait-il pas là, si l'on ne suppose pas une omission, le signe que la connaissance ne porte pas sur le passé, et donc un certain désintérêt pour la recherche historique? Je suis de ceux qui considèrent que les Iraniens ont manqué, jusqu'à la fin de la période sassanide et même au-delà, du sens de l'histoire, sans doute par manque d'intérêt, alors que G. Gnoli récuse ce point de vue, comme il l'exprime dans son dernier ouvrage, *Zoroaster in history* (Gnoli 2000, 132-133), et dans des articles récents (Gnoli 1994, 1999).

²⁸ DKM 228.4: *brīd pad kār zamān kanārag pad zamān kār kanārag*; de Menasce 1973, 218.

²⁹ DKM 228.5-7: *kār pad spurrgārīh abāz ō bun āsān zamān pad spurrr-kanārag sazišnīh abāz ō bun a-kanāragīh madan*; de Menasce 1973, 218.

³⁰ DKM 282.17-19: *dastwarān zamān rāy guft kū zamān az bunīh akanārag būd pas bē ō kanāragōmandīh nihād ud pad sarīh abāz ō akanāragīh *wardēd u-š dādestān zamān*; Zaehner 1955,

VI. LE TEMPS ET LA NÉCESSITÉ (*ZAMĀN*, *NIYĀZ*)

Le chap. 127 exprime l'indispensable nécessité du temps pour l'action des hommes mais même pour l'existence d'Ohrmazd:

*Hād a-bun ud bunōmand pad kār ud astīh-iz ī har ō zamān niyāz ud abē-zamān ēč kardan ī *ast būd bawēd nē ādūg hēnd ud zamān ō ēč az im-išān pad ēč čiš nē niyāz ud ān ī har gōhr andar xwad andar ēč gyāg ud abar har rāyēnīdār xwad az ēč ī bē nē rāyēnišnīg dānāgih ī Ohrmazd.*

(Ce qui est) sans origine ou pourvu d'une origine a besoin du temps dans l'action et l'existence de toutes (choses), et sans le temps elles ne sont capables en rien de faire ce qui est, a été, sera; et le temps n'a besoin en aucune chose d'aucune de celles-ci. Et ce en qui est toute substance n'est elle-même en aucun lieu et régit toutes (choses) mais ne peut être régie par rien d'extérieur, (c'est) la sagesse d'Ohrmazd.³¹

VII. IMMUTABILITÉ ET CHANGEMENT (*A-WARDIŠNĪGH*, *WARDIŠN*)

Sur la qualité d'immutabilité du temps, le chap. 396 nous informe largement. Le titre même en annonce bien la matière: 'Au sujet de ce qui avec l'écoulement du temps limité, est immuable et ce qui est changeant'.³² Le rédacteur commence par expliquer ce qui ne change pas:

Hād ān ī abāg zamān ī kanāragōmand sazišn az ōyīh nē wardišnīg xwad ud xwadīg ī andar a-petyāragih ud ān ī any kāmag ud stī ud tōhmag ud čīhr ī andar petyāragōmandīh.

Ce qui avec l'écoulement du temps limité ne peut pas changer par suite de cela, (c'est le temps) lui-même et ce qui lui appartient dans l'état de non-adversité et ce qui est autre: la volonté, l'être, la semence et la nature dans l'état d'adversité.³³

Un peu plus loin, est défini ce qui change:

ān ī wardišnīg āwāmīhā ud kārān rāyēnišn wasīh andar ham-iz tan az aburnāyīh ō juwānīh <ud> az juwānīh ō pīrīh ud az a-dānīh ō dānāgih ud az wattarīh ō wehīh <ud> az druwandīh ō ahlāyīh.

389-390; de Menasce 1973, 270: je ne pense pas que la traduction de *akanārag* et de ses dérivés par le mot 'indivis' et les dérivés 'divisibilité, indivision' soit adéquate, car il s'agit bien de limiter le temps, notamment en douze mille ans d'une histoire mythique comme l'avait bien compris Zaehner, et non pas de le découper simplement en trois parties, puisque le temps limité et le temps illimité sont d'une "essence" et d'une nature différente.

³¹DKM 128.20-129.3; Zaehner 1955, 82; de Menasce 1973, 132: je pense que le chapitre associe seulement le temps et la sagesse d'Ohrmazd, comme deux entités parfaitement autonomes, et ne parle pas de l'Espace, comme l'ont pensé les deux auteurs, Jean de Menasce utilisant même deux fois le mot *gyāg* quand il écrit: 'n'étant nulle part, c'est l'espace'! Le texte veut seulement signifier que la sagesse ne se trouve délimitée par aucun lieu (*pad ēč gyāg*).

³²DKM 375.17-18: *abar ān ī abāg zamān ī kanāragōmand sazišn nē wardišnīg ud ān ī wardišnīg*; de Menasce 1973, 353: l'auteur a inversé les deux propositions.

³³DKM 375.19-21; de Menasce 1973, 353: l'auteur a associé les deux mots *any kāmag*, ce qui donne un sens très peu plausible, mais comme on l'a vu, la volonté est dans les listes jointe fréquemment au temps.

Ce qui est changeant, (c'est) la situation des temps et des oeuvres, la multiplicité <des états> en un même individu: de l'enfance à la jeunesse, de la jeunesse à la vieillesse, et de l'ignorance à la sagesse, et de la malignité à la bonté, et de l'injustice à la justice.³⁴

Puis le théologien revient à ce qui ne change pas pour l'illustrer d'un exemple concret comme il vient de le faire pour ce qui change, à nouveau expliqué par ce même exemple:

*ud ān ī a-wardišnīg hamē pad ēwsānīh ēstēd čiyōn mäh pad xwad mäh āwām pad xwad āwām
ud ān ī wardišnīg ō jud ēwēnagīh wardēd čiyōn mäh az andarmāhīh ō purr-māhīh ud az
purr-māhīh ō nišēbih.*

Et ce qui est immuable, (c'est ce qui) demeure toujours dans l'uniformité comme la lune en elle-même (ou) la période en elle-même, mais ce qui est changeant se transforme en une forme différente comme la lune de la nouvelle lune à la pleine lune et de la pleine lune à la (lune) décroissante.³⁵

VIII. ZAMĀN ET ZAMĀNAG

Le chap. 192 utilise le dérivé (diminutif?) *zamānag* à côté du terme plus courant *zamān*: quelle nuance peut-on y déceler?

Ce dérivé est attesté dans l'expression 'le temps des six millénaires',³⁶ donc dans le contexte mythique de la durée de l'histoire du monde. C'est un temps limité, et le mot ne pourrait s'employer comme *zamān* au sens de l'éternité.

Dans le chap. 27, est attesté largement le mot *zamānag* pour définir les 'couleurs du temps' (*zamānag rang*): cette curieuse expression s'applique à huit catégories du Bien et du Mal. Elles concernent le sacerdoce (*āsrōnīh*) auquel s'oppose la mauvaise religion (*sāstārīh*), la fonction guerrière (*artēštārīh*) opposée à l'égoïsme (*xwad-dōšagīh*),³⁷ l'agriculture (*wāstryōšīh*) opposée au vol et à la violence (*duzīh/stahmagīh*), et l'artisanat (*hutuxšīh*) opposé à la mauvaise énergie (*duš-tuxšāgīh*). Ici, c'est donc bien du temps de l'histoire qu'il s'agit, appliqué aux quatre fonctions sociales, à chacune desquelles était attribuée une couleur différente. Nous apprenons d'ailleurs par ce chapitre que la couleur du temps fut le fait d'Ohrmazd³⁸ et s'inscrit dans le temps historique et sociologique.

Le thème des couleurs a été bien analysé par A. V. Rossi³⁹ qui avait relevé les trois couleurs blanche, noire et rouge (*spēd*, *hērag-gōn*, *suxr*) attribuées à trois des quatre

³⁴ DKM 376.3-6; de Menasce 1973, 353.

³⁵ DKM 376.6-10; de Menasce 1973, 353 traduit *andarmāhīh* par 'demie lune', ce qui indiquerait plutôt la fin du premier quartier, mais cf. MacKenzie, CPD 9.

³⁶ DKM 204.2: *zamānag ī šaš hazangrōzim*; de Menasce 1973, 198: '... au cours des 6 millénaires'. La forme de pluriel *zamānagīhā* est aussi utilisée, ce qui atteste le sens de périodes, de temps découpés. Au chap. 27, on lit: *andar āwāmīhā ud zamānagīhā* 'dans les âges et les temps' (DKM 24.1), et au chap. 267, *zamānīhā* est employé adverbiallement.

³⁷ L'emploi à première vue étonnant de ce terme s'explique peut-être parce que la première qualité du guerrier est le 'sacrifice de soi' (*pehl. gyān abespārīh*) auquel s'oppose évidemment 'l'amour de soi'.

³⁸ DKM 23.12: *Dādār Ohrmazd rašt zamānag pad rang*, 'Le Créateur Ohrmazd a coloré le temps de couleurs'; de Menasce 1973, 45.

³⁹ Rossi 1996, voir notamment ses conclusions p. 95.

vêtements (*brahm, paymōzan*) des classes énumérées ci-dessus. Ces couleurs vestimentaires apparaissent aussi dans le Bundahišn, et les quatre classes qui en sont pourvues correspondent aux quatre classes indiennes elles-mêmes.

Le temps coloré est le temps historique: c'est celui des hommes. Le temps illimité est celui des dieux, mais le temps de la création, de l'histoire du monde est nécessairement limité, comme l'ont fort bien décrit les théologiens mazdéens de l'époque islamique.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Boyce, M. 1989. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1, *The early period*, 2nd impr. with corrections (Leiden).
 CPD = D. N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary* (London 1971, repr. 1986).
 DKM = D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911).
 Duchesne-Guillemin, J. 1969. Espace et temps dans l'Iran ancien, *Revue de synthèse* 90 (juill.-déc.1969), 259-280.
 Gignoux, Ph. 1980-1981. La conception du temps dans l'Iran ancien: un état de la question, in *Colloques de la Société Ernest-Renan* (Paris), 101-115 [dactylogr.].
 Gignoux, Ph. 2000. On the notion of Good Measure (*paymān*) and other related philosophical concepts from the *Dēnkard* III, in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. *Third International Congress proceedings (6th to 9th January 2000)* (Mumbai), 278-286.
 Gignoux, Ph. 2001. Les bases de la philosophie mazdéenne, *CRAI* (janv.-mars 2001), 117-129.
 Gnoli, G. 1994. Iranic identity as a historical problem: the beginnings of a national awareness under the Achaemenians, in *The East and the meaning of history* (Studi orientali 13, Roma), 147-167.
 Gnoli, G. 1999. Presentazione della storia e identità nazionale nell'Iran antico, in E. Gabba (a c. di) *Presentazione e scrittura della storia: storiografia, epigrafi, monumenti: atti del Convegno di Pontignano (aprile 1996)* (Como), 77-99.
 Gnoli, G. 2000. *Zoroaster in history* (Biennial Yarshater lecture series 2, New York).
 Kellens, J. 2000. L'ellipse du temps, in A. Hintze, E. Tichy (hrsg. von) *Anusantatyai: Festschrift für Johanna Narten zum 70. Geburtstag* (Dettelbach), 127-131.
 de Menasce, J. 1945. *Une apologetique mazdéenne du IX^e siècle. Škand-Gumānik Vičār. La solution décisive des doutes* (Fribourg en Suisse).
 de Menasce, J. 1958. *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne. Le Dēnkart* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Religieuses 69, Paris).
 de Menasce, J. 1973. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, traduit du pehlevi (Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris III, 5, Paris).
 Rossi, A. V. 1996. Perception et symbolique des couleurs dans le monde iranien et d'Asie Centrale, in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127, Roma), 87-97.
 Sundermann, W. 2001. Das Manichäerkapitel des Škand Gumānig Wizār in der Darstellung und Deutung Jean de Menasces, in J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger and G. Wurst (ed.), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaeic Studies* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean studies 49, Leiden), 325-337.
 Zaehner, R. C. 1955. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford).

L'INDE DES ASTROLOGUES SUR UNE PEINTURE SOGDIENTE DU VII^E SIÈCLE
(Planches 2-3)

Frantz Grenet

Vers 660, la salle de réception d'une riche demeure de Samarkand, peut-être la résidence privée du roi Varkhuman, fut décorée d'un cycle de peintures célébrant sous divers aspects la légitimité du pouvoir du souverain et l'idée qu'il se faisait de sa position politique au sein des autres royaumes de l'Asie.¹

Le mur ouest, face à l'entrée, montre des cortèges d'ambassadeurs apportant des cadeaux lors d'une cérémonie qui se déroule en plein air, dans un cadre de rassemblement militaire auquel prennent part des gardes turcs identifiables à leur longue natte. Les envoyés des principautés voisines, en bas à gauche, sont vêtus de caftans à décor de type sassanide; une inscription désigne explicitement parmi les ambassadeurs celui du Chaganiān (dans le Tokharestān septentrional) et celui du Chāch (Tachkent); elle précise que la cérémonie a lieu à Samarkand et que les envoyés sont accueillis en personne par Varkhuman.² La partie centrale du panneau est occupée par des délégués chinois. Dans la partie droite se reconnaissent notamment des Coréens. Le point de convergence de la cérémonie, situé au centre de la partie supérieure, a entièrement disparu. L'hypothèse qui paraît la plus probable est qu'à cet endroit se trouvait Varkhuman lui-même.³ On a suppo-

¹ Principales publications: L. I. Al'baum, *Živopis' Afrasiaba* (Taškent 1975); C. Silvi Antonini, The paintings in the palace of Afrasiab (Samarkand), *RSO* 63 (1989), 109-144; M. Mode, *Sogdien und die Herrscher der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993) [*très spéculatif*]; B. Marshak, Le programme iconographique des peintures de la "Salle des ambassadeurs" à Afrasiab (Samarkand), *Arts asiatiques* 49 (1994), 5-20; B. Marshak, L'art sogdien (IV^e-IX^e siècles), in P. Chuvin (ed.), *Les arts de l'Asie centrale* (L'art et les grandes civilisations, Paris 1999), 114-163 (sur la peinture d'Afrasiab: pp. 131-132, figs. 172, 179-180, et fig. 736 p. 564); E. Kageyama, A Chinese way of depicting foreign delegates discerned in the painting of Afrasiab, in Ph. Huyse (ed.), *Iran: Questions et connaissances. Actes du IV^e congrès européen des études iraniennes. Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999*, vol. 1, *Etudes sur l'Iran ancien* (Paris 2002), 313-327. Découvertes en 1965 à l'occasion de travaux de terrassement qui en ont détruit toute la partie supérieure, les peintures ont été déposées au début des années 1980 et remontées selon leur agencement originel dans le Musée de la Fondation de la Ville construit sur le site même d'Afrasiab, à proximité du lieu de la découverte. Une action d'étude et de sauvetage a été entamée en 1997 par l'Association pour la Sauvegarde de la Peinture d'Afrasiab, avec la collaboration du Professeur Alix Barbet et de François Ory (CNRS, Paris).

² L'inscription a été traduite et commentée par V. A. Livšic *apud* Al'baum, *Živopis'*, 52-56. On attend toujours une édition.

³ Le nom 'Varkhuman' serait écrit à la peinture sur le cou d'un des personnages du cortège, mais il ne peut s'agir du souverain de Samarkand, qui devait être figuré à une échelle supérieure aux autres. À supposer même que la lecture soit exacte (ce n'est pas certain), il s'agit d'une inscription apposée par un visiteur qui a pu se méprendre, à un moment peut-être où la partie haute du panneau était déjà détruite (de manière analogue, un envoyé chinois porte l'inscription 'une personne du Tibet'). Sur tout ceci voir Marshak, Le programme iconographique. Cette remarque ne s'applique pas à l'inscription 'rk' peinte soigneusement sur le poignet d'un officier turc qui précède ce group d'ambassadeurs. Livšic (*apud* Marshak, Le programme iconographique, 8) veut y voir le mot sogdien signifiant 'travail', sous-entendu 'assujetti au travail', ce qui le

sé aussi que le roi s'était effacé derrière les images des "divinités de Samarkand", elles aussi mentionnées dans l'inscription.⁴ Une autre alternative théoriquement envisageable, mais qui à mon avis ne s'impose pas davantage, serait qu'à cet endroit ait été figuré le *qaghan* des Turcs occidentaux, suzerain théorique de Samarkand. Certes, un texte chinois nous apprend que dans la principauté de Kushāniya (entre Samarkand et Bukhārā) un pavillon comportait, sur la paroi est, les images des souverains des Turcs et des Indiens; au nord, celle des empereurs de Chine; à l'ouest, celles des souverains des Perses et des Romains.⁵ Mais la suite de notre description des panneaux d'Afrasiab va suffire à montrer que les similitudes ne sont que partielles; en outre, le règne de Varkhuman s'inscrit dans une époque d'éclipse de la puissance turque, temporairement anéantie par l'action militaire de la Chine des Tang qui est désormais pour Samarkand l'interlocuteur direct. L'empire des Turcs occidentaux est écrasé militairement entre 652 et 659, et, nominalement au moins, annexé à cette date.⁶ Varkhuman (*Fou-hou-man*) est confirmé comme "gouverneur" pour le compte de la Chine en 658.⁷

À la Chine, l'alliée privilégiée, est entièrement consacré le mur nord, ce qui est un choix commun avec le pavillon de Kushāniya (du point de vue sogdien la Chine se trouvait au nord, puisque les routes principales qui l'atteignaient empruntaient d'abord cette direction). La grandeur de ce peuple est montrée sous deux aspects entre lesquels se distribue également le panneau: à gauche, la douceur de vivre, symbolisée par une promenade en barque à laquelle prennent part des dames de la cour et des musiciennes;⁸ à droite, les vertus martiales qui s'expriment dans une chasse à la panthère. Aux deux extrémités se trouve un personnage surdimensionné: à droite, un chasseur gigantesque, qui ne peut être que le Fils du Ciel; à gauche, une dame un peu plus grande que ses suivantes, et qui doit être l'impératrice.

Tout comme le mur ouest, le mur sud ramène l'action à Samarkand même. Cette limitation de l'ouverture vers les espaces lointains a pu être dictée en partie par la situation géopolitique prévalant vers 660: à ce moment le puissant voisin de l'ouest n'est plus le Sassanide prestigieux, mais l'Arabe, perçu comme une nuisance temporaire et qui domine aussi au sud, juste au-delà de l'Amu-daryā.⁹ Le panneau sud a donc été affecté à célébrer une autre assise du pouvoir de Varkhuman: le culte dynastique, évoqué par la procession du Nouvel An qui s'éloigne du mur ouest, c'est-à-dire de Samarkand, et se dirige vers le

désignerait comme 'au service' de l'empereur de Chine. Il est beaucoup plus simple d'y reconnaître la transcription sogdienne bien attesté du nom de la ville de Argi, aujourd'hui Qarashahr (entre Kucha et Turfan), indiquant le lieu d'où vient ce dignitaire.

⁴ C'est le point de vue de Marshak.

⁵ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (Saint-Petersbourg 1903), 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 267-268.

⁷ Il envoie une ambassade à la cour de Chine à une date située entre 650 et 655 (*ibid.*, 135). La date de son investiture comme "gouverneur" est donnée dans le *Tang Huiyao*, vol. 99 (voir Kageyama, *op. cit.*, cf. n. 1).

⁸ Pour cette composition le peintre sogdien s'est visiblement aidé de modèles chinois, tout comme pour la partie inférieure droite du mur ouest, ainsi que l'a montré Kageyama (*ibid.*).

⁹ En 654, alors que Varkhuman était certainement déjà sur le trône, une troupe arabe avait razzé le royaume de Māymargh, situé juste au sud-est de Samarkand (Chavannes, 144 et 172 n. 1; information confirmée indépendamment par al-Balādhūri, *Kitāb Futuh al-Buldān*, transl. F. Murgotten, *The origins of the Islamic state*, pt. 2 (New York 1924), 167, qui mentionne un premier raid en Transoxiane cette année-là).

mausolée des parents du souverain, à l'est. Varkhuman, cavalier gigantesque, figuré à une échelle même un peu supérieure à l'empereur de Chine, chevauche vers l'arrière de la procession, tandis qu'à l'avant son épouse principale devait prendre place dans le palanquin porté par un éléphant (la figure est détruite, mais la restitution s'impose par symétrie avec le mur nord où l'on voit l'empereur à droite et l'impératrice à gauche). Au milieu, les nobles du cortège amènent les offrandes animales (un cheval sellé, des oies), ou brandissent les massues en bois utilisées dans le sacrifice zoroastrien.¹⁰

Reste le mur est, celui au milieu duquel s'ouvrait l'entrée dans la pièce. De tous il est le plus mal conservé: le bulldozer a entamé même le registre inférieur, et dans ce qui subsiste en place les couleurs se sont beaucoup effacées, de sorte que le recours aux excellentes copies réalisées au moment de la dépose est nécessaire pour certains détails. Toute la partie droite, dans la hauteur qui subsiste, est occupée par des scènes aquatiques (pl. 2a).¹¹ On reconnaît divers animaux, une fleur de lotus, un garçon s'accrochant à la queue d'un gros animal nageant – probablement un buffle –, quatre jeunes garçons potelés et nus dont l'un au moins tire à l'arc, un personnage accroupi, nu, qui paraît maigre. Dans la partie gauche se voient une femme portant un enfant, des grues, un cheval cabré qu'on maîtrise (pl. 2b); plus loin, un cheval cabré monté par un personnage aux cheveux tombant en longues boucles, et enfin, à l'extrémité, une scène impliquant deux personnages (pl. 3a-b);¹² c'est elle qui fait l'objet particulier de la présente contribution.

Avant d'en venir à elle, il convient de noter que L. I. Al'baum, premier commentateur de la peinture d'Afrasiab dans la seule publication complète à ce jour, avait rapporté à l'Inde les scènes de la paroi est,¹³ conformément là aussi à la disposition de l'espace dans le pavillon de Kushāniya (où cependant les rois de l'Inde partageaient le panneau avec ceux des Turcs): à cette identification invitent les eaux envahissantes,¹⁴ le lotus, le probable buffle, auxquels je proposerais d'ajouter le contraste entre l'homme maigre qui fait penser à un ascète et les garçons potelés (comme est toujours figuré le jeune Kṛṣṇa, élevé

¹⁰ Pour l'interprétation des murs sud et nord je suis dans l'ensemble le commentaire de Marshak. Pour les massues sacrificielles dans la procession du mur sud (et aussi pour certains aspects syncrétiques irano-indiens qui s'y expriment), voir F. Grenet, *Avatars de Vaiśravaṇa: les étapes sogdienne et tibétaine, in La Sérinde, terre d'échanges* (Rencontres de l'École du Louvre 14, Paris 2000), 179 n. 12.

¹¹ Voir aussi les copies en couleurs, non restituées contrairement aux dessins (Al'baum, *Živopis'*, pls. XLII-XLV).

¹² Sur la copie en couleurs (Al'baum, *Živopis'*, pl. XLVI) l'intérieur de la sphère n'est pas reproduit très exactement.

¹³ Al'baum, *Živopis'*, 79-86.

¹⁴ La taille des fleuves de l'Inde, comme de ceux de la Chine (qui fait elle aussi l'objet d'une scène aquatique dans la peinture d'Afrasiab), a impressionné les voyageurs arabes (*'Aḥbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, éd. et trad. J. Sauvaget (Paris 1948), § 72, p. 26: "Les fleuves, dans l'un et l'autre de ces deux pays, sont considérables: on en trouve qui sont plus grands que les nôtres"). Sur les contacts commerciaux des Sogdiens avec l'Inde, voir notamment F. Grenet, *Les marchands sogdiens dans les Mers du Sud à l'époque préislamique, Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 1-2 (1996), 65-84; É. de la Vaissière, *Histoire des marchands sogdiens* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 32, Paris 2002).

dans les pâturages avec son frère Balarāma et les fils du bouvier Nanda).¹⁵ Les détails les plus explicites du point de vue de l'identité ethnique proviennent des fragments arrachés du registre supérieur par le bulldozer: bien que leur appartenance au mur oriental ne soit pas certaine, elle est tenue pour très probable tant par Al'baum que par Marshak. Deux des fragments publiés semblent venir d'une scène de combat: un personnage à la peau sombre est transpercé d'une lance;¹⁶ un autre personnage (pl. 2c), au chignon incontestablement indien et à l'oreille percée d'un gros pendant, incline la tête tandis qu'à sa rencontre paraît voler un petit carnassier qui rappelle les symboles du *khwarenah* bien connus dans les scènes héroïques de la peinture de Pendjikent.¹⁷

Marshak, tout en étant d'accord avec Al'baum quant à la couleur indienne du mur oriental, se refuse à donner à celle-ci une signification littérale. Rappelant que les divinités sogdiennes sont souvent figurées à l'indienne, il voit plutôt sur ce mur une évocation de l'au-delà, ou encore, dans une interprétation qui n'exclut pas la précédente, une mobilisation du thème des Eaux dans une symbolique du pouvoir universel.¹⁸

Il me semble, pour ma part, que l'interprétation "spatiale" d'Al'baum conserve un fort degré de vraisemblance, au vu des thèmes précis évoqués plus haut. C'est à cette même conclusion que va nous conduire l'étude du motif qui occupe l'extrémité gauche (pl. 3a-b). Abordons-le par le commentaire pénétrant qu'en a donné Marshak¹⁹:

On y voit de profil un sage assis sur un tabouret, en train d'expliquer quelque chose à ses auditeurs assis par terre, tout en désignant un plateau circulaire posé devant eux. Visiblement il y a deux auditeurs, et non un seul comme sur le relevé qu'on a publié. Ils sont accroupis, les genoux pliés avec déférence. On a supposé qu'il s'agissait là d'une scène de jeu de ballon (Al'baum, p. 81). Cependant l'attitude des personnages assis démontre le caractère erroné d'une telle interprétation. La coiffure indienne avec les cheveux noués en chignon, les habits légers et sans couture, les pieds nus, sont dans la peinture sogdienne les attributs des personnages surnaturels ou en tout cas étrangers. Tel est le cas, en principe, des vieillards dans les illustrations de contes sur les peintures de Pendjikent. Il faut rapprocher en particulier une scène de jugement . . . Il est possible que la peinture d'Afrasiab montre elle aussi une scène de juge-

¹⁵ Poussant plus loin le parallèle, on pourrait tenter de rattacher aux enfances de Kṛṣṇa d'autres détails de la composition: la femme portant l'enfant pourrait être Yaśodā, la femme de Nanda, sauvant le bébé; les deux grues volantes pourraient être les démons Tṛṇāvarta et Baka qui tentent d'enlever Kṛṣṇa dans les airs; le cheval cabré et le buffle seraient respectivement Keśin et Ariṣṭa, qui prennent ces formes pour le combattre. Pour ces détails les lacunes ne permettent pas d'aller au-delà de ces impressions, à vrai dire très tentantes, d'autant que le bébé porte sur le corps une inscription sogdienne, aujourd'hui illisible mais qui à tout le moins suggère qu'il est un personnage important. Sur la légende de Kṛṣṇa, voir commodément L. Renou, J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, vol. 1 (Paris 1947), 508-509; A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, 3rd ed. (London 1967), 306-307 (sources: *Harivaṃśa*; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* X).

¹⁶ Al'baum, *Živopis*, pl. XLIX; Marshak, Le programme iconographique, fig. 20.

¹⁷ Un troisième fragment où Al'baum voulait reconnaître un personnage à dos d'éléphant serait plutôt, selon Marshak, un souverain trônant arborant une hache (Al'baum, *Živopis*, pl. L; Marshak, fig. 18, commentaire p. 16).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

ment, ou plutôt une conversation entre des sages dont l'un joue le rôle du maître. Entre eux se trouve probablement l'objet (un plat d'argent?) à propos duquel ils discutent ou philosophent.

Un examen direct de l'original en septembre 2001 m'a conduit à faire les observations suivantes:

- rien n'oblige à supposer qu'il y a plus d'un personnage accroupi;
- les chignons dont parle Marshak ne sont pas (ou ne sont plus) visibles, mais le personnage accroupi a inconstamment une *dhoti* à l'indienne, nouée bas sur la taille;
- plutôt que sur un tabouret, le personnage de gauche est assis sur un siège à dossier incurvé;
- l'observation principale porte sur l'objet rond que le personnage de gauche désigne de la main (pl. 3a). Il est peint en blanc, avec un croissant bleu clair dans la partie supérieure gauche. Ceci évoque fortement une sphère armillaire partagée entre le jour et la nuit. En haut à gauche, contre le bord intérieur, se distinguent encore trois petites taches en bleu foncé. Elles paraissent trop régulièrement espacées pour être de simples écailles laissées par la chute d'une couche supérieure de peinture; l'on songe aux semis de corps astraux parcourant certaines sphères armillaires,²⁰ au encore aux figures des phases de la lune disposées le long de la circonférence.²¹ L'identification de l'objet comme un instrument d'enseignement astronomique paraît en tout cas s'imposer.

Cette identification va nous mettre sur la voie des modèles utilisés par le peintre pour ce détail particulier de la composition. Le thème de la leçon d'astronomie a été traité dans l'iconographie classique principalement sous deux variantes: l'une met en scène les philosophes de l'Académie,²² l'autre la Muse Uranie et l'"astronome" (en fait, le poète) Aratos (pl. 3c).²³ Dans tous les cas la sphère est posée sur un support – trépied, coffret ou socle –, et ceci pourrait bien expliquer pourquoi sur la peinture d'Afrasiab la sphère flotte au-dessus du sol: le support aura été escamoté dans la transmission du thème. Le modèle le plus proche est, à l'évidence, celui qui associe Uranie à Aratos, comme sur la mosaïque de Trèves qu'on date maintenant de la fin du IIIe siècle ou du début du IVe. On y retrouve, inversée, la même disposition relative des personnages; à Trèves Uranie est debout et, comme à Afrasiab, elle abaisse sa main droite vers la sphère; Aratos est assis très bas (sur d'autres images, où il figure seul devant la sphère, il est accroupi);²⁴ la sphère céleste comporte en

²⁰ Voir par exemple H. G. Gundel, *Zodiakos* (Mainz 1992), Kat. Nr. 338 (mosaïque de Sainte-Colombe, avec des semis d'étoiles). Je remercie ma collègue Françoise Gury (CNRS, Paris) pour ces références aux figurations astronomiques antiques.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 7a (codex de Munich, IXe s.).

²² O. J. Brendel, *Symbolism of the sphere* (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 67, Leiden 1977), pls. I-VI (mosaïque de Pompéi, Musée archéologique national de Naples), VII (mosaïque de la Villa Albani à Rome).

²³ Sur une mosaïque de Trèves, dite "mosaïque de Monnus": Gundel, *op. cit.*, Kat. Nr. 296; P. Hoffmann, J. Hupe, K. Goethert, *Katalog der römischen Mosaiken aus Trier und dem Umland* (Mainz 1999), Kat. Nr. 103, pl. 67. Autre variante du même thème, avec Aratos debout et Uranie assise, sur le plat d'argent de Berthouville (Cabinet des Médailles, Paris), *ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 5, fig. 23).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 30a et Kat. Nr. 329 (gemme, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; le personnage pourrait être aussi identifié comme Hipparque).

bas à droite un croissant sombre, et elle est parcourue de bandes symbolisant le Zodiaque et les orbes planétaires.

Le thème classique a pu être véhiculé par divers intermédiaires – manuscrits, plats, gemmes, tous attestés comme supports de telles figurations. Le schéma a été conservé tel quel, mais certaines adaptations ont été introduites: le personnage du disciple est indianisé par son costume, tandis que celui du maître, remplaçant la Muse, est délibérément figuré à la grecque, assis sur un siège carré à haut dossier. Ce qu'on a probablement voulu montrer, c'est un Grec transmettant le savoir astronomique à un Indien. Et c'est exactement ainsi que l'Inde percevait elle-même l'origine de sa tradition: sans même qu'il soit besoin de remonter à la période des royaumes grecs en Inde, le texte fondateur de l'école d'Ujjain, la plus prestigieuse des écoles indiennes d'astronomie et d'astrologie, est le *Yavanajātaka*, 'L'horoscope grec', composé en 269 de n.è. sur la base d'un traité importé d'Alexandrie²⁵.

Quant à l'inclusion d'une scène évoquant l'astronomie dans un panneau consacré à l'Inde, elle n'a rien de surprenant. Elle est conforme à l'image de l'Inde chez les Iraniens. Dans le roman pehlevi du *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* (XII.2-3) le roi Ardashir, ayant décidé de consulter 'les savants, les sages, les magiciens et les devins' (*dānāgān ud frazānagān [ud] kēdān [ud] kundāgān*) au sujet de l'avenir de son règne, dépêche un envoyé auprès du 'magicien des Indiens' (*kēd ī Hindūgān*).²⁶ Dans la littérature arabe l'Inde conservera la réputation d'être le pays par excellence des sciences exactes et des sciences divinatoires: "La médecine est florissante en Inde, de même que la philosophie . . . (Les Chinois) ont une science astronomique, mais davantage aux Indes" (*Aḥbār aṣ-Šīn wa l-Hind*, § 72).²⁷

La peinture d'Afrasiab a donc réservé la même place respective aux deux grands pays qui depuis longtemps constituaient l'horizon commercial des Sogdiens, la Chine et l'Inde, chacun évoqué dans la direction de l'espace qui lui était traditionnellement associée. Il ne semble pas cependant qu'ils aient été mis au même rang dans la symbolique politique véhiculée par la composition. Le Fils du Ciel et l'impératrice ont été placés en regard de Varhuman et, sans doute, de son épouse. Les scènes consacrées à l'Inde étaient-elles, à leur tour, dominées par la figure gigantesque d'un roi? Les destructions ne nous permettent pas de répondre avec certitude: dans ce qui subsiste en place, les deux chevaux qu'on aperçoit sont de proportions normales. On peut cependant se demander si c'est par hasard que les fragments qui nous sont parvenus, sans doute de la partie supérieure, montrent des scènes de combat: telle était bien, depuis la mort du souverain Harshavardana en 647, la réalité politique de l'Inde du Nord. Si cette impression est juste, l'Inde aurait donc été évoquée

²⁵ D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphuṣidhvaja, edited, translated and commented on* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 2 vols.. Voir al-Birūnī, *Alberuni's India*, trad. E. C. Sachau, vol. 1 (London 1910), 158: "There is another book still larger than this, which comprehends the whole of astrological science, called *Yavana*, i.e. belonging to the Greeks".

²⁶ B. T. Anklesaria, *Kār-nāma-ī Artakhsīr-ī Pāpakān, text and translation* (Bombay 1935).

²⁷ Ed. et trad. Sauvaget (réf. ci-dessus n. 14), 26. Voir aussi Mas'ūdi, *Les Prairies d'or*, trad. Ch. Pellat (Paris 1962), t. 1: l'Inde est la patrie par excellence de l'astrologie (§ 152-153) et des mathématiques (§ 165), le roi de l'Inde est à la fois "roi des éléphants" et "roi de la sagesse" (§ 344).

comme une terre aux fleuves généreux, aux légendes pittoresques, à l'antique sagesse astrologique, mais aussi comme une nation divisée.²⁸

L'on pourrait alors appréhender la composition d'Afrasiab selon deux axes. L'axe nord-sud présenterait un jeu de miroirs, où s'entrecroiseraient non seulement les figures royales disposées en X, mais aussi les thèmes: dans une certaine mesure les Sogdiens jouent aux Chinois (ils pratiquent le culte des ancêtres), les Chinois jouent aux Sogdiens (les dames tiennent des instruments de musique d'Asie centrale; le thème de la chasse montagnarde, bien que connu dans l'art Tang, est très familier à la peinture sogdienne). L'axe est-ouest, quant à lui, s'offrirait comme une progression du désordre à l'ordre, depuis les royaumes combattants de l'Inde contemporaine ou légendaire jusqu'au grand rassemblement des peuples d'Asie à la cour de Samarkand.

Il m'est agréable d'offrir cette contribution à Gherardo Gnoli, qui a toujours su appréhender la culture iranienne avec générosité et dans sa pleine ouverture aux civilisations voisines qui l'ont fécondée ou qui ont reçu son héritage.

²⁸ Une lecture plus ambitieuse consisterait à rattacher l'ensemble à la légende de Kṛṣṇa: la scène astrologique renverrait en ce cas à la prophétie qui conduit le roi Kāṃsa à décider de le faire tuer; les combats de la partie supérieure seraient ceux menés par Kṛṣṇa adulte. Il me paraît cependant difficile d'admettre, au vu des autres panneaux, que la totalité du mur oriental ait été consacrée à un cycle légendaire. Dans la peinture de Pendjikent les scènes de genre et de fables occupent les parties les moins "nobles" du décor, généralement de petits panneaux au bas des murs de côté et de fond. C'est une place analogue, mais à une échelle supérieure, qu'ont reçue à Afrasiab les enfances de Kṛṣṇa ou les thèmes apparentés que l'on devine.

LES GRANDS FEUX DE L'EMPIRE SASSANIDE: QUELQUES
TÉMOIGNAGES SIGILLOGRAPHIQUES
(Planche 4)

Rika Gyselen

Les premières informations directes sur l'organisation administrative des grands Feux et la façon de formuler leur nom proviennent des bulles découvertes sur le site de Takht-i Suleiman, l'ancien sanctuaire de "Ādur Gušnasp" (le Feu Gušnasp).¹ Certaines de ces bulles portent des empreintes de sceaux inscrits. Utilisant ces inscriptions sigillaires qu'il avait en grande partie déchiffrées lui-même, Philippe Gignoux y a ajouté la documentation sigillographique qui était à sa disposition en 1979 pour commenter les "noms des Feux".²

On peut résumer et systématiser ses observations ainsi:

- 1) le mot *Ādur* seul désigne le dieu du Feu, à condition d'apparaître dans un contexte explicite qui indique qu'il ne s'agit ni d'un nom propre ni d'un patronyme. L'exemple cité est *Panāh ō Ādur*, c'est-à-dire 'Protection en Ādur',³
- 2) le nom d'un Feu peut être formulé avec le terme *Ādur*, suivi de l'*izāfat* et du nom spécifique du feu, par exemple *Ādur ī Gušnasp*. On en possède deux attestations, l'une sur un sceau administratif de *mogbed*,⁴ l'autre sur un sceau personnel d'un scribe (pl. 4a);⁵
- 3) le nom d'un Feu peut être formulé sans *izāfat* entre le terme *Ādur* et le nom du Feu. Dans ce cas il y a beaucoup de risques de confusion avec les noms propres composés avec *Ādur*, et on ne peut considérer une expression comportant le mot *Ādur* comme un nom du Feu que si le terme *Ādur* est précédé de la préposition *ō*. Pour ma part, je voudrais être plus restrictive, et limiter les attestations certaines d'un Feu aux cas où *Ādur* est précédé d'une formule du type *abestān ō* 'confiance en' ou *panāh ō* 'protection en',⁶ ou encore *frāz ō* 'devant'. Un tel exemple est la légende *abestān ō Ādur Gušnasp ī kirkakkar* 'confiance en Ādur Gušnasp bienfaisant' sur le sceau du scribe déjà mentionné (pl. 4a);⁷
- 4) le nom d'un Feu peut être reconnu dans un nom sans qu'il ne soit qualifié de 'Feu' par le terme *Ādur*. Il faut alors que le contexte montre clairement qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un nom propre. Un tel exemple est l'inscription *Ādur-duxt frāz ō Burzēn-Mihr* 'Ādur-duxt devant (le Feu) Burzēn-Mihr' (pl. 4b);⁸

¹ Göbl 1976.

² Gignoux 1979, en particulier "Signification d'Ādur", 76-81.

³ Gignoux-Gyselen 1982, sceau n° 60.1/5.74.

⁴ Göbl 1976, empreinte n° 703.

⁵ *Ibid.*, empreinte n° 601.

⁶ Pour un aperçu de ce type de formules: Gignoux 1976a.

⁷ Sceau de Bōxtōg, fils de Hamihr, scribe du feu Gušnasp: Gignoux 1979, 77.

⁸ Gyselen 1993, sceau 20.A.2/5.9.

5) le nom du Feu peut aussi être formulé avec le terme *Ātaxš*. Un exemple est l'inscription *Zar-Mihr mog abestān ud panāh ō Ātaxš Gušnasp* 'Zar-Mihr, mage, confiance et protection dans le Feu Gušnasp' (pl. 4c).⁹

En fait, il n'est pas nécessaire que le terme *Ātaxš* soit précédé d'une formule pour être compris comme le nom d'un 'Feu' puisqu'il n'entre pas comme composante dans des noms propres comme c'est le cas du mot *Ādur* qui désigne à la fois le 'Feu' et le 'dieu Ādur'.

Il peut être utile de remarquer que le terme *ātaxš* a parfois été lu, à tort, à la place du mot *ādur*.¹⁰ En effet, quand ce dernier est écrit *'twr* en écriture lapidaire, les deux lettres *w* et *r*, qui sont notées par le même signe 2, ne sont parfois pas bien séparées l'une de l'autre et peuvent être confondues avec *š* 22. Si un tel accident de graphie peut expliquer la lecture *'tš* au lieu de *'twr*,¹¹ il ne peut cependant pas justifier l'interprétation *Ātaxš* qui s'écrit en pehlevi *'thš*.¹² Il n'y a, en effet, aucune raison pour que dans le monnayage des IIIe et IVe siècles on ait noté à la place de la forme pehlevie *'thš* (*Ātaxš*) la forme *'tš* (*Ātaš*) qui est une graphie du persan.

LE FEU ROYAL OU DYNASTIQUE

Les monnaies des IIIe et IVe siècles portent systématiquement au revers l'image d'un autel du feu et l'inscription *Ādur* (sous forme de *NWRA* ou de *'twr*) *ī*... suivie du nom du roi. On peut en conclure que la fondation d'un feu royal était un devoir pour le roi au moment de son investiture ou de son couronnement. Mais on ne trouve nulle part dans aucune source une preuve explicite d'une telle obligation. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'établissement d'un Feu royal a été une réalité puisqu'il sert de date de départ pour le calendrier du règne comme le prouve bien l'inscription de Bīšāpūr.¹³

Sur le monnayage des premiers rois sassanides, seul l'idéogramme *NWRA* est attesté. Le terme *ādur* fait une très timide apparition sous Wahrām II (276-293) et reste très minoritaire jusqu'à l'époque d'Ardashīr II (379-383). À première vue on pourrait en déduire qu'il existe un ordre chronologique dans l'utilisation des termes *NWRA* et *ādur*. Si un tel ordre existe, cela ne peut être que dans des inscriptions de type "dynastique" – monnayage, inscription royale – puisqu'on trouve déjà le terme *ādur* à l'époque de Šāpūr Ier (241-272) dans l'inscription "privée" de Bīšāpūr dans laquelle le "Feu royal" est qualifié de *ādurān šāh* 'le roi des feux'.¹⁴

⁹ Gignoux 1976b, bulle 16.32a.

¹⁰ Mochiri 1996.

¹¹ Voir par exemple Gignoux 1976b, 25-26: sceau 3.4 et Gignoux-Gyselen 1982, sceau n° 60.1/5.74.

¹² Boyce 1983, 471, tient le mot *ātaxš* pour la forme habituelle pehlevie qui évolue ensuite en persan moderne en *ātaš*, tandis que le mot *ādur* serait la forme parthe.

¹³ Cette idée avait été suggérée par Ghirshman 1936 lors de sa découverte de l'inscription de Bīšāpūr. La partie de l'inscription qui nous intéresse ici a été traduite par Widengren 1971, 774: "In the month of Frāvartin of the year 58, of the fire of Artaxšatr the year 40, of the fire of Šāhpuhr, the king of fires, the year 24". D'autres inscriptions comme celle de Mishkinshahr (Gropp 1968) ou celle d'Eqlid (Gropp 1969) mentionnent sans équivoque un calendrier qui commence par l'avènement du roi et la fondation du Feu "royal".

¹⁴ Ghirshman 1936.

LE FEU "POUR L'ÂME"

Outre la mention d'*ādur ī Šāpūr* sur le monnayage de Šāpūr Ier et dans l'inscription de Bīšāpūr, on connaît une troisième attestation d'un feu de Šāpūr Ier. Celle-ci se trouve dans l'inscription de Šāpūr Ier sur la Ka'ba de Zoroastre (ci-après ŠKZ).¹⁵ Mais ce Feu ne semble pas être le Feu dynastique puisque dans la même phrase Šāpūr Ier dit qu'il a fondé aussi quatre feux pour les plus proches membres de sa famille et il mentionne explicitement qu'ils ont été fondés *pad ruvān ud pannām* c'est-à-dire 'pour l'âme et la gloire posthume'.¹⁶ Il faut remarquer que les noms de ces cinq feux commencent tous par le mot *Khusrō* suivi du nom de la personne pour qui le feu a été fondé. On peut être tenté de considérer dans ces noms de Feux – *Khusrō-Šāpūr*, *Khusrō-Ādur-Ānāhid*, etc. – le premier terme *Khusrō*, littéralement 'bonne réputation', comme un nom générique pour ce type de Feu "pour l'âme". Mais jusqu'à présent aucun argument ne peut être apporté pour confirmer une telle hypothèse. C'est d'autant plus difficile à prouver qu'aucun nom d'un Feu Wahrām n'est précédé par le terme générique *Wahrām*.

LES FEUX WAHRĀM

Aussi bien les sources primaires que secondaires font souvent état de fondations de Feux Wahrām. Dans son inscription (ŠKZ) Šāpūr Ier dit qu'il a fondé beaucoup de feux Wahrām dans les pays (qu'il a conquis) sans qu'en soit précisé l'endroit ou le nom.¹⁷ On trouve une référence tout aussi vague aux Feux "Wahrām" dans les inscriptions de Kirdīr.¹⁸ Plusieurs sources secondaires également véhiculent des traditions à propos des Feux Wahrām. Cependant le *Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērān* mentionne explicitement la présence d'un Feu Wahrām à Samarkand et à Balkh.¹⁹

Aucune de ces sources ne fournit un nom pour l'un ou l'autre de ces Feux Wahrām.²⁰ Seuls les noms des trois plus anciens et plus sacrés Ādur Wahrām reviennent comme un *leitmotiv* dans les textes. Il s'agit de l'Ādur Gušnasp, l'Ādur Farnbag et l'Ādur Burzēn-Mīhr²¹ et on y ajoute souvent un quatrième, le Feu Karkōy.²²

1. Ādur Gušnasp

Le Feu Gušnasp avait été fondé quelque part en Médie, et transféré ensuite dans un ancien sanctuaire localisé sur le site de Takht-i Suleiman. Quelques témoignages sigillogra-

¹⁵ Pour l'édition la plus récente de l'inscription de Šāpūr I sur la Ka'ba de Zoroastre voir: Huyse 1999.

¹⁶ Huyse 1999, I 46-47, § 33-34, et II 105. Je dois la traduction 'gloire posthume' pour "*pannām*" à Philip Huyse. Sur le type de fondation "pour l'âme" voir aussi de Menasce 1964.

¹⁷ Huyse 1999, I 45, § 32.

¹⁸ Gignoux 1991.

¹⁹ Markwart 1931, respectivement 9 § 3 (commentaire p. 28) et 10 § 9 (commentaire p. 38).

²⁰ Il est impossible de savoir si les noms de Feu fournis par certains auteurs ont trait à un Feu Wahrām, ou encore à une autre catégorie de Feu. Voir par exemple Perikhanian 1983, 640-641 qui donne des noms de temples du Feu royal: Ardawahišt, Afzōn-Ardashir, Ohrmazd-Pērōz.

²¹ Pour plus d'amples informations sur ces feux: Boyce 1983, 472-476.

²² Boyce 1987, 3.

priques de ce Feu existent (voir sous 2, 3 et 5 et les pl. 4a et 4c) et attestent une structure administrative du Feu Gušnasp aussi bien qu'une dévotion personnelle à son égard à travers des formules comme 'confiance en Ādur Gušnasp' ou 'confiance et protection dans le Feu (*ātaxš*) Gušnasp'. À en juger de ces témoignages, il semble bien que les termes *ādur* et *ātaxš* aient eu la même connotation et qu'on les ait employés indifféremment l'un ou l'autre.

L'exacte localisation, à l'époque sassanide, des deux autres Feux n'est pas connue²³ et leur site n'a par conséquent pas fait l'objet de fouilles. Toutefois, rien n'empêche de présumer que l'Ādur Farnbag et l'Ādur Burzēn-Mihr aient connu une organisation comparable à celle d'Ādur Gušnasp, et que leurs noms aussi aient été invoqués pour demander protection.

2. *Ādur Farnbag*

À l'époque sassanide le Feu Farnbag était installé sur une montagne dans le Fārs.²⁴ Ph. Gignoux a voulu voir dans la formule *Wālān ī mog ō ādur Farnbagān* une allusion à ce Feu.²⁵

3. *Ādur Burzēn-Mihr*

Le troisième Feu Wahrām était établi sur une montagne dans le nord-est de l'Iran, territoire anciennement parthe.²⁶ On possède une mention de ce Feu sur un sceau qui porte la légende *Ādur-duxt frāz ō Burzēn-Mihr* 'Ādur-duxt devant (le Feu) Burzēn-Mihr' (pl. 4b). On peut se demander pourquoi dans cette légende le Feu Burzēn-Mihr n'est pas qualifié par le terme *Ādur* ou *Ātaxš* comme cela était le cas pour le Feu Gušnasp. Comme on en connaît maintenant une deuxième attestation, toujours sans le mot *ādur* ou *ātaxš*, il n'est pas impossible que cette manière de formuler le nom du Feu Burzēn-Mihr était habituelle. Cependant deux attestations ne sont pas suffisantes pour constituer une preuve définitive d'une telle pratique. Ce deuxième sceau avec le nom de Burzēn-Mihr était connu, mais l'état de sa conservation n'avait pas permis de lire correctement le nom de Burzēn-Mihr.²⁷ Une nouvelle empreinte beaucoup plus claire (pl. 4d), permet désormais de lire la légende *Dād-Burz-Mihr asped ī pahlaw panāh ō Burzēn-Mih[r]* 'Dād-Burz-Mihr, asped parthe, protection dans (le Feu) Burzēn-Mihr'.²⁸

Malgré cette interprétation, l'absence du mot *ādur* laisse planer un doute sur l'identité de Burzēn-Mihr. Qu'on l'ait interprété comme un Feu n'est pas étranger à la renommée du Feu Burzēn-Mihr. Un survol de toutes les formules avec *abestān ō* ou *panāh ō* met en évidence que ces formules se rapportent presque toujours à la divinité (le Dieu unique ou les Dieux) ou à une notion ayant un rapport avec le Feu (le dieu Ādur, le Feu Gušnasp et (le Feu) Burzēn-Mihr). Quelques rares fois, ce genre de formule est associé à un nom qui à

²³ Boyce 1983 cite les différentes opinions à ce propos.

²⁴ Boyce 1983, 474.

²⁵ Gignoux 1979, 77-78.

²⁶ Boyce 1983, 472 qui mentionne l'incertitude du nom de la montagne: Rēvand ou Mihr.

²⁷ Gignoux-Gyselen 1987, bulle MFT 54.

²⁸ Un dessin en est donné: Gyselen 2001, 46, Seal A.

première vue ne peut être rapproché d'un Feu. C'est en particulier le cas pour la formule *abestān ō Burz-Mihr* 'confiance en Burz-Mihr' qui est attestée sur deux sceaux.²⁹ Il semble difficile de considérer qu'il s'agisse d'une faute de graphie pour le mot *Burzēn-Mihr* et il faut alors se demander qui est *Burz-Mihr* auquel on s'adresse.

4. Le Feu *Karkōy*?

Un autre feu *Wahrām* très célèbre est celui de *Karkōy* qui a été établi dans le *Sakastān*. C'est le seul Feu qui est explicitement nommé dans le *Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērān*,³⁰ et on le trouve souvent mentionné dans d'autres sources littéraires sous des noms quelque peu différents.³¹ Son emplacement est sujet à discussion, mais tout comme les trois Feux *Wahrām* précédents, il dû être établi en haut d'une montagne,³² même si certaines sources le situent dans la ville de *Zarang*.

Il n'est pas impossible que le nom de ce Feu figure sur un sceau. Malheureusement celui-ci est trop abîmé pour qu'on puisse en être tout à fait certain. Lors de la publication de ce sceau, Ph. Gignoux avait lu la légende: *l's'whlmzdy 'ps[t'n 'L] 'thšy 'pzkwp* et traduit 'Rāh-Ohrmazd; confiance dans le Feu . . .' (pl. 4e).³³ Sur le plan iconographique, ce sceau est unique. On y voit quatre éléments superposés qu'on peut lire ainsi de haut en bas: une rosace à six pétales, un gros croissant, une paire d'ailes posée sur la tête d'un animal en remplacement des cornes ou des bois qu'il devrait normalement avoir sur la tête. À cause du diadème autour du cou, on aurait tendance à identifier l'animal comme étant un béliet. L'inscription autour est entourée d'un cercle de perles rondes.

C'est la présence exceptionnelle sur une monnaie³⁴ d'une rosace, bien que pas tout à fait similaire à celle du sceau, qui a incité un nouvel examen de ce sceau. Cette monnaie de *Wahrām* Ier n'est pas seulement exceptionnelle à cause de la rosace qui figure devant le visage du roi à l'avant, mais aussi parce qu'elle porte au revers le nom de l'atelier monétaire du *Sakastān*.

En réexaminant le sceau, il semble bien qu'on puisse lire *'thšy ZY glkwp* (*Ātaxš ī Garkōf*) au lieu de *'thšy 'pzkwp*. Si cette lecture semble plausible, il reste à expliquer le nom composé avec *gar* et *kōf* deux synonymes pour 'montagne', et surtout à prouver qu'il s'agit en réalité du Feu *Karkōy*. N'étant pas philologue, je ne m'y hasarderai pas.

L'ICONOGRAPHIE DES SCEAUX PORTANT LE NOM D'UN FEU WAHRĀM

Aucun des quatre sceaux sur lesquels figure une inscription ayant trait soit au Feu *Gušnasp*, soit au Feu *Burzēn-Mihr*, ne porte le motif d'un autel du feu. Cependant, ce

²⁹ L'un des sceaux a été publié par Gignoux-Gyselen 1982, sceau 20.34/4.12, l'autre, dans la collection J. Rosen de New York, est inédit.

³⁰ Markwart 1931, 18, § 38 (commentaire pp. 89-90).

³¹ Ces sources ont été réunies par Schippman 1971, 37-45.

³² On pourrait par exemple suggérer un site comme *Kuh-i Kwadja*.

³³ Gignoux-Gyselen 1982, sceau 40.75/4.24.

³⁴ Cette monnaie est inédite mais on peut en voir une similaire, bien que moins bien conservée: Nikitin 1999, 263, fig. 1.

dernier motif apparaît sur quelques sceaux qui, eux aussi, portent des légendes avec le mot *Ādur* ou *Ātaxš*,³⁵ mais dans aucun des cas il ne s'agit d'un nom d'un Feu Wahrām.

Cependant, le choix des motifs sur les sceaux avec le nom d'un Feu Wahrām n'est sans doute pas anodin et on voudrait suggérer qu'il existe un rapport entre le motif choisi et le propriétaire du sceau. Les deux sceaux avec le nom du Feu Gušnasp portent un monogramme (pl. 4a et 4c). Bien que la signification exacte des monogrammes ne soit toujours pas élucidée dans son ensemble, il y a quelques cas suffisamment explicites pour justifier l'hypothèse que certains monogrammes peuvent servir de signe d'identité. Il n'est donc pas tout à fait impossible que les monogrammes choisis respectivement par le scribe d'*Ādur ī Gušnasp* (pl. 4a) et par le mage Zarmihr (pl. 4c), représentent un signe distinctif propre au propriétaire du sceau. Le sceau d'*Ādur-duxt* (pl. 4b), de toute évidence une femme, porte un portrait de femme tandis que sur celui de *Dād-Burz-Mihr*, *asped ī Pahlaw* (pl. 4d) on trouve le motif, plutôt rare, de deux protomes de cheval ailé, choix qui peut être mis en relation avec le titre *asped*, littéralement 'maître du cheval'.

Il faut rappeler qu'il est très rare de pouvoir établir de façon certaine un rapport entre le motif et le propriétaire d'un sceau. Tout aussi rares, sinon plus, sont les sceaux sur lesquels il existe un lien entre le motif et le contenu de l'inscription.³⁶ D'une manière générale, les motifs sur les sceaux ne semblent pas avoir un rapport avec le contenu de la légende qui l'entoure et l'interprétation iconographique reste la plupart du temps problématique. Néanmoins, la littérature regorge d'identifications iconographiques. Certaines sont probablement exactes, ou du moins elles peuvent l'être dans un contexte précis. Malheureusement, il y a une forte tendance à extrapoler et à généraliser le sens d'un motif qui, en réalité, est susceptible d'avoir eu des significations diverses d'après le contexte qu'il n'est pas toujours possible pour nous de déterminer. Certes il est frustrant de ne pas comprendre la raison d'être d'un motif, mais il faut pouvoir accepter qu'on est encore à un stade peu avancé quant aux connaissances de la civilisation sassanide en général, et de l'iconographie sigillographique en particulier. Tout essai d'identification d'un motif doit s'accompagner des réserves nécessaires. Il faut, en particulier, se méfier des identifications de motifs à partir d'allusions textuelles. C'est en suivant une telle démarche que J. Duchesne-Guillemin a voulu interpréter le motif de l'oiseau (= faucon ?) perché au-dessus d'un autel comme le Feu Wahrām en utilisant l'argument selon lequel l'un des avatars du dieu Verethragna (= Wahrām) est le faucon.³⁷ Une telle interprétation n'est pas recevable surtout quand on trouve ce même motif sur un sceau qui, de toute évidence, a appartenu à un chrétien puisqu'inscrit en syriaque.³⁸ On ne peut évoquer aucune raison pour laquelle un chrétien aurait fait allusion à un grand Feu zoroastrien.

³⁵ On trouve ces attestations réunies: Gyselen 1990.

³⁶ Un de ces rares exemples a été publié par Gnoli 1993.

³⁷ Duchesne-Guillemin 1983, 903.

³⁸ Shaked 1995, 239-256, sceau n° 31 (fig. 16).

UNE REPRÉSENTATION DES TROIS FEUX ORIGINELS

Évidemment, quelques rares fois on a la chance de rencontrer un motif tellement explicite qu'on n'a même pas besoin d'une légende pour en proposer une interprétation plausible. Une telle exception est le motif du bœuf couché à droite avec du feu qui brûle sur sa tête, sa bosse et son arrière-train (pl. 4f). Il figure sur un sceau qui porte une inscription des plus habituelles, 'confiance en les dieux'. Il ne peut s'agir que du bœuf Srisōk qui transportait le Feu sacré du Xwaniras aux autres régions. Dans ce cas précis la sigillographie apporte même des détails supplémentaires à la description que donne le *Bundahišn* du bœuf Srisōk (je reprends ici l'ancienne traduction de West):³⁹ "the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox . . . and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shut up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox".

RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

- Boyce, M., 1983. Ādur, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1 (London), 471-476.
 Boyce, M., 1987. Ātaš, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3 (London), 3-5.
 de Menasce, J., 1964. *Feux et fondations pieuses dans le droit sassanide* (Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes 2, Paris).
 Duchesne-Guillemin, J., 1983. Zoroastrian religion, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.2, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods* (Cambridge), 866-908.
 Ghirshman, R., 1936. Inscription du monument de Châpour Ier à Châpour, *Revue des arts asiatiques* 10, 123-129, pl. XLIV.
 Gignoux, Ph., 1976a. Les "formules" des sceaux sasanides et la signification de *rāst* et *rāstih*, *Farhang-e Iran Zamin* 21 (= *Miscellanea in honorem Ibrahim Purdavud*, 1354/1976), 41-56.
 Gignoux, Ph., 1976b. *Catalogue des sceaux, camées et bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 2, *Les sceaux et bulles inscrits* (Paris).
 Gignoux, Ph., 1979. Les noms propres en moyen-perse épigraphique, *Pad nām i yazdān. Études d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'histoire de l'Iran ancien* (Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes 9, Paris), 35-100.
 Gignoux, Ph., 1991. *Les quatre inscriptions du Mage Kirdir* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 9, Paris).
 Gignoux, Ph., Gyselen, R., 1982. *Sceaux sassanides de diverses collections privées* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 1, Leuven).
 Gignoux, Ph., Gyselen, R., 1987. *Bulles et sceaux sassanides de diverses collections* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 4, Paris).
 Gnoli, G., 1993. A Sassanian iconography of the Dēn, *BAI* 7 (= *Iranian Studies in Honor of A. D. H. Bivar*), 79-85.
 Göbl, R., 1976. *Die Tonbullen vom Tacht-e Suleiman* (Berlin).
 Gropp, G., 1968. Die sasanidische Inschrift von Mishkinshahr in Azarbaïdžān, *AMI* 1, 149-158.
 Gropp, G., 1969. Einige neu entdeckte Inschriften aus sasanidischer Zeit, in W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin), 237-260.
 Gyselen, R., 1990. Note de glyptique sassanide. Quelques éléments d'iconographie religieuse, in F. Vallat (ed.), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris), 253-267.
 Gyselen, R., 1993. *Catalogue des sceaux, camées et bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, *Collection générale* (Paris).

³⁹West 1901, 63.

- Gyselen, R., 2001. *The four generals of the Sasanian empire: some sigillographic evidence* (Conferenze IsIAO 14, Rome).
- Huyse, Ph., 1999. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 3.1.1, London), 2 vols.
- Markwart, J., 1931. *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Eranshahr*, ed. G. Messina (Rome).
- Mochiri, M. I., 1996. Petite liste de quelques ateliers sassanides inédits, *Iran* 34, 61-78, pl. XIX-XXIII.
- Nikitin, A., 1999. Notes on the chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian kingdom, in M. Atram, D. E. Klimburg-Salter (ed.), *Coins, art and chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands* (Wien), 259-263.
- Perikhanian, A., 1983. Iranian society and law, *Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.2 (Cambridge), 627-680.
- Schippman, K., 1971. *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin-New York).
- Shaked, Sh., 1995. Jewish Sasanian sigillography, in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Res orientales 7, Bures-sur-Yvette), 239-256.
- West, E. W., 1901. *Pahlavi texts*, pt. 1, *The Bundahiš, Bahman Yast, and Shāyast lā-shāyast* (Oxford).
- Widengren, G., 1971. The establishment of the Sasanian dynasty in the light of new evidence, in *La Persia nel Medioevo (Roma, 31 marzo-5 aprile 1970)* (Rome), 711-782, pl. I-XI.

Clarisse Herrenschmidt

Lorsqu'au début des années 1970 je commençai mes recherches sur les inscriptions royales achéménides, l'article de Gherardo Gnoli "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté chez les Achéménides"¹ m'enchanta et guida une part de mes réflexions, ce dont je suis encore reconnaissante à son auteur.

Dans les modestes lignes qui suivent, il ne sera pourtant pas question de politique religieuse, d'empire et de Grand Rois achéménides, non plus que de Zarathustra, mais d'un sujet qui nous réunit également, celui du rayonnement de l'Iran ancien. Gherardo Gnoli nous a donné *The idea of Iran*, qui fit date.² Je me permets de lui offrir un reflet symétrique de cette idée de l'Iran, en cherchant une fois encore, la dernière sans doute, des traces d'idées mazdéennes chez le grand Démocrite d'Abdère.

Mais ce ne sont plus ses admirables constructions philosophiques et physiques³ qui nous retiendront: plutôt quelques remarques éparses sur l'homme.

La plus frappante se présente sous un double texte, enregistré sous le même numéro d'ordre: B II par Diels et Kranz.⁴ Dans l'*Etymologicum Orionis* on peut lire: "Athéna Tritogénéia représente pour Démocrite la raison. De l'exercice de la raison procèdent ces trois qualités: bien réfléchir, parler sans se tromper et agir comme il se doit". Les *Scolies genevoises à l'Iliade* donnent à lire: "Démocrite, en fournissant l'étymologie de ce mot [Tritogénéia], déclare que c'est de la raison que découlent ces trois qualités: bien calculer, bien dire et agir comme il se doit".

L'iraniste a immédiatement l'oeil attiré par la séquence "parler sans se tromper" ou "bien dire" et "agir comme il se doit". Il en vient à regarder le premier terme et trouve βουλευεσθαι traduit ici par 'réfléchir' dans le premier fragment, λογίζεσθαι traduit par 'calculer', dans le second. Sans hésiter beaucoup, il fait l'hypothèse que ces deux verbes expriment des idées transmises en iranien ancien par la racine *MAN* "penser".

Bien penser, bien parler, bien agir, pensée bien pensée, parole bien dite, action bien faite, constituent l'énoncé des lignes de force du comportement mazdéen, forment son guide de conduite dans la vie de tous les jours, dans les jeux sociaux et politiques comme dans l'action rituelle. C'est en cette liste ternaire que consiste le fond de l'anthropologie mazdéenne, qui rassemble tout ce que fait l'Homme.

¹ Paru dans *Hommage universel*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 2, Commémoration Cyrus, Leiden 1974), 117-190.

² *The idea of Iran. An essay on its origin* (Serie orientale Roma 62, Roma 1989).

³ Voir sur ces questions C. Herrenschmidt, *Entre Perses et Grecs I. Démocrite et le mazdéisme. Religion, philosophie, science, Transeuphratène* 11 (1996), 115-143.

⁴ H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6e éd. augmentée ([Berlin] 1951-1952). Je suis dans l'ensemble la traduction française due à J.-P. Dumont, D. Delattre et J.-L. Poirier, *Les Présocratiques* (La Pléiade, Paris 1988).

Ainsi *Yasna* 53, 2 invite le *kavi* Vishtâspa et Frashaoshtra à satisfaire Ahura Mazdâ “par la pensée, les paroles et les gestes”,⁵ dans un contexte éminemment rituel; tout comme le *Yasna Haptanhâiti* qui commence par “Nous sommes les glorificateurs de ce qui a été bien pensé, bien dit, bien accompli”.⁶ Cette analyse du comportement humain était bien connue des Perses à la période achéménide puisque c’est dans son cadre que Darius Ier se définit au paragraphe 63 de l’inscription de Bisotun: “Ahura Mazdâ m’a apporté son soutien, ainsi que les autres dieux qui sont, parce que je n’étais pas un mauvais, parce que je n’étais pas un menteur, parce que je n’étais pas un violent, ni moi ni ma famille. J’ai agi selon la justice”.⁷ Le premier terme, vieux-perse *arika*, imparfaitement traduit par ‘mauvais’, correspond à la pensée, les deux autres à la parole et aux actes. Le paragraphe 64 suivant montre que la justice royale ne peut s’appliquer qu’à ceux qui manifestent leur mauvaises pensées par leurs paroles et leurs actes – puisque l’on ne peut punir quelqu’un pour ses pensées, invisibles tant qu’elles ne sont pas extériorisées: “Toi qui plus tard seras roi, l’homme qui est menteur ou celui qui est violent, ne sois pas leur ami, punis-les”.

En bref, Démocrite ferait une étymologie des plus fantaisistes d’un des noms d’Athéna, Tritogénéia, en glissant sous ce qu’il prend, en grec, pour le nom du nombre ‘3’ l’ensemble ternaire des registres dans lequel le mazdéisme, depuis les plus anciens textes, produit une analyse du comportement humain.

Mais Démocrite soumet le bien délibérer ou le bien calculer, le parler sans se tromper ou le bien dire, enfin l’agir comme il se doit sous le patronage de la φρόνησις ‘raison, intelligence, conscience’ – sous la domination d’un principe intellectuel, qui n’est, notons-le au passage, pas le λόγος. Ce surplomb de l’esprit réflexif peut passer pour un fait philosophique et un trait de rationalisation, à quoi nous reconnaissons spontanément la pensée grecque, qui seraient dûs à Démocrite d’Abdère.

Mais que savons-nous de la relation, dans un sujet mazdéen, entre la possibilité de “bien penser, bien parler, bien agir” et la justice, dont parle Darius? Sommes-nous si sûrs que l’iranien ancien *arštāt* ‘justice’ n’a rien à voir avec la raison? Ou bien encore, que savons-nous des relations internes à un sujet mazdéen entre la possibilité de “pensée bien pensée, parole bien dite, action bien faite”, l’action de l’entité divine *Vohu Manah* ‘Bonne Pensée’ et les représentations iraniennes anciennes, perses en particulier, de ce que nous nommons “la personnalité, le caractère” (*manah* en vieux perse)?⁸

Retenons au moins, à défaut de pouvoir faire mieux, que Démocrite connut l’analyse mazdéenne du comportement humain “pensée, parole, acte” et l’intégra à sa vision du monde divin, en fit un outil de connaissance du nom d’Athéna, déesse de la raison.

Il est reconnu depuis longtemps par les antiquistes qu’Hérodote entendit parler des *xrafstra*, bêtes de la mauvaise création, anti-ahourienne; en effet, il y fait allusion en I, 140, disant que “les Mages tuent de leur propre main toutes (sortes d’êtres), sauf le chien et

⁵ J. Kellens, E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1988), 189.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 133.

⁷ Vieux-perse *arštā*, avestique *arštāt*. Cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Haven 1953), 132; P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris 1997), 210.

⁸ C. Herrenschmidt, *Le moi mazdéen*, à paraître.

l'homme, et ils s'y appliquent à l'envi avec ardeur et massacrent indistinctement les fourmis, les serpents et les autres (bêtes) qui rampent et volent. C'est leur coutume, elle est comme cela depuis le début, admettons-le".⁹

Ne peut-on, d'après les fragments de Stobée, penser que Démocrite, lui aussi, fit allusion aux *xrafstra* et aux coutumes des mazdéens, mais sans les nommer expressément? Voyons les textes:¹⁰ "Du même [à savoir Démocrite]: Voici ce qui doit nous déterminer à tuer ou ne pas tuer les animaux; on peut à bon droit tuer ceux qui sont nuisibles et ceux qui s'apprentent à nuire, et notre santé requiert davantage qu'on le fasse plutôt que non". "Il faut tuer par-dessus tout, tous les (animaux) qui nuisent. Celui qui le fait recevra en partage, dans toute société bien ordonnée, une meilleure part de bonheur, de justice, de fermeté et de . . .". "Ce que j'ai indiqué touchant les bêtes malfaisantes et les serpents qui nous sont hostiles, doit être, à mon avis, appliqué également aux hommes. Dans toute société bien ordonnée, suivant les lois ancestrales, on doit tuer l'ennemi, à moins que la loi l'interdise, car chaque pays a ses sacrements particuliers, ses alliances et ses engagements" (Stobée, *Florilège*, IV, ii, 15, 16 et 17).

Tout se passe comme si Démocrite répondait à Hérodote, en connaissant le mazdéisme de façon différente de l'historien d'Halicarnasse et en élargissant le point de vue. Tuer, ne pas tuer? Et tuer quoi, les bêtes nuisibles seulement, ou l'homme avec elles? Dans toute société bien ordonnée on tue l'ennemi – qu'il soit homme ou bête – et l'on suit des coutumes originelles, des lois ancestrales, des usages sacraux – et la Perse, avec ses Mages et ses mazdéens, est une société bien ordonnée.

Ce qui reste fascinant et tout à fait hors d'atteinte – au moins pour moi – me paraît être ce que nous livre Démocrite d'une psychologie mazdéenne. Quel texte iranien nous assure que dans la société mazdéenne bien ordonnée celui qui tue les *xrafstra* "recevra en partage, une meilleure part de bonheur, de justice, de fermeté (?)". Que pourraient être, en Iran, le bonheur (grec εὐθυμία) et la justice (grec δίκη)? Peut-être vieux perse *šiyāti* et *arštāt*?

Il nous manque un ou plusieurs chaînons entre des Iraniens mazdéens du Ve siècle avant notre ère et Démocrite. Que connut, que rencontra, qu'exploita ce dernier? Seulement des discussions à bâtons rompus avec des savants, dont il prit note? Des textes? Mais alors, lesquels? Nous avons déjà rencontré ce problème à propos des idées scientifiques de Démocrite et des paires de couleurs opposées: nous n'avons pu fournir comme modèle iranien à la paire rouge/jaune-vert trouvée chez Démocrite qu'un texte tardif, extrait du *Bundahišn* indien et analysé par B. Lincoln. Mais ce rapprochement, en soi insuffisant pour établir un "emprunt" de Démocrite à l'Iran mazdéen, prenait un relief particulier dans la série où il s'inscrivait.

Voyons une dernière fois cette série, en y ajoutant nos présentes données. Parmi ses options scientifiques, Démocrite défendit l'idée qu'il existe une semence féminine et que cette dernière participe à la sexuation du fœtus, contre la majorité des physiologues grecs et à l'instar des représentations dualistes mazdéennes, où règne la complémentarité des

⁹ Hérodote, *Histoires I*, texte établi et traduit par Ph.-E. Legrand (Paris 1970), 155.

¹⁰ Diels-Kranz 68 B 257, 258, 259. Le dernier terme du fragment B 258 est rendu par Dumont en 'propriété', mais demeure très peu sûr.

genres et l'équilibre des qualités ahouriennes et des qualités démoniaques. Il décrit les atomes comme n'étant ni blancs ni noirs, ni chauds ni froids, ni secs ni humides et surtout ni rouges ni jaunes, cette paire d'opposés demeurant inconnue de la littérature grecque précédant Démocrite, mais apparaissant dans la tradition mazdéenne tardive et qui est probablement d'une date plus ancienne. Démocrite reconstruisit les deux sortes de corps du monde des phénomènes avec des concepts qui ressemblent à ceux qui servent, encore dans le *Bundahišn* indien, à établir et différencier semence masculine et semence féminine. Démocrite pensa une rupture entre le niveau invisible des atomes, niveau de l'être, et le niveau sensible des qualités perçues par les sens, niveau de la convention: cette fracture interne aux choses du monde fait penser à la composition duelle de la représentation mazdéenne des corps. Tout y est le résultat du mélange de la bonne et de la mauvaise création: elles sont irréductibles l'une à l'autre et coexistent en tout corps – hormis les êtres divins. Enfin, si le mazdéisme proposait une théorie du temps clos pour l'histoire du monde, Démocrite pensa la pluralité des mondes – chacun étant clos sur lui-même.¹¹

La tradition grecque rapporte que Démocrite connut des Mages et reçut d'eux un enseignement; des éléments de sa biographie, sa connaissance de l'analyse en "penser, parler, agir" du comportement humain, sa discussion sur les coutumes de tuer les animaux nuisibles et si l'homme en fait partie, nous assurent désormais de son bien fondé. La construction philosophique démocritéenne peut donc se situer sur deux plans au moins: une réponse aux Éléates, à leur conception de l'être immobile et hors du temps, et un dialogue avec l'Iran mazdéen des Mages, des Mèdes et des Perses à la période achéménide.

Le rire de Démocrite constitue peut-être un de ses traits les plus célèbres. Il est pourtant de tradition récente, attesté par des fragments du premier siècle avant notre ère et du premier siècle de notre ère (Cicéron, Horace, Juvénal), auxquels s'ajoutent encore les notices de Stobée.¹² Zoroastre rit à la naissance, comme le racontent Pline (*Histoire naturelle* VII, 72) et la tradition mazdéenne moyen-perse du IX^e siècle de notre ère (*Dēnkart* et *Anthologie de Zātspram*).¹³ A Rome, on thématiza le rire de Zoroastre et celui de Démocrite à peu près dans la même période. Est-ce un hasard? Ou bien plutôt savait-on, mieux que nous, la dette de Démocrite à l'Iran mazdéen et donc à Zoroastre?

¹¹ Art. cit., n. 3.

¹² Diels-Kranz 68 A 21.

¹³ C. Herrenschmidt, Le rire de Zarathustra, l'Iranien, in M.-L. Desclos, *Le rire des Grecs* (Grenoble 2001), 497-511.

Almut Hintze

1. THE FIVE DIVISIONS OF THE ZOROASTRIAN DAY

In Zoroastrianism there are five priestly divisions of the twenty-four hour day,¹ called *asniia- ratu-* in Avestan, and *gāh* in Middle and New Persian. Their individual Avestan names are

1. *ušahina- ratu-* ‘the time of dawn’, lasting from midnight to the disappearance of the stars,
2. *hāuuani- ratu-* ‘the time of pressing (the Haoma), morning’, lasting from dawn to midday,
3. *rapiθβina- ratu-* ‘the time of preparing the meal, lunchtime, midday’, the time of midday,
4. *uzaieirina- ratu-* ‘the time of the declining day’, lasting from midday until the appearance of the stars,
5. *aīßisrūθrima- aibigaiia- ratu-* ‘the time of . . . (?)’, lasting from the appearance of the stars to midnight.

Two of these names describe natural events in so far as *ušahina-* refers to the dawn of the new day and *uzaieirina-* to the waning daylight in the late afternoon. The name *hāuuani-* originates from the ritual action of pressing the Haoma, and *rapiθβina-* from the more ordinary and common custom of preparing one’s meal around midday. While the meaning of each of the first four names is transparent, that of *aīßisrūθrima- aibigaiia-* is not. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 94 and 88, although making a suggestion for an etymology of *aīßi-srūθra-* (see below 2.2.), does not translate either of the two terms. Wackernagel–Debrunner, *AIGr.* II 2 p. 708 leave the root in *aīßi-srūθra-* unidentified, and Hoffmann 1969, 25 n. 2 considers *aibi.gaiia-* as a dark word (‘dunkles Wort’). The present article surveys existing etymologies and proposes a new interpretation of the name *aīßisrūθrima- aibi.gaiia-*.

2. *AİßISRŪΘRIMA-*

2.1. *Formation*

Morphologically, *aīßisrūθrima-* is a formation with suffix *-ima-* from a noun **aīßi-srūθra-*.² The latter is a derivative with suffix *-θra-* from a verbal root *sru* or *srū* in the zero

¹ Cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* I 25 ff. These five time divisions are used during the summer months. In winter, however, there are only four, as *hāuuani-* and *rapiθβina-* merge into one, called *hāuuani- ratu-*, see on this Boyce 1968. The order in which the individual sections are listed above agrees with that of *N* 46-51 and is probably older and more original than the one starting with *hāuuani- ratu-*, cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* I 32-33 and Hintze, forthcoming.

² Following a suggestion by Reichelt 1901, 121, Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 94 considers a stem *aīßisrūθra-* to be attested in *FiO* 27b, where he corrects *aīßisrūθrim* to *aīßisrūθrām*. However, as argued by Klingenschmitt, *FiO* 755, the transmitted form *aīßisrūθrim* probably stands for a form of *Av. aīßisrūθrima-*. For similar corruptions cf. the variant reading *aīßisrūθrām* of the mss. Pt1 O3 L18 K19 in *G* 4.5 for correct *aīßisrūθrimām*.

grade with preverb *aīfi*. Since there is otherwise no evidence for a root *srū* in Indo-Iranian,³ it must be assumed that the root is *sru*, and that *-srū-* in *aīḥisrūθrima-* is a conventional spelling for **aīḥisruθrima-*, with unetymological but consistent *-ū-* instead of *-u-*.

The suffix Ilr. **-tra-* usually forms neuter nouns and may be attached to a root in either the full grade or the zero grade. Originally the ablaut grade of the root depended probably on the accent. When the suffix **-tra-* is attached to an accented full grade root, the formation may denote an instrument with which the action is performed, cf. e.g. Ved. *śrótra-*, Av. *°sraoθra-* ‘ear’ from the root Ilr. **ćru* ‘to hear’; Ved. *mántra-* m., Av. *maqθra-* m. ‘formula’ (literally: ‘instrument for thinking’) from the root Ilr. **man* ‘to think’. Another meaning of the formation is that of a place where the action denoted by the verb happens, e.g. Ved. *kṣétra-* ‘field, ground’, OAv. *šōiθra-* ‘district’, from the root Ved. *kṣi*, Av. *ši* ‘to dwell’ (*AiGr.* II 2, p. 701-703).

Nouns which are accented on the suffix are usually verbal abstracts. Here, too, the root may be either in the full or in the zero grade (cf. with full grade root Ved. *hotrá-* n., Av. *zaoθra-* n. ‘(office of) libating, libation’ from Ilr. **ǵu* ‘to pour’; Ved. *kṣatrá-* n., Av. *xšaθra-* n. ‘rule’ from Ilr. **kš(H)a-* ‘to rule’;⁴ Av. *sraoθra-* n. ‘recitation’ from *sru* ‘to hear’). Examples for verbal abstracts with suffix *-tra-* attached to the zero grade root include Ved. *vṛtrá-* n. ‘resistance’, Av. *vərəθra-* n. ‘resistance, victory’ from the root Ilr. **ur̥* ‘to enclose, ward off’ (*AiGr.* II 2, p. 704, 708 f.). The same root may form verbal abstracts in *-tra-* from both zero and full grade roots. For instance, from the Av. root *uruuis* ‘to turn’, there is a zero grade noun *uruuištra-* n. ‘disaster’ (literally: ‘turning’, *AirWb.* 1547), and a full grade **uruuaēštra-* underlying the adjective *fraouruuaēštrima-* ‘characterized by the return (of cattle)’ (*AirWb.* 997). The latter is marked by the same suffix as *aīḥisrūθrima-*.

The complex Av. suffix *-θrima-*, consisting of a suffix *-ima-* attached to the suffix *-θra-* (< Ilr. **-tra-*), goes back to Indo-Iranian, too, as it has its exact equivalent in Vedic *-trima-*, equally a suffix conglomerate from *-tra-* and *-ima-*. This suffix forms adjectives whose basic meaning is ‘made or completed through the action denoted by the verb’. Nouns in Ved. *-trima-/ -trima-*, Av. *-θrima-* are usually formed from the zero grade root, although there are also instances with full grade root. Vedic examples for full grade formations include *khanītrima-* ‘made by digging’, from Ved. *khanītra-* ‘shovel’ from root *khan* ‘to dig’, and for zero grade formations *kr̥trima-* ‘artificial’ from root *kr̥* ‘to make’, *pūtrima-* ‘purified’ from *pū* ‘to purify’, and others (*AiGr.* II 2, p. 708, 710 f. § 525).

In the Avesta, there are altogether three formations with suffix *-θrima-*, which are only attested in Younger Avestan. Apart from those already mentioned, i.e. *aīḥisrūθrima-*, from zero grade root, and *fraouruuaēštrima-*, from full grade root, there is *aiiāθrima-*, a well-documented name of the divinity of the fourth season and of the five-day feast celebrated at the end of that season. The latter occurs always next to forms of *fraouruuaēštrima-*.⁵ All these nouns characterize a certain period of time. According to this pattern,

³ An IE root **kleuH* ‘to purify’ appears to be continued in Lithuanian and perhaps in Old Latin, see *LIV* 289 f.

⁴ Mayrhofer, *EWaia* I 426, 421.

⁵ The meaning of *aiiāθrima-* was convincingly established by Roth 1880, 703-705 as describing the

Av. *aīβisrūθrima-* should be an adjective⁶ characterizing the ‘time’ (*ratu-*) of *aibi.gaiia-* as that which is ‘made or completed through the action of *aīβi-sru*’.

2.2. The root in *aīβisrūθrima-*

While the suffix of *aīβisrūθrima-* is transparent, the problem with establishing a basic meaning lies with the identification of the verbal root *sru*, underlying the formation. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 94 suggests tentatively that this root belongs with the adjective *sruuant-* ‘creeping’ attested in *FiO* 12 and in *Vd* 7.27 (*AirWb.* 1649). Being semantically similar to the expression *raocanhām fragati-* in *FiO* 27b, which denotes the gradual approach of the lights at dawn, the noun *aīβisrūθrima-* would lexicalize the idea of the night’s gradual approach. Etymologically, he connects the underlying root *sru*, as a formation with an *-u*-enlargement, with Vedic *tsar* ‘creep on, sneak’ (cf. Bartholomae, *IF* 9 (1898), 276).

The present participle *sruuant-* is translated as *’wšt’p /ōštāp/* ‘oppressing’ in *FiO* 12 (= Klingenschmitt 516), and the compound *upa.sruuant-* in *Vd* 7.27 as *QDM ’wšt’p kl /abar ōštāp kar/* ‘making oppression, oppressing’. Gershevitch, *Mithra* 183, supposing that the Pahlavi version renders the true meaning of the Avestan word, translates *sruuant-* accordingly as ‘pressing’. He rejects Bartholomae’s connection of Av. *sruuant-* with Ved. *tsar* and posits instead a new Avestan root **sru* ‘to press’, which he sees also in the first member of the Av. compounds *srao-γna-*, *srao-raθa-*, *srao-tanū-* and *srauuā-šəmna-*. However, as he does not provide any further identification of such postulated root, which would be homonymous with *sru* ‘to hear’, it appears that this explanation is based on an ad hoc assumption. In any case, he does not refer to *aīβisrūθrima-*.

A homonymous root ²*sru* is also postulated by Waag 1941, 120. He considers *aīβisrūθrima-* as a *-θrima-* derivative from a verb *aīβi-sru-* and compares the latter to the Ved. verb *pra-śru-*, which forms a causative present *pra-śrāvaya-*, identical with that of the root *śru* ‘to hear’. Nevertheless, *pra-śru-* would belong to a different root *śru* whose present *pra-śrāvaya-* meant ‘to bring forward’. Av. *aīβi-srūθrima-* would denote the evening time, its basic meaning being that of ‘driving home’ the herds from the pastures (‘Heimtrieb der Herden von der Weide’). However, the assumption of a second Vedic root ²*śru* cannot be substantiated as all the attestations of *pra-śru* may well belong with *śru* ‘to hear’.⁷

The most obvious solution is to identify *sru-* in *aīβisrūθrima-* with the well-attested Av. verb *sru* ‘to hear’, which forms a compound *aīβi-sru* in the Avesta. This was suggested by Darmesteter, *ZA* I 26 n. 6 and Geiger, *Civilization* 155 n. 5, but rejected by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 94. While Geiger posits the meaning of underlying **aīβisrūθra-* as ‘watch, guard’, Darmesteter is more faithful to the meaning of the verb *sru* ‘to hear’ and

time when the cattle is driven back home from the summer pastures in the mountains. Similarly, *fraouruuāēštrima-* referred to the return of cattle. On the practice of alpine type transhumance in modern Afghanistan cf. Witzel 2000, 327; on the Gāhānbārs Geiger, *Civilisation* 148-151; Boyce 1970, 519, 524.

⁶ It is unnecessary to posit two stems, as done by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 94, according to whom most of the attestations belong to a masculine noun denoting the deity of the fourth out of the five priestly time divisions.

⁷ Mayrhofer, *EWAia* II 667 and *KEWA* III 374 with references; Renou, *EVP* 12, 98.

observes that both parts of the name *aīβisrūθrima-* *aibigaiia-* probably referred to the recitation of the Gathas, although their sense remained obscure. Geldner, *Studien zum Avesta* I 50 n. 3, too, identifies the underlying root as *sru* ‘to hear’ and interprets *aīβisrūθrima-* as ‘die lauschigste (*aiwi-sru*), stillste Zeit der Nacht’. Kellens 1996, 67 n. 25 follows Darmesteter in supposing that the expression *aīβisrūθrima aibigaiia* “semble fondé sur la complémentarité écouter–chanter”.

2.3. The verb *aīβi-sru* ‘to listen’ in the Avesta and its correspondence in the *R̥gveda*

It appears from what has been said so far that the compound *aīβi-sru* ‘to listen’ is the most likely candidate for the underlying verb from which *aīβisrūθrima-* is ultimately derived. The verb *aīβi-sru* is well attested in the Avesta and the compound is also found in a nominal derivative in the *R̥gveda*. In order to determine the more precise meaning of *aīβisrūθrima-*, the attestations of these compounds need to be examined.

In Avestan, the verb *aīβi-sru* is attested altogether five times (*AirWb.* 1641). Four of the relevant passages are in the *Nērangestān* (once *auui* . . . *sru* *N* 24) and one in *Vd* 3.40. *N* 24 is about simultaneous recitation by two priests. Here the verb describes the objectionable behaviour of a priest who, while celebrating the *Yasna* (*Haptaŋhāiti*, see n. 10), listens to the recitation of the other priest instead of concentrating on his own recitation.⁸ Such listening does not ‘please the Ratus’:

N 24 *yā yasnəm* ⁺*yazənti*
⁺*afsmainiiuuq vā vacastaštiiuuat vā*
uua ⁺*ratufriia*
ham.sru ⁺*vācīiāda* ⁺*yazənti*
⁺*uua aratufriia*

ka ⁺*ham.sru* ⁺*vācimca*
ya ⁺*haka* ⁺*āmrūtō*
afsmainiiuuqna ⁺*vacastaštiiuuatca*
auui ⁺*ainiīō* ⁺*surunuaiti nōi* ⁺*ainiīō*
aēšō ratufriš yō nōi ⁺*aīβi.surunuaiti*

If they celebrate⁹ the Worship¹⁰

⁸ Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 51 n. 95 comment that priests in Naosari are still trained to concentrate entirely on their own recitation and ignore that of other priests next to them in the ritual precinct.

⁹ The readings of the mss. TD and HJ *yazəbanti* (the first time) and *yezīatuuā*, i.e. *yezīat-uua* (the second time) are obviously corrupt. Waag 1941, 49 emends ⁺*yazōiti*, ⁺*yezōiti*, forms which do not exist since the optative, if that is what Waag intended, takes secondary endings. Humbach 1961, 108 only objects against Waag’s conjectures that one would expect a dual form and proposes instead a reading ⁺*yazōite*, which, however, is as little a dual form as Waag’s *yazōiti* and is, moreover, equally non-existent. Just as in other passages where the relative pronoun introduces a conditional clause (*AirWb.* 1220), a form in the indicative is expected also here. The syntactic context of *N* 24 requires furthermore a dual form, since the verb should agree with the preceding dual *yā* (thus interpreted by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1218) and the following duals *uua* and (*a*)*ratufriia*. A 3rd ind. pres. dual of *yaz* should be either *yazaēte* in the middle or *yazātō* in the active (cf. Kellens, *Verbe* av. 212–213). The latter is what Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 48, 50

in verse lines¹¹ or in stanzas,
 both of them satisfy the Ratus.
 If they celebrate while listening to one another's words,¹²
 both of them do not satisfy the Ratus.

And what (is) 'listening to one another's words?' –
 When both pronounce¹³ simultaneously
 in verse lines¹¹ and in stanzas¹⁴

conjecture, in support of which they refer back to (equally emended) *srāuuiiatō* in *N* 23. Their emendation is certainly justified, especially in view of the form's syntactic context which calls for a dual verbal form. The problem with such correction is, however, that it is not at all supported by the manuscripts, which suggest a 3rd pl. ending *-ənti*. Closest to the manuscript readings remains Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1812 and 1277 with his emendation of a 3rd pl. ⁺*yazənti*, which is accepted by Kellens, *Verbe av.* 104, 214. This is after all perhaps the most likely solution. It requires, however, the additional assumption of a grammatical irregularity in so far as the verb in the 3rd plural does not agree with its subject, which is in the dual. Such ungrammatical feature could be accounted for by reference to the relatively late date of the *Nērangestān*.

¹⁰Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 49 translate 'both perform the act of worship'. However, as suggested by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1272 with n. 2, it appears that *yasnəm* refers here to the *Yasna Haptan̄hāiti*, as it does clearly in *N* 22 and some other Av. and Pahl. passages. If this is so, the description of the recitation of the *YH* as 'in verse lines and/or in stanzas' in *N* 24, throws further light on the style of this text, which was characterized by Narten, *YH* 21 as liturgical recitation prose close to poetry. Watkins 1995, 229–236 further observes that the *YH* exhibits a type of literature structured not by a syllable counting metre, as the Gathas, but by a variety of rhythmic patterns and rhetorical figures, both of which follow an inherited model of traditional liturgical recitation.

¹¹The manuscript readings are here *afsmaintiia* HJ, *afsmaintiian* TD (the first time) and *afsmantiiuuanca* HJ, *afsmantiiuuanca* TD (the second time). Waag's 1941, 49 emendation ⁺*afsmanuua* is unnecessary, cf. the critical remarks by Humbach 1961, 109, since this word was ingeniously analyzed by Hoffmann 1958, 10 as the Avestan spelling of original *afsma ni-yuvā* (i.e. *afsma niuuā*), a syntagma consisting of the acc. sg. of the neuter noun *afsman-* 'verse-line' and the nom. sg. m. of the Avestan equivalent of the Vedic present participle *ni-yuvant-* of the verb *ni-yu* 'to join, bestow'. Hoffmann–Narten 48 n. 45 further support this interpretation by adducing *Yt* 8.9 *rāma-niūuā*, which they analyze as *rāma-ni-juuā*, a nom. sg. m. of either the same participle or of a formation with suffix *-uan-*. Panaino, *Tištīya* 102 adduces also *bāmaniuua-* 'radiant', cf. Mayrhofer, *EWAla* II 402 with further references. Hoffmann–Narten cautiously suggest that the whole phrase *afsma niuuā vacastašiiuua* may be interpreted as 'yoking the poetry (*afsman-*) in metrical form'. The second *afsmantiiuuanca* in *N* 24 could accordingly be corrected to ⁺*afsmantiiuuanca*, a nom. dual m. of the same participle agreeing with the 3rd dual ⁺*āmṛūtō*. However, this idea is not supported by the context of *N* 24, because *afsmantiiuua* and *vacastašiiuua* are coordinated, as two distinct expressions, first by disjunctive *vā . . . vā* and the second time by the enclitic conjunction *-ca . . . -ca*.

¹²The stem of this noun is probably ^o*vāciia-*, cf. the following ^o*vacimca*. Waag's 1941, 49 emendation for transmitted *vācāiāda* HJ, *vācāiāsi* TD is justified, although a spelling *-aii-* instead of *-ii-*, as supposed by Bartholomae, *GIP* 155, § 268.11, and *AirWb.* 1811–1812 is also possible.

¹³The correction of *ārmūtō* to *āmṛūtō* brings the text in agreement with the Pahlavi translation *gōwēnd* and goes back to Darmesteter, *ZA* III 95, n. 5, cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1194, 1196 n. 7; Kellens, *Verbe av.* 212.

¹⁴The form *vacasta* of the mss. was corrected by Darmesteter, *ZA* III 94 (*vacastašiiuua*) and Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1340 (*vacastašiiuua*).

(and) one¹⁵ listens,¹⁶ but the other one does not,
that one pleases the Ratus who does not listen.¹⁷

The Ratus are pleased, in contrast, when the priest listens to his own recitation. *N* 26 is about the voice's volume with which the Gathas should be recited. When reciting them, the priest should raise his voice to such a level of audibility that he can hear (*aiβi-sru*) himself 'with his own ears':

N 26 *yō gāθā² srāuuaiieiti*
apō vā paitiš.x'aine
raoðarhō vā⁺ kərəsanəm vā⁺ gaðō.tinəm [vā]
⁺ gaēbanəm vā vāsiiantanəm
yezi⁺ huuaēibiia⁺ ušibiia⁺ aiβi.surunuuaiti ratufriš
yezi āat nōit huuaēibiia ušibiia aiβi.surunuuaiti apatiāt
yezi⁺ apōit
āat nōit⁺ apōit
aētaða⁺ maðəmiia⁺ vaca framarəmnō ratufriš

If one recites the Gathas

while there is an interfering noise either of water,
or of a stream, or of highwaymen, or of bandits,¹⁸
or of lowing¹⁹ livestock.²⁰

He pleases the Ratus when he can hear²¹ (himself) with his own ears.²²

¹⁵The mss. readings *auui ciiō* (HJ) and *auuaciiō* (TD) were corrected to ⁺*auui aniiō* by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 136, 138 n. 6.

¹⁶The mss. transmit 3rd pl. *surunuuainti* (TD, HJ) and *surunauuainti* (T58). Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 136 emends a 3rd sg. ⁺*surunuuaiti* (so also Kellens, *Verbe av.* 170 and Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 50), which would be used here instead of a dual form, but *ibid.* 1641 he reads *surunuuainti*, a "plural instead of sg."

¹⁷The mss. read *srunāiti* (TD) and *srunaiti* (HJ, T58). Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1641, 1643 with nn. 20–21 emends this into thematic *aiβi.srunuuaiti*, cf. Kellens, *Verbe av.* 170 (*surunuuaiti*).

¹⁸The form ⁺*gaðō.tinəm* was restituted by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 488 f. On the stem *gaðō.ti-* 'bandit', see Hoffmann 1967, 182. The insertion of the third *vā* in this line is supported by the coordination of the two words in *Yt* 11.6 and in *N* 53 *kərəsqasca gaðōitišca*.

¹⁹Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1417 does not give any analysis of the transmitted word *vāsiiantanəm* HJ. Kellens 1983, 90 restores ⁺*āiiantinəm*, i.e. ⁺**āiieitinəm*, referring to the Pahlavi translation *āyišnih* 'passing'. More likely is Waag's 1941, 51 suggestion to identify the verb as *vās* 'to low', cf. Mayrhofer, *EWaia* II 547. There is, however, no need to correct with Waag ⁺*vāsaiiatəm* (edited also by Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 54) from a present stem *vāsaiia-*, because the corresponding Vedic *vāsaya-* has causative meaning 'make bellow', see Jamison 1983, 166. As a causative meaning does not make sense in the context of *N* 26, one should read with HJ *vāsiiantanəm*. The additional space left in the ms. HJ after the *s* and before the *ii* is probably insignificant. The latter form is gen. pl. of the participle of the present stem *vāsii-*, which equals Vedic *vāśya-* 'to low', cf. on the latter Gotō 1987, 297 with n. 706, who refers to Khotanese *nvāśś-* 'to make a noise'.

²⁰On the basis of the Pahlavi translation *gēhān*, the form *gaēbanəm* was restituted by Darmesteter, *ZA* III 96 n. 4 for *gābanəm* of the mss.; so also Kellens 1983, 89 f.

²¹The form ⁺*aiβi.surunuuaiti* (edited e.g. by Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 54) is corrected from transmitted *aiβi.srunuuaiti* (TD HJ) and *aiβi.srunauuaiti* (T58). The spelling *sru-* instead of *suru-* is only found in late texts, see Narten 1982, 147 n. 11, who gives an explanation for the origin of the Younger Avestan present stem *surunu-* (instead of ⁺**sərənu-*).

²²For the emendations ⁺*huuaēibiia* and ⁺*ušibiia*, cf. Kotwal–Kreyenbroek 54.

If he cannot hear (himself) with his own ears, let him reach (the necessary level of sound),
if he can reach it.

But if he cannot reach it,

then he pleases the Ratus recalling (the Gathas) with a medium (loud) voice.

In *N* 60, too, the verb *aiβi-sru* refers to the hearing of the recitation as a meritorious act which pleases the Ratus. Here the verb denotes the mutual hearing of the recitation of the sacred texts by several members of the same household:

N 60 *yō aēuuō haδō.gaēθanəm*
barəsmaca ⁺*frastərənte*
gəušca ⁺*paiti.baraiti*
aδāt aniiē aṇtarāt naēmāt hāθrahe
⁺*vacāasca* ⁺*framrauuaīnti*
gauuāstriiāca varəšnā ⁺*vərəziṇti*
vīspaēšamca aiβisrunuuaīti
vīspe ratufriiō
yezi āāt nōit aiβisrunuuaīti
aēšō ⁺*ratufriš*
yō barəsmā ⁺*frastərənte*
gəušca paiti baraiti

If one member of a household
spreads out the sacrificial straw
and brings an offering from the cow,
while, within the distance of a *hāθra-*, the others
pronounce²³ the words²⁴
and do the works of pasture
and they hear²⁵ (the recitation) of all,
then they all please the Ratus.
But if they do not hear (the recitation of all),
then only that one pleases the Ratus
who spreads out²⁶ the sacrificial straw
and brings an offering from the cow.

²³The form ⁺*framrauuaīnti* was corrected by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1195 from transmitted *framauuaīnti* (HJ). It could be either an athematic present subjunctive or a thematic indicative. The latter is found in the imperative ^o*mrauua* (instead of *mrūiḍi*), ind. middle ^o*mrauuaite*, inj. middle ^o*mrauuaṇta*. Nearly all these thematic forms listed by Kellens, *Verbe av.* 98 occur in the expression *uštātātəm ni-mrū*, except for the imperative *fra-mr(a)uua* (*Vd*). The latter shows that thematisation is also found outside that formula, and *N* 60 ⁺*framrauuaīnti* should probably be added to the list of thematic forms.

²⁴The ms. HJ reads here *vacāasca*, which Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1342 corrects to a plural *vacāasca*.

²⁵The 3rd sg. *aiβisrunuuaīti* is probably used here instead of the 3rd pl. (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1641), cf. the following *aiβisrunuuaīti*.

²⁶The form ⁺*frastərənte* was corrected by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1596, 1597 from transmitted *frastərənti*. Kellens, *Verbe av.* 177, 179 n. 16 comments that the transmitted form may be corrupt for either an active 3rd sg. *fra-stərənāiti* or a middle 3rd sg. *fra-stərənte*.

Thus in the three *Nērangestān* passages, the verb *aiβi-sru* denotes the listening to the recitation of the sacred texts. Slightly different is the meaning in *Vd* 3.40, where *aiβi-sru* refers to the listening to the teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion. The passage is about the expiation of the guilt resulting from defiling the earth by burying the dead body of a dog or of a human being and leaving it there for two years without digging it out again (*Vd* 3.38). Such misdeed cannot be expiated (*Vd* 3.39), except if the guilty person either already is a Mazdayasnian, or afterwards avows the Mazdayasnian religion and in future desists from such defiling actions:

Vd 3.40 *kuua aēuua*
yezi aṇhaṭ
āstūtō vā aiβi.srauuano vā
daēṇam māzdaiiasnīm
āaṭ yezi aṇhaṭ
anāstūtō vā anaiβi.srauuano vā
daēṇam māzdaiiasnīm
aētācīt aēibiiō spāṇhaite
āstauuanaēibiiō daēṇam māzdaiiasnīm
əuuəzəzəṇbiiō pascaēta araθβiia šiiəoθna

‘Under which conditions (may the misdeed be expiated)?’ –

‘If someone has

either avowed or has been instructed
 in the Mazdayasnian religion.

And if someone

has not avowed or has not been instructed
 in the Mazdayasnian religion,

it will eliminate the (guilt) of those
 who avow the Mazdayasnian religion (now),
 as long as they do not perform unlawful actions afterwards’.

Here the nominal forms *aiβi.srauuana-* and *anaiβi.srauuana-*, which are originally middle participles of the root aorist, describe the activity of listening to the teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion. In the Avestan passages discussed above the verb *aiβi-sru* denotes the listening to the recitation of the sacred texts and to the teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion. The compound with *aiβi* appears to mean a particularly *attentive* listening.

In Vedic, *sru* with the preverb *abhi* is found only in the nominal Vṛddhi-derivative *a-bhi-srāvā-* ‘hearing, listening’, which is attested twice and only in the R̥gveda. In both passages, it denotes the listening of the divine couple Heaven and Earth to the singer’s hymn:

RV 1.185.10a *ṛtām divē tād avocam pṛthivyā abhiśrāvāya prathamām sumedhāḥ /*
 I, of good wisdom, have spoken this right (word) to Heaven and Earth to listen to first.

RV 10.12.1a *dyāvā ha kṣāmā prathamē ṛtēnābhiśrāvē bhavataḥ satyavācā /*
 Heaven and Earth, who speak the truth, are rightly the first in listening.

The semantic component of ‘attentive’ listening is thus also present in the Vedic compound. Assuming that the Avestan verb *aiβi-sru* ‘to listen’ underlies the formation of *aiβisrūrōrima-*, the literal meaning of **aiβi-srūrōra-* as a verbal abstract should be ‘attentive

listening'. For *aīβisrūθrima-*, we may accordingly posit a basic meaning of 'made or completed through the action of attentive listening (*aīβi-sru*)'. The adjective characterizes *aibi.gaiia-* as the 'time' (*ratu-*) characterized by 'attentive listening'.

3. *AIBIGAIIA-*

In contrast to *aīβisrūθrima-*, which is a regular Younger Avestan form, showing the sound change of the intervocalic stop *-b-* to fricative *-β-*, the labial stop is consistently retained in the compound *aibi.gaiia-*, which thus appears to be an Old Avestan loan word in the Younger Avesta.²⁷ The Old Avestan character of this name is further substantiated by the lengthened word final vowel of the preverb in the variant reading *aibī.gaiiāi* of K4 in Y 1.6. However, the precise meaning of *aibigaiia-* is usually considered as obscure as that of *aīβisrūθrima-*.²⁸

On purely formal grounds, the second part of the compound *aibi.gaiia-* could be a derivative with suffix **-ia-* from either *jī* 'to live' or from one of the two homonymous Avestan roots *gā* 'to step' and 'to sing'. The first of these three possibilities can be excluded immediately because, for semantic reasons, it is unlikely that the well-attested noun *gaiia-* 'life', derived from *jī* 'to live', constitutes the second part of *aibigaiia-*.

Of the root *gā* 'to step, to put one's foot' (*AirWb.* 517), a noun *gāiia-* 'step' (as a measure) is only found in *FiO* 27a (= Klingenschmitt, *FiO* 736). While in Avestan the root does not occur with the preverb *aibi* or *aīβi*, it has that preverb in the Vedic verb *abhi-gā* 'to approach, come to, enter'. If *aibigaiia-* was a derivative from that verb, its basic meaning should be something like 'approach' or 'coming towards'. One could argue that this may refer to the 'gradual approach' of the night, and thus achieve a meaning similar to that suggested by Bartholomae for *aīβi.srūθrima-* (*AirWb.* 94, see above 2.2.). However, it would be very difficult to find a reason why the word should have an Old Avestan sound shape.

Although this second possibility cannot be entirely excluded, both formally and semantically more promising is the connection of *aibi.gaiia-* with *gā* 'to sing',²⁹ which in Avestan is found only in nominal compounds and derivatives. This connection proves particularly fruitful for two reasons. First it allows to establish matching sets of pairs between different compounds with *gā* 'to sing' and *sru* 'to hear'. Second, an explanation for the Old Avestan sound shape of the preverb *aibi* becomes possible.

Both verbs, *gā* 'to sing' and *sru* 'to hear', form compounds with *fra* besides those with *aibi* and *aīβi*, thus yielding the following proportion: the derivative *fra-gāθra-* 'chanting' occurs next to *fra-sraoθra-* 'recitation' as *aibi.gaiia-* is found next to *aīβi.srūθrima-*. However, the pair of the compounds with *fra* is not as tightly coupled as that of those with *aibi/aīβi*, because the former belongs to a liturgical formula together with two other nouns of praise, namely *framārəθra-* 'recollection, recitation with subdued voice' and *frāiiašti-* 'praising', e.g. in

²⁷ This was already noted by Spiegel, *Commentar* II 58; see also Hoffmann 1969, 25 n. 2.

²⁸ Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 88; Hoffmann 1969, 25 n. 2.

²⁹ A connection of *aibi.gaiia-* with the root *gā* 'to sing' was suggested by Darmesteter, *ZA* I 26 with reference to the noun *gāθā-* 'hymn', derived from the same root, and by Spiegel, *Commentar* II 58.

*Y 55.7 bayam staotanəm yesniianəm yazamaide
staotanəm yesniianəm yazamaide
frasraoθrəmca framarəθrəmca fragāθrəmca frāiiaštīmca*

We worship the part (consisting) of the *Staota Yesniia*.
Of the *Staota Yesniia* we worship
the loud recitation, the recitation with subdued voice, the chanting and the praising.

The same sequence is also found in *Y 20.5*, *Vr 3.7* and *Vr 13.3*. In addition, *frasraoθra-* occurs on its own in syntactic parallel with *staoθβa-* ‘praise’ and *frāiiašta-* ‘well-prayed’, both nouns equally denoting the liturgical recitation, in *Vr 2.6* and in

*Vr 1.4 niuuaēḍaiemi haṅkāraiemi
sarəḍaēibiiō ašahe ratubiiō
ahunahe vairiiehe frasraoθrahe ašaonō ašahe raθβō
niuuaēḍaiemi haṅkāraiemi
ašahe vahištahe staoθbahe ašaonō ašahe raθβō
niuuaēḍaiemi haṅkāraiemi
yejḥē.hātatiā hufrāiiaštatiā ašaoniā ašahe raθβō*

I invite, I perform
for the divinities of the year, the Ratus of truth,
for the recitation of the *Ahuna Vairiia*, the truthful Ratu of truth.
I invite, I perform
for the praise of the *Aša Vahišta*, the truthful Ratu of truth.
I invite, I perform
for the well-prayed *Yejḥē.Hātā*, the truthful Ratu of truth.

Moreover, there are also semantic differences between the compounds with *fra* and those with *aibi/aiβi*. The full-grade derivative *frasraoθra-* is based on the causative meaning of the root and denotes the recitation of the sacred texts. In contrast, the zero-grade compound with *aibi*, *aīβisrūθrima-*, refers to the attentive listening to the recitation. All four compounds with *fra*, *fra-gāθra-* and *frasraoθra-*, together with *fra-marəθra-* and *frā-iiašti-*, lexicalize different aspects of the recitation of the sacred texts, while *aibi-gaiia-* and *aīβisrūθrima-* denote two different activities, namely that of chanting, on the one hand, and that of listening, on the other. In spite of these differences, however, it is clear that the various compounds with *fra* and *aibi/aiβi* of the roots *gā* ‘to sing’ and *sru* ‘to hear’ belong to the lexical inventory of liturgical and ritual language.

A second argument in support of the connection of *aibi-gaiia-* with the root *gā* ‘to sing’ derives from the phonetic shape of its preverb *aibi*, instead of *YAv. aīβi-* or *auui-*.³⁰ For if *aibi-gaiia-* belongs with *gā* ‘to sing’, then it shares this feature with a semantically similar group of nouns derived from the verb *aibi-gar* ‘to welcome, greet’, namely the root noun *aibi-gar-* ‘welcome’, the *-ti*-abstract *aibi.jarəti-* f. ‘welcome’, the adjective *aibi-gairiia-* ‘to be welcomed’, and the agent noun *aibi.jarətar-* m. ‘welcomer’. With one exception, all of them are only found in Younger Avestan but consistently exhibit the Old

³⁰ See above with n. 27.

Avestan form *aibi* instead of *aiβi*. The only Old Avestan attestation is the agent noun *aibi.jaratar-* in the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti* (Y 35.2). As was convincingly argued by J. Narten, the entire family of *aibi.jar* belongs to the technical terminology of praise in the Avestan ritual language and denotes the welcoming and greeting of Ahura Mazdā and his good creations during the ritual worship.³¹ Forming part of that inventory of ritual language, these words have retained their Old Avestan forms even in the Younger Avesta.

The same reasoning could be applied to the noun *aibi-gaiia-*, although it is the only representative of compounds of *gā* with *aibi*. However, that the root *gā* ‘to sing’ provided forms of the liturgical and ritual language is not only documented by the compound *fra-gāθra-*, discussed above, but indeed by the noun *gāθā-*, the name of the most sacred liturgical texts of the entire Avestan literature. Like *aibi-jar* and its derivatives, *aibi-gaiia-* is accordingly a loanword specifically from the ritual language of praise of Old Avestan.

4. *AIβISRŪΘRIMA- AIBIGAIIA-* AS THE NAME OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE NIGHT

It has been argued above that the expression *aiβisrūθrima- aibigaiia-* describes two aspects of the same process. These are that of ‘singing of’, or ‘praising’ (*aibi-gā*), Ahura Mazdā and all his good creations by reciting from the Avesta, on the one hand, and that of attentive listening (*aiβi-sru*) to the singing or recitation of the sacred Avestan texts, on the other. Both aspects of this activity are referred to in all three *Nērangestān* passages where the verb *aiβi-sru* is attested, although the ‘singing of’ (*aibi-gā*) Ahura Mazdā is not referred to.³² Instead, the passages mention the recitation of the sacred texts. The latter activity is denoted by the verbs *ā-mrū* ‘speak, pronounce’ (N 24), *srāuuaiia-* ‘recite’ (N 26) and *fra-mrū* ‘speak, pronounce’ (+*vacāśca* +*framrauuiānti* N 60).

The contexts of the attestations in N 24 and N 26 differ from that in N 60 in so far as the two former passages are about the recitation by two chief priests (*zōt*). N 24 states that a *zōt* should concentrate on his own recitation and not on that of the other priest reciting nearby. Similarly N 26 enjoins that a priest should be able to hear his own recitation of the Gathas. N 60, in contrast, appears to refer to the recitation of Zoroastrians at home in their families. Those who participate in the domestic ritual may, at the same time, carry on with their daily work, but the passage states clearly that for the ritual action to be successful it is decisive that all those who recite the sacred texts can hear one another’s recitation (*vīspaēšamca aiβisrunuaiti*).

But why were *aibi-gā* ‘to sing of’ and *aiβi-sru* ‘to listen attentively’ used as the bases to form the name of the evening time? N 60 could perhaps provide an answer to this question if we assume that the time of the family recitations of the sacred texts, as referred to in N 60, were the evening hours. It would be the time when members of a household return home, so as to be all ‘within the distance of one *hāθra-*’ and praise Ahura Mazdā, while carrying on with their ‘works of pasture’ nearby, as described in that passage.

³¹ On the meanings of these compounds, see Narten, YH 88-90.

³² It emerges from the Vedic attestations of the verb *abhi gā* that the name of the divinity is the object of this verb, e.g. RV 8.32.13 *tām indram abhi gāyata* ‘sing of this Indra!’.

The name of the evening section of the Zoroastrian day, *aiβisrūθrima- aibigaiia- ratu-*, means accordingly ‘the time of chanting characterized by attentive listening’. Both *aiβi-srūθrima-* and *aibi-gaiia-* belong to the ritual language of praise. Thus, not only is the name of the beginning of the day, *hāuuani-*, derived from the inventory of ritual language but so is also that of the beginning of the night, *aiβisrūθrima- aibigaiia-*. While *hāuuani-* characterizes the priestly ritual, *aiβisrūθrima- aibigaiia-* refers to that of the lay Zoroastrians. By contrast, the names of the other day sections originate from either natural phenomena (*ušahina-*, *uzaiieirina-*) or human custom (*rapiθβina-*).

REFERENCES

- AiGr.* see Wackernagel, *AiGr.*
AirWb. see Bartholomae, *AirWb.*
 Bartholomae, *AirWb.* = Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Straßburg 1904; repr. Berlin 1979).
 Bartholomae, *GIP* = Ch. Bartholomae, *Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen*. Awestasprache und Altperisch, in W. Geiger, E. Kuhn (ed.), *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, vol. 1.1 (Straßburg 1895-1901), 1-248.
 Boyce, M., 1968. Rapiθwin, Nō Rūz, and the feast of Sade, in J. C. Heesterman, G. H. Schokker, V. I. Subramoniam (ed.), *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague-Paris), 201-215.
 Boyce, M., 1970. On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts, *BSOAS* 33, 513-539.
 Darmesteter, *ZA* = J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* (Paris 1892, 1892, 1893, repr. 1960), 3 vols.
 Geiger, *Civilization* = W. Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Irānians in ancient times*, transl. by D. P. Sanjana (London 1885).
 Geldner, K. F., 1882. *Studien zum Avesta*, vol. 1 (Straßburg).
 Gershevitch, *Mithra* = I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra. With an introduction, translation and commentary* (Cambridge 1959; repr. 1967).
 Gotō, T., 1987. *Die I. Präsenstklasse im Vedischen. Untersuchungen der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzel-präsentia* (SÖAW 489, Wien).
 Hintze, A., forthcoming. On the compositional structure of the Avestan Gāhs, in F. Vahman (ed.), *Religious texts in Iranian languages* (Copenhagen [2003]).
 Hoffmann, K., 1958. Altiranisch, in *Iranistik. Linguistik* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.4.1, Leiden), 1-19 (= *Aufs.* I 58-76).
 Hoffmann, K., 1967. *Av. upa.mraōdāscā* N. 53, in G. Wiessner (ed.), *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden) 177-188 (= *Aufs.* I 195-206).
 Hoffmann, K., 1969. Die av. Verbalformen *jauua* Yt 5,63, *niδātaē-ca* Yt 13,66 und *fraδātaē-ca* Yt 13,68, in *Studia classica et orientalia A. Pagliaro oblata*, vol. 3 (Roma), 17-39 (= *Aufs.* I 258-273).
 Hoffmann, *Aufs.* = K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik* (Wiesbaden 1975, 1976, 1992), 3 vols.
 Hoffmann-Narten = K. Hoffmann, J. Narten, *Der sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen* (Wiesbaden 1989).
 Humbach, H., 1961. ‘Textkritische und sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Nirangistān, KZ 77, 106-111.
 Jamison, S. W., 1983. *Function and form in the -āya-formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda* (Ergänzunghefte zur Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 31, Göttingen).
 Kellens, J., 1983. Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite du Nirangistān avestique, *MSS* 42, 75-95.
 Kellens, J., 1996. Commentaire sur les premiers chapitres du Yasna, *JA* 284, 37-108.
 Kellens, *Noms-racines* = J. Kellens, *Les noms-racines de l’Avesta* (Wiesbaden 1974).
 Kellens, *Verbe av.* = J. Kellens, *Le verbe avestique* (Wiesbaden 1984).
 Klingenschmitt, *FiO* = G. Klingenschmitt, *Farhang-i ōīm. Edition und Kommentar* (Dissertation, Universität Erlangen 1968).
 Kotwal-Kreyenbroek = F. M. Kotwal, Ph. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, vol. 2, *Nērangestān, Fragard I* (Paris 1995).

- LIV = H. Rix *et al.*, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen* (Wiesbaden 1998).
- Mayrhofer, *EWAia* = M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg 1992, 1996, 2001), 3 vols.
- Mayrhofer, *KEWA* = M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg 1956, 1963, 1976, 1980), 4 vols.
- Narten, J., 1982. Die vedischen Präsensstämme *hṛnāyá-*, *hṛnīyá-* und Verwandtes, *MSS* 41, 139-149 (= *Kl. Schriften* I 263-269).
- Narten, *Kl. Schriften* = J. Narten, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, ed. M. Albino, M. Fritz (Wiesbaden 1995).
- Narten, *YH* = J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti* (Wiesbaden 1986).
- Panaino, *Tištrya* = A. Panaino, *Tištrya*, pt. 1, *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius* (Serie orientale Roma 68.1, Roma 1990).
- Reichelt, H., 1901. Der Frahang i oīm, *Vienna oriental journal* (= *WZKM*) 15, 117-186.
- Renou, *EVP* = L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* (Paris 1955-1969), 17 vols.
- Roth, R., 1880. Der Kalender des Avesta und die sogenannten Gahanbār, *ZDMG* 34, 698-720.
- Spiegel, *Commentar* = F. Spiegel, *Commentar über das Avesta*: vol.1, *Der Vendīdād*; vol. 2, *Vispered, Yaçna und Khorda Avesta* (Leipzig 1864, 1868).
- Waag, A., 1941. *Nirangistan. Der Awestatraktat über die rituellen Vorschriften* (Leipzig).
- Wackernagel, *AiGr.* = J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. II, 2, *Die Nominalsuffixe*, by A. Debrunner (Göttingen 1954).
- Watkins, C., 1995. *How to kill a dragon. Aspects of Indo-European poetics* (New York–Oxford).
- Witzel, M., 2000. The Home of the Aryans, in A. Hintze, E. Tichy (ed.), *Anusantatyai. Festschrift für Johanna Narten* (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft 19, Dettelbach), 283-338.

THE GREAT SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION

Helmut Humbach

The great inscription found on a large monolith in the ruins of the acropolis of Surkh Kotal in North Afghanistan was made known in transliteration by André Maricq, epigraphist of the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, in 1958. The inscription, which is written in Graeco-Bactrian script, two times mentions a king named Kaniška (*kanēško*). Whereas it was called Kaniška inscription of Surkh Kotal (KISK) by the present author and Nokonzok inscription by Ilya Gershevitch, Sims-Williams and Cribb (1995-1996) have introduced SK4 in their publication of the recently discovered Rabatak inscription. SK4 was the first substantial document of the Middle Iranian dialect of Bactria, which was previously only known from the coins of the Kušān rulers Kaniška, Huviška, and Vāsudeva (*kanēško*, *ooēško*, *bazodēo*) as well as from some minor inscriptional material, among which are SK1-3 and seven manuscript fragments kept in the Berlin Turfan collection.¹

The quotations from SK4 in the present article follow the segmentation into § 1 to § 10 by Gershevitch, of which § 9 is subdivided here into § 9/1-3.

1. From § 1 of Maricq's monolith (signature M) we learn that the acropolis (*ma lizo*) was called *kanēško oanindo bagolango* 'Kaniška Nicator Sanctuary'.² The Kaniška mentioned there is generally equalled to the famous 'King of Kings, Kaniška the Kušān' as he is called on the gold coinage of the Indo-Scythian Kušān dynasty (*šaonano šao kanēški košano*) and who was styled "Kaniška the Great" by Sims-Williams and Cribb.

2. Surkh Kotal is situated in ancient Bactria, which, after the Kušān dynasty had extended their rule far to the south into the heart of India, politically became a borderland. In spite of this development, which is reflected by the title *karalrango* 'lord of the marches, Kanārang',³ Bactria continued to be considered by the Kušān rulers as their homeland. This might be the reason for the more modest title *bagō šao kanēški* 'Lord, King Kaniška' given to the King of Kings in Surkh Kotal, comparable to the titulature of the Prusso-German emperors of 1871-1918, who in Prussia itself were mostly referred to

¹ A collection of the Bactrian materials known at the time is found in Humbach 1966 and 1967, not seldom with erroneous interpretations. The spellings *Kaniška* and *Huviška* are adjusted to the current Sanskrit forms of the names (*Kaniška*, *Huviška*), the spelling *Vāsudeva* is pure Sanskrit, the coins having the loan-form *Bazodēo*. Closer to the contemporary pronunciation would be *Kanišk*, *Huvišk*, *Bāzudēw*.

² Nicator = Greek *nikatōr* 'victor, conqueror' was the surname of Seleukos I. *Oanindo* 'victorious' is attested as an attribute of Kaniška on the Rabatak inscription. *Oanindo* is the name of the deity that is depicted on the coins with the attributes of the Greek *Nikē* 'Victoria'.

³ *karalrango* < Iran. **karān-dranga*- 'who secures the borders', Early NPers. *kanārang* 'governor of the provinces bordering on the lands of the former Kušān empire', cf. Henning 1960, 50-51 and n. 2. From OIr. **karān(a)*-, Av. *karan(a)*-, NPers. *kanār* 'extremity, limit, boundary', and *dranga*- 'holder'. NPers. *kanārang* is transformed into *chanarangēs* and rendered as 'stratēgos' in a Greek source.

as Prussian Kings.⁴ Yet, strangely enough, an extensive supplement to Kaniška's modest title is supplied in § 5 *šao i bagopouro* 'the King, who is the son of a god/lord'.⁵ On the whole it is not clear how much scrupulous one should be in regard of the titulature, as even Vima Kadphisēs, the predecessor of Kaniška, who is styled on the coins as King of Kings, is simply called *ooēmo kadfiso šao* 'King Vima Kadphisēs' in Rabatak.

3. The decipherment of the inscription was much impeded by its scriptio continua. After some preliminary steps undertaken by Maricq, the first considerable attempt to decipher it was made by Walter B. Henning in London (1960), at the time being the leading Iranist worldwide. According to him "the general drift of its message is clear: after its foundation by Kaniška, the sanctuary fell into disrepair and was abandoned, until in the *kšuna*-year 31 one *Nokonzoko*, a high official [i.e., a Kanārang, HH], came there and repaired and adorned the place; three other officials [viz. Burzmihr, Kozgaškipuhr, Astilogānjig, HH], of equal rank [i.e., Kanārangs as well, HH], were associated with Nokonzoko's work; the inscription itself was 'written', i.e. composed, by Mihrāmān and Burzmihrpuhr, who signed it and caused their heraldic devices to be incised after their names. The purpose of the inscription, therefore, is to celebrate Nokonzoko's restoration".⁶

4. Unfortunately Henning published his observations regarding the inscription in a fragmentary form and out of order, avoiding a coherent translation and interpretation and more or less silently or cryptically leaving open or half-open a number of manifest problems. It was left to his Cambridge colleague Ilya Gershevitch (1966 etc.) to arrange Henning's fragments in the order of the text and to fill the numerous gaps between them. Gershevitch presented a notable number of basic improvements of Henning's results, particularly concerning the technical aspect of the building of the well, but he was less fortunate when adopting Henning's translation of the introduction of the inscription (§§ 1-2) and further developing his picture of its colophon (§§ 9-10).

1. THE INTRODUCTION (§§ 1-2)

The Bactrian text of the introduction is faced below with Henning's translation (WH 1960), which was followed by Gershevitch (IG 1966, 1979) and all the other scholars who dealt with the inscription, among them also János Harmatta (1964). To § 2 the counterproposal of the present author (HH) is added.

⁴ To a certain extent the title *bago šao* recalls the title *bago pirōzo oazorko košano šao* of the Sāsānian Kušān-Šāh Pirōz (NumKS 5) and similar other titles found on the Kušāno-Sāsānian coins. The inverted sequence *šao bago* [phonetically *šāw bay*] apparently underlies *Šāba*, name of the supreme King of the Turks in Ṭabari (NPers. trsl. *Šāwa*). In the *Šāhnāme* it is corrupted to *Sāwa*, name of (1) a Turānian hero, (2) an Iranian hero, (3) a king of Cin.

⁵ A similar figure of speech is found in Rabatak, lines 18-19, where the title *šaonano šao . . . kanēške košano* is resumed in the next sentence by *bagopouro* 'the son of a god/lord'. Bactr. *bagopouro* 'son of a god/lord' has been adopted as *devaputra* in Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kušān kings. See further Humbach 1988.

⁶ Henning 1960, 48.

§ 1 *eido ma-lizo mo kanēško oanindo bagolaggo*

WH, cf. IG: This acropolis [is] the Kaniška-Nicator sanctuary,

§ 2 *sido i bago šao kanēški namobargo kirdo*

WH, cf. IG: {the sanctuary,} which the lord, king Kaniška made name-bearing (= to which he gave his name)⁷

HH: {the sanctuary,} which was built by the lord, famous/pious King Kaniška

5. Henning's translation of § 2 results in an utterly clumsy construction for which no Iranian parallel can be adduced and which produces a sort of useless tautology. It is preferable to equate the structure of *kanēški namobargo* with that of *kanēški košano* 'Kaniška the Kušān' of the coins, which has the appearance of a relative construction (Izāfet) with the rel. ptcl. -i, i.e., *kanēšk-i košano* 'Kaniška who (is) a Kušān'. As pointed out by Henning, in the contemporaneous Bactrian orthography the final -o is a historical spelling which had lost its phonetic value in the course of the development of the language, as is most manifest in contracted spellings such as *as-asko* for *aso asko* 'from above' (< OIr. *hacā uskāt*).⁸ *Kanēšk-i* could, therefore, be equivalent to *kanēško-i* in Sig5 *mauo kanēško-i zolado-šauro* 'the "moon" Kaniška whose-rule-is-given-by-Žun'.⁹

6. The adjective *namobargo* can either come from Iran. **namah-bara(ka)-* 'offering homage' (Parth. *nmb-* 'to revere') or from Iran. **nāma-bara(ka)-* 'name-bearing'. By his interpretation of the syntax of § 2, Henning felt compelled to decide for 'name-bearing', taking this as an attribute of the sanctuary.¹⁰ Yet, 'name-bearing' is an etymology which admittedly has some heuristic value, whereas the actual meaning of *namobargo* < **nāma-bara(ka)-* most probably agrees with that of NPers. *nāmwar* < **nāma-bara-* 'illustrious, famous', a frequent attribute of human heroes in the *Šāhnāme*, which very well suits the famous king. But 'offering homage > pious' with *namobargo* < **namah-bara(ka)-* is a suggestive alternative in the given context too. A definitive decision is not possible, as the Greek script does not distinguish short *a* from long *ā*.

7. In the Middle Iranian dialects the past tense of the transitive verb is formed by the transformation of the verb into the passive and its subject into the genitive, as if the only possible past of Lat. *faciō* 'I make' would be *mē factum* 'made by me = I made'. If we correctly interpreted the enigmatic hints given by Henning, then § 2 *kanēški namobargo kirdo* 'built by famous/pious Kaniška' and the coin inscription *kanēški košano* 'by Kaniška the Kušān' [to which one could supply *zado* 'struck', HH] would be appropriate examples of

⁷ Henning 1960, 52, who offers the alternative 'which was made bearing the name (= which was given the name) of the lord, king Kaniška'.

⁸ "It is possible that here and there a closing omicron expressed a vowel actually pronounced in speech at the time of the inscription; in most cases it functioned as a virtual word-divider . . . If an inflexional ending or a suffix is added to a word, the final omicron disappears" (Henning 1960, 50).

⁹ In Chinese sources, the people of the Kušāns is referred to as *yue-zhi* or *yue-shi* 'moon family', which also recalls Skt. *candra-vamśa-* 'the lunar race of kings'. Yet 'moon' could have some astrological connotation as *zon* 'Žun' comes from Av. *zrūn-*, weak stem of *zruuan-* 'God of time'. In the Bactrian documents *zonado* is a short form of the proper name *zonolado* 'given by Zhun'. Erroneous reading *zoiado*, Humbach 1966, 71.

¹⁰ Henning 1960, 52.

this “ergative” construction, the *-i* of *kanēški* being taken as the ending of the gen. of the agent.¹¹ Yet, Henning did not consider the ending *-o* of *košano* and its consequences for the interpretation of § 2 *namobargo* (see above 5). Theoretically, the two instances of *kanēški* would necessitate the explanation as *kanēški-i* (i.e., gen. ending *-i* plus rel. ptcl. *-i*), though it is useless to overinterpret the facts. From the colophon §§ 9-10 it most clearly results that the Mīran. system of noun endings had already declined in Bactrian at the time of SK4; it was just reflected in certain historical spellings adhibited at discretion. A historically correct use of the noun endings *-o*, *-i* can be expected only in traditional expressions, but even on the gold coins of Kaniška, which are official documents par excellence, we find successively under Kaniška: *kanēški košano*; Huviška: *ooēški košano* > *ooēške košano* > *ooēško košano*; Vāsudeva: *bazodēo košano*.¹² Strictly speaking, the question whether *-i* is necessarily a gen. sg. ending and, vice versa, whether each gen. sg. must have the ending *-i* must be answered in the negative. As a general rule, historically correct *-i* shows the tendency to be replaced with the common *-o*, whereas replacing *-o* with *-i* is exceptional. However that may be, in the rest of SK4 the ergative genitive is formally ambiguous except for the pronominal suffixes *-ēio* ‘his/by him’ and *-ano* ‘their/by them’¹³ and the orthostatic pronoun *mano* ‘my/by me’, for which see 16 below.

2. THE THREE VERSIONS (M, A, B)

8. Not a long time after the discovery of Maricq’s monolith M, 53 further Bactrian blocks came to light. They were published by the Indo-Europeanist Émile Benveniste, another great Iranist, in 1961. He realized that they represented two “polylitic” versions of the same text, designated by him as version A of 21 blocks and version B of 32 blocks.¹⁴ All of them had been re-used in building the stair and the wall of the well of the acropolis.¹⁵ Apart from minor variations especially of orthographical nature they agreed with version M except for the end of its message and its colophon, in which major differences became apparent.

9. It was clear from the beginning that the monolithic version M is the latest of the three versions, exhibiting the final and authoritative text as contrasted with versions A and B. These had just been forerunners of M, which were made useless by it. Less convincing is the chronological succession A–B posed by Benveniste. He mainly based his view on the differences between the colophons of the triad, which, however, is not conclusive all the more as he did not succeed in exactly joining together the blocks of B, particularly those of its end.¹⁶

¹¹Henning 1960, 52: “*kanēški* is necessarily a genitive, either as possessive gen. or as the agent of a transitive verb in the past”. *Ibid.* n. 7: “*kanēški* on the coins should be considered as a gen.”.

¹²Humbach 1966, 42 f. Yet note that *kanēške košano* is found now in Rabatak.

¹³E.g. § 6 *ot-ēio sado kando* ‘and a well was digged by him’ = ‘and he digged a well’.

¹⁴The term “polylitic” is HH’s.

¹⁵Benveniste 1961, 117: “remployés dans la paroi du puits, ou renversés sur les marches de l’escalier”.

¹⁶The exact reconstruction of version B is found in Humbach 1967, Tafel 18.

10. Version B agrees with version M in mentioning a person named Burzmihr (B *Borzomioro*, M *Borzomiuuro*) who was responsible for the well-building work described in the text. Yet the style of its writing is quite different from that of A and M, being strongly influenced by the cursive script and, as a whole, much less carefully carried out than these.¹⁷ The corruption of the name of Kaniška (*Kanēški*) to Kanišiška (*Kanēšēški*) certainly forbade any longer-lasting official use of the version. The conglomerates of characters both shortly before the end of B and at its very end do not look like the work of a very skilled mason, but rather resemble desperate attempts to construct two monograms, undertaken by a dilettante. The text of B is, nevertheless, of notable linguistic interest, exhibiting a number of historical spellings abandoned in A and M, such as the ending *-i* from OIr. *-i* in *kidi* ‘who’, *sidi* ‘which’, *oastindi* ‘they were led’, where M and A have *kido*, *sido*, *oastindo*, generalizing silent *-o*.¹⁸ On the other hand, though, one must be on the guard against blunders such as § 4 B *pidorigdi pa*. It is wrongly copied from *pidorigdo ta* as A and M have it, which presupposes a handwritten original.¹⁹

11. The style of writing of A agrees with that of the monolith M. The text of A breaks off at the end of a line shortly before the colophon but, in the same way as M, it adds to its end the name of Mihrāmān (A *Mioramano*, M *Miuramano*), sandwiched between two monograms of which the former varies but the later is identical in both.

3. NOKONZOKO (§ 5)

12. All three versions concurrently report the arrival of the high official introduced in § 5 as *nokonzoko-i karalrango*, which was understood by Henning as ‘Nokonzoko the Kanārang’. He explained *nokonzoko* as a proper name ‘Nokonzoko’ (Gershevitch ‘Nokonzok’) and *karalrango* ‘Kanārang’ as his office.²⁰ This is the basis from which the entanglement in the analysis of the colophon arose, which has culminated in two extensive and most complicated articles by Gershevitch (1966 and 1979, cf. 1983). Things become less complicated, if one takes *nokonzoko* as the office of the newly-arrived, perhaps ‘minister’, and *karalrango* ‘Kanārang’ as a gen. attribute denoting the chief of the minister. In regard of the orthographical instability of the endings described above no grammatical objections can be raised against this solution all the more as it is accounted for by *šafaro karalrango odo nokonzoko* ‘Šafar the Kanārang and (his) minister’ in Rabatak.

13. *nokonzoko-i karalrango* of § 5 returns in § 9 as the gen. of agent *nokonziki karalrange*, which is the most crucial point of the colophon. It hardly means ‘by Nokonzoko (and three other) Kanārangs’ as Henning suggested, apparently overestimating the value of

¹⁷ List of divergences in Humbach 1966, 86-89.

¹⁸ The ending *-a* from OIr. *-ā* is found in B § 2 *ma liza* ‘acropolis’ (cf. OP. *didā* ‘circumwalled city’). In the other occurrences of the word in B, the fem. ending *-a* is preserved only in the def. article; B §§ 4-8 have *ma lizo* as A and M have in all instances.

¹⁹ Greek iota plus pi (ΙΠ) for square omicron plus tau (□Τ).

²⁰ Henning 1960, 50, used the half-etymological rendering of *karalrango* as ‘lord of the marches’, which, for the sake of clarity, is replaced here with its NPers. equivalent ‘Kanārang’ (see n. 3 above).

the ending *-e*.²¹ Step by step, Gershevitch abandoned three of Henning's four Kanārangs and contented himself with the one Nokonzoko, whom, however, we believe to be the minister of an unnamed Kanārang.

4. THE COLOPHON (§§ 9-10, NOT IN A, DIFFERENTLY IN B)

§ 9/1 M: *oto eiio mo sado odo mašto (m-ašto?) xirgo mano kirdo* [A ends beforehand, B has only *oto mo sado*]

WH: and *eiio* well²² and the great forecourt²³ was built

IG 1966: and this well and wall was built by Khirgman (*xirgomano*)

IG 1979: and this well and dromos was built by Khirgman (*xirgomano*)

HH: and this well (was built) and the *report (? *m-ašto-xirgo*)²⁴ was composed by me

§ 9/2 M: *amo borzomiuuro amo kozgaški-pouro amo astiloganseigi amo nokonziki karalragge* [B: *borzomioro kirdi i kozgaški pouro uastiloganzeigo nokonziki karalrangī*]

WH: by Burzmihr and Kozgaška's son and Astiloganseigo and Nokonzoko, (four) Kanārangs

IG 1966: {by Khirgman} as well as by Kozgašk's son Burzmihr, as well as by Astilgāncig, as well as by the Kanārang Nokonzok

IG 1979: {by Khirgman} together with Kozgašk's son Burzmihr the Hastilugānian {honouring-the-memory (*marēgi*)} of the Kanārang Nokonzok

HH: {by me}, the present Burzmihr, son of Kozgaška, originating from (H)astilugān, (acting as) minister of the Kanārang,

§ 9/3 M: *marēgo pido i xoadēo fromano* [B *marēgi pido xoadēo fromano*]

WH: subservient (*marēgo*) to the emperor's command²⁵

IG 1966: mindful (*marēgo*) of the emperor's command

IG 1979: honouring-the-memory (*marēgo*) {of the Kanārang Nokonzok} by command of the emperor

HH: (acting as) a vassal (*marēgo*) on order of (his) chief (i.e., the Kanārang)

§ 10 M: *oto eiio mano nobixto amo miuramano amo borzomiuuro-pourō* [B omits]

WH: and acquiescent (*eiio*mano).²⁶ Written, i.e. composed, by Mihrāmān and Burzmihrpuhr.²⁷

IG 1966: And Iyuman (*eiio*mano), as well as Burzmihr's son Mihrāmān did the writing.

IG 1979: And the same (*eiio*mano) (i.e., Khirgman), together with Burzmihr's son Mihrāmān, did the writing.

HH: And this (*eiio*) was written by me (*mano nobixto*), the present Mihrāmān, son of Burzmihr.

²¹Henning 1960, 51, with regard to the ending *-e* of the nom. pl. *bage* 'the gods' in §§ 3 and 5.

²²Henning 1960, 53.

²³Henning 1960, 55 n. 7, reading *mašto xirgomano* and tentatively comparing Av. *masita-* 'wide, spacious' and NPers. *xirman* 'halo, threshing-floor' (Steingass 1892, 456-457: 'reaped corn, but unthreshed, and piled up in a large circular stack; a heap, a halo round the moon').

²⁴See 17 below.

²⁵Henning 1960, 51.

²⁶Henning 1960, 51.

²⁷Henning 1960, 48.

14. Henning noticed the similarity between § 5 *eiio sado* and § 9/1 *eiio mo sado*,²⁸ but it was not until 1966 that Gershevitch convincingly identified *eiio* as a dem. pron. (OIr. *iyam*), rendering both as ‘this well’, but *eiio* in *eiio mano* was differently explained by the two scholars (see 15).

15. In § 9/1 *mašto xirgo mano kirdo* Henning posed a compound *xirgo-mano* ‘fore-court’, comparing it with NPers. *xirman* ‘halo, threshing floor’.²⁹ The ‘threshing floor’ was promoted to a person strangely named ‘Khirmān’ by Benveniste and Gershevitch.³⁰ A similar solution was propagated by Gershevitch in the following § 10 *oto eiio mano nobixto*. There Henning had posed a compound *eiio-mano* < OIr. **aiva-manah-* ‘unanimous’ which, however, could hardly have that meaning.³¹ Gershevitch 1966 took the alleged compound as ‘Īyuman/Iyuman’, another strange personal name, whereas he attributed the meaning ‘the same’ to it in 1979.³²

16. The argument which led Gershevitch to consider not only *xirgo-mano* (*kirdo*) but also *eiio-mano* (*nobixto*) as uncommon personal names is intelligible in his 1983 publication (where he still, or again, was clinging to it being a personal name): “That we need . . . an animate agent placed immediately before *nobixto* ‘written’ is rendered abundantly clear by the fourth and fifth words of § 9 of [version] B [viz. *borzomioro kirdi*], which together mean ‘by Burzmihr was built’.³³ Therefore the only acceptable alternative to translating *eiio mano nobixto* in § 10 of [version] M as ‘by Īyuman was written’ would be ‘and this (*eiio*) was written by Mān or by Man’. It is not a very attractive alternative”.³⁴ Enthralled by the complicated story developed by himself, he did not see that with “Man” he was closest to what is correct: *mano* (with silent *-o*) must be the common Iranian pers. pron. ‘my, by me’: *mano kirdo amo borzomiuuro* ‘built by me, the present Burzmihr’, *mano nobixto amo miuramano* ‘written by me, the present Mihrāmān’. This solution had been taken into consideration by the present author in 1970 already, though with some hesitation, since the attribution of *mano* to two different persons seemed problematic.³⁵ Yet the problem seen at the time is resolved now by the Bactrian documents, where the different reference of *mano* is a common device. Among their numerous occurrences of *mano* ‘by me’ we find a notable number of the type *paralado* . . . *mano oiēmo odo mano bagorēio-marēgo* ‘sold by me Wyēm and by me Bagrēw-marēg’ in doc. J15.

²⁸Henning 1960, 53, ‘a (?) well’, apparently deriving *eiio* from OIr. *aiva-* ‘one’, which, however, does not suit § 9 from which it is “not perceptibly different” (*ibid.*, 52).

²⁹See n. 23 above.

³⁰Benveniste 1961, 139; Gershevitch 1966, 107 n. 39.

³¹Henning 1960, 51 n. 7, on *eiio mano*: “Lit. ‘unanimous’ from Av. **aēuuōmanah-*”, comparing Av. *hamōmanah-* (which, however, is quite different), Skt. *ekamanas-* (which means ‘concentrated’), and NPers. *yakmaniš* (of which he gave no meaning). More plausibly Gershevitch 1966, 98, posed ‘single-minded, purposeful’ as the etymological meaning of this ghost-word.

³²Gershevitch 1966, 98 and note; 1979, 65 and n. i.

³³Similarly already Benveniste 1961, 139.

³⁴Gershevitch 1983, 180.

³⁵Humbach 1970, 48.

17. As early as 1967, attention was drawn by the present author to the end of the Sogdian marriage contract Nov. 4.³⁶ It is stated there that the text of this document (*n'm'k*) was composed (*'krty*) by Waxγōkān son of Warxumān and written down (*np'γšty*) by Rāmtiš son of Wγāšfarn on order of Uttekin (*pr 'wttkyn prm'nh*), thus offering a striking parallel to the colophon of SK4, which, as we have seen in 16, follows the style of legal documents. It is particularly the sequence *'krty . . . np'γšty* 'composed . . . written' which sheds some light upon § 9/1, suggesting that *oto eiio mo sado odo mašto xirgo mano kirdo* is structured as a zeugma of the type 'Mr Pickwick took his hat and his leave'. Whereas *sado . . . mano kirdo* means 'the well was made/built by me', *m-ašto xirgo mano kirdo* must have a meaning like 'the report was made/composed by me'. Is *xirgo* the equivalent of MPers. *xyr* 'thing, matter' (but Parth. *γr*)?

18. Henning thought of four Kanārangs being mentioned in § 9/2, viz.,

- (1) Burzmihr (*borzomiuuro*),
- (2) Kozgaška's son (*kozgaški-pouro*),
- (3) Hastilogānjig (*astiloganseigo/uastiloganzeigo*),
- (4) Nokonzoko (*nokonzoko*).³⁷

The conclusion that it is Burzmihr who is Kozgaška's son suggests itself. It became inevitable after the discovery of version B *borzomioro kirdi i kozgaškipouro* 'built by Burzmihr, Kozgaška's son', but the necessary consequences were not drawn by Gershevitch until five years later.³⁸ Sixteen years later he also accepted Henning's 1965 explanation of Hastilogānjig as a derivation from a place named Hastilogān, apparently taking this now as the name of the place of origin of Burzmihr.³⁹ Henning was right when criticizing an etymological blunder committed by the present author, but he was less right when expressing the view that "solche Eigennamen sollte man wirklich in Frieden lassen".⁴⁰ Neither he nor Gershevitch thought of the very simple segmentation into *hast-ī logān* 'settlement of the Log or Logān people'.

19. Gershevitch 1966 still clung to Henning's explanation of the quadruple *amo . . . amo . . . amo* as equalling Lat. *et . . . et . . . et . . . et*, though his new interpretation of *amo kozgaški-pouro* as filiation forced him to athetize the second of the four. Sims-Williams 1973 preferred a preposition 'together with', comparing the quadruplication in SK4 with the duplication of the prep. *MN* 'from' in Sogd. *MN nwyktc γωβω cyr MN w'γzn'kk BRY* 'from Cīr, king of Nawikat, <from> son of Wāγzanak'.⁴¹ Yet § 5 *amo bagolango* 'this/the sanctuary' points to *amo* being a dem. pron. or a def. article (a fuller form of *mo/ma* < OIr. *ima-* 'this here'). It is missing in version B, which shows that it is an optional

³⁶Humbach 1967, 5 n.; Livšic 1962, 22 f.

³⁷Somewhat enigmatic Henning 1960, 48.

³⁸Gershevitch 1966, 107; mind also n. 40, where he emphasizes that *borzomiuuro* and *kozgaški-pouro* were "recognized individually, but not yet linked, by Henning".

³⁹Henning 1965, 80: "eine Nisbe gewöhnlicher Art, mit *-cik, von einem Ortsnamen in -ān oder -gān (aus -kān), dergleichen es Hunderte gibt".

⁴⁰*Ibid.* n. 27: "Etwa *(H)astilugān oder (H)astilgān".

⁴¹Sims-Williams 1973, 96, from Livšic 1962, 26, document Nov. 4.

variant used in version M in the sense of 'the present', which possibly has some solemn character. Though it is no preposition, its repetition follows the same syntactic device as Sogd. *MN* adduced by Sims-Williams.

20. That *marēgo/marēgi* means 'servant, vassal' (as opposed to *xoadēo* 'lord, chief, superior') ought not to have been doubted by Henning, who offered 'mindful' as an alternative,⁴² not remembering OPers. *marika-* 'vassal' and the Iranian personal name *Vaga-marega* 'servant of god/lord' in a MInd. Kharoshthi inscription. The meaning 'mindful' was accepted by Gershevitch 1966, but altered into 'honouring the memory' in 1979.⁴³ Meanwhile numerous occurrences of *marēgo* 'slave, servant' have come to light in the Bactrian documents.

21. In § 10, Henning most explicitly took Mihrāmān and Burzmihr's son as two different persons.⁴⁴ He was followed by Gershevitch 1966, who added "Īyuman" as the third carver of the inscription. It was not until 1979 that he recognized that it is Mihrāmān (Gershevitch: Mihrāmān) who is the son of Burzmihr, as already pointed out shortly in Humbach 1970.

To sum up:

- the text of SK 4 was not composed by four but by one single person, viz., Burzmihr, the son of Kozgaška, a native of Hast-ī Logan, the minister of the Kanārang, who is not necessarily the same person as the minister of the Kanārang mentioned in § 5;
- the text was written down on a parchment not by two or more but by only one scribe, viz., Mihrāmān, the son of Burzmihr;
- the text was incised on the monolith M by the same stone-mason who incised version A; that it was Mihrāmān, the son of the minister, who did the carving work, lacks evidence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Benveniste, É., 1961. Inscriptions de Bactriane, *JA* 249, 113-152.
 Gershevitch, I., 1966. The well of Baghlan. *Asia Major*, n.s., 12, 90-109.
 Gershevitch, I., 1967. Bactrian inscriptions and manuscripts, *IF* 72, 27-57.
 Gershevitch, I., 1979. Nokonzok's well, *Afghan studies* 2 (In honour of Sir Harold Bailey . . .), 55-67.
 Gershevitch, I., 1983. The colophon of the Nokonzok inscription, *AAASH* 28, 179-184.
 Harmatta, J. 1964. The great Bactrian inscription, *AAASH* 12, 373-471.
 Henning, W. B., 1960. The Bactrian inscription, *BSOAS* 23, 47-55.
 Henning, W. B., 1965. Surkh Kotal und Kaniška, *ZDMG* 115, 75-87.
 Humbach, H., 1966. *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, pt. 1 (Wiesbaden).
 Humbach, H., 1967. *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, pt. 2 (Wiesbaden).
 Humbach, H., 1970. Kara Tepe – Tochi – Surkh Kotal, *MSS* 28, 43-50.
 Humbach, H., 1988. Herrscher, Gott und Gottessohn in Iran und in angrenzenden Ländern, in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschenwerdung Gottes – Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (Freiburg/Schweiz–Göttingen), 89-114.
 Livšic, V. A., 1962. *Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug*, vol. 2, *Juridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma* (Moskva).

⁴²Henning 1960, 51 and n. 6. *xoadēo* is not attested as 'emperor' as suggested by Henning.

⁴³Gershevitch 1966, 107; 1979, 65.

⁴⁴Henning 1960, 48.

- Maricq, A., 1958. La grande inscription de Kaniška et l'étéo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane, *JA* 246, 345-440.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1973. A note on Bactrian syntax, *IF* 78, 95-99.
- Sims-Williams, N., Cribb, J., 1995-1996. A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great, *SRAA* 4, 75-142.
- Steingass, F., 1892. A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary (London).

MĀR ABĀ AND THE IMPACT OF ZOROASTRIANISM ON CHRISTIANITY IN THE 6TH CENTURY

Manfred Hutter

The Sasanian empire has been known as a flourishing period of Iranian identity and Zoroastrianism which gave no real space either to Manichaeism, despite Mani's limited success with Šābuhr I, or to Christianity. The first was too much inclined to universalism, the latter too close to Greek, and later Byzantine, culture, but neither of them fitted that religio-political concept which has become known, thanks to studies by Gherardo Gnoli, as the idea of Iran.¹ While Manichaeism did not have success for that reason² during the periods after Mani's death in the central regions of Iran, the Syriac-speaking Christians in Iran came up with another solution by establishing their canonical independence from the church in the Roman empire in the early 5th century.³ Not only did this "Church of Persia" become the main expression of Christianity within Iran, but it also offered a means for Iranians who accepted Christianity as their religious choice to maintain their Iranian cultural roots and customs to a certain degree. That became most important during the 6th and 7th centuries as a good number of Zoroastrians converted to Christianity but could still hold their social positions within the Sasanian empire. The life of Mār Abā, the catholicos of the Church of the East from 540-552, sheds some light on the possibilities that Christians had to understand their religion as part of their Iranian identity.

1. ZOROASTRIAN ELEMENTS IN THE ACCOUNT OF MĀR ABĀ'S LIFE

Mār Abā was born into a Zoroastrian family and was at first fully educated in that religion. The Syriac description of his life⁴ begins by mentioning that Mār Abā had been well educated in Zoroastrianism and Persian literature, and therefore he was offered a high position at the court of Khosrow I.⁵ Immediately after his conversion to Christianity, Mār Abā began to face some problems from his former fellow-Zoroastrians because of his new religion and therefore he gave up his career at the Sasanian court. This may have happened about 520/525.⁶ He first went to Nisibis and later he also visited Christian centres like Edessa, Constantinople or Antiochia, where he not only pursued his studies but also

¹ Gnoli 1989; Gnoli 1993.

² Cf. especially Gnoli 1989, 158-161; Gnoli 1993, 21-22; Hutter 1993; Hutter 2000.

³ Cf. Baum-Winkler 2000, 23-25; further Gillman-Klimkeit 1999, 116-119.

⁴ The text has been edited by Bedjan 1895, 206-274. German translation by Braun 1915, 188-220. Peeters 1951, 117-163 presents a still valuable study and analysis of his life. His early travels to the West are also told in the Nestorian "Chronicle of Seert", cf. Scher 1911, 155-157.

⁵ Braun 1915, 188 § 1 gives the title in transcription as "Arzabed", the Syriac has *'rzbēd*. Peeters 1951, 120-121 suggests to interpret this word as 'premier par ordre de mérite', but cf. also Gignoux 1980 [1983], 191 who says that the Syriac word has better to be corrected to *'rgbd*, but there is no corresponding word attested in Middle Iranian administrative texts.

⁶ Braun 1915, 191 § 5; cf. Gillman-Klimkeit 1999, 121.

gained fame because of his sanctity. Between 525 and 530 we may date his encounter with Kosmas Indikopleustes. Since 533 he was a teacher at Nisibis and at last in 540 – after Mār Simon – he was elected catholicos.⁷

The homiletical description of the twelve years during which Mār Abā served as catholicos for his church concentrate mainly on his being persecuted by the magians. Though there are a lot of literary topoi which are reiterated with only slight variations, we nevertheless gain some interesting insights into Mār Abā's encounter with Zoroastrianism. The *mowbedān mowbed*, Dād-Ohrmizd, gives the first arguments against the catholicos:⁸ Mār Abā destroys the religion of the magians which has been created by the god Ohrmazd and which is the main foundation of the Sasanian empire. Further he converts more and more Persians to Christianity and does not honour the Zoroastrian priests and officials at the court any more. Therefore Mār Abā must be a friend of the Byzantine empire and an enemy of the Sasanian ruler. The idea that the Zoroastrian religion was the foundation of the Sasanian state had long been held within the boundaries of the Sasanian empire.⁹ Thus anyone who did not stay within the "religious fold" could not be considered a "full" member of Sasanian society. Therefore Dād-Ohrmizd is right in saying that Mār Abā not only destroys Zoroastrianism by converting people to Christianity, but he also becomes a threat for Sasanian society and politics when he interferes in juridical matters and settles lawsuits concerning Christians, which also clashes with the (financial) interests of the *mowbed*.¹⁰ As a consequence, in 542/543, the Zoroastrian priests forced the catholicos to an interrogation. Here again he is accused by two high officials¹¹ for converting Zoroastrians to Christianity. But also the Zoroastrian *xwēdōdah*, the (next-of-)kin-marriage, is a matter of dispute, as Mār Abā uses his authority as catholicos to oblige his bishops and priests to stop this practice.¹² When Mār Abā and the *mowbedān mowbed* enter into debate on this topic the *mowbed* asks him to allow those Christians who had already been married before converting to Christianity to continue *xwēdōdah*; but Mār Abā denies it to them.

Later Mār Abā is sentenced to exile in Azarbaijan for the next seven years. The text mentions that Azarbaijan¹³ was at that time a centre of Zoroastrianism. There the magians from all over Persia gather regularly to learn the "stupid murmur" of Spitāmān Zardušt,

⁷ One of his first undertakings as head of the church was a visit to his parishes to restore order within his ecclesiastical provinces and set up the means to improve knowledge of the Christian faith, cf. Braun, 1900, 99-111; Moffett 1992, 218.

⁸ Braun 1915, 196 § 12.

⁹ For "the close alliance between throne and altar, which was a 'leitmotiv' of Iranian pre-Islamic and Islamic literature" cf. Gnoli 1989, 164-166; further Gnoli 1993, 14.

¹⁰ Braun 1915, 200 § 16.

¹¹ Adorpareh bears the title *šahr dādwar*, the (highest) 'judge of the country', cf. Gignoux 1983, 255. Peeters 1951, 139 is wrong in interpreting this title as 'greffier de la cour suprême', connecting it with the Middle Persian word *dibir* 'scribe'. The other official is called '*rad* of (the province) Persia'; his religio-administrative function seems to be important, but is far from being clear, cf. Gignoux 1980 [1983], 263-264.

¹² Braun 1915, 200-202 § 17; cf. Braun 1900, 131-32.

¹³ The text gives precise local names as *prhrwr* and a village *srš*, for which Peeters 1951, 146 attempts some explanation; cf. Gillman-Klimkeit 1999, 121.

but they are the fiends of truth and they cannot speak properly but only stutter and behave like boars.¹⁴ Though in exile, Mār Abā in December 543 or January 544 held a synod of Persian bishops where he successfully managed to reorganize his church by formulating about forty canons, concerning inter alia marriage and the reintroduction of celibacy for priests.¹⁵ During this exile several unsuccessful attempts were made to reconvert him to Zoroastrianism, and also to murder him. Therefore, after seven years of exile, the catholicos left Azarbaijan secretly and fled to the royal court of Khosrow.¹⁶ The king laid four charges against Mār Abā:

- a) he converts magians to Christianity;
- b) he prohibits Christians from practising next-of-kin-marriage;
- c) he holds juridical authority over the Christian community and disregards the magians' authority;
- d) he himself has apostatized from Zoroastrianism to Christianity.

Only the last charge seemed to be important for Khosrow at the interrogation of the catholicos, as the abrogation of Zoroastrianism had to be sentenced by the death penalty according to Zoroastrian law, but at last Mār Abā was set free by the king's decree.

Near the end of the catholicos' life, Anōšazād, one of Khosrow's sons, raised a rebellion against his father at Gundešābuhr in Khuzistan. As the Christians of that province were at Anōšazād's side, in 551 Mār Abā wrote a message to them to desist from rebellion; thus Khosrow was able to win back his authority over Khuzistan.¹⁷ After that Mār Abā settled down in the province at Beth Narkos but soon fell ill due to the hardships of life during the previous decade. Even Khosrow's physicians could not cure him. When he died on February 29, 552, the Zoroastrian clergy wanted to expose his corpse to the dogs, but the Christians prevented his body from being treated according to Zoroastrian custom and they managed to bury Mār Abā at last.¹⁸

2. MĀR ABĀ'S ARGUMENTS AGAINST CHRISTIANITY AS AN "IRANIAN" RELIGION

The Syriac description of Mār Abā's life makes it clear that his successful conversion of Iranians to Christianity is not only a mere change of religion concerning different theologies but also – and even the more – a change of social behaviour which always posed problems for Christians and Zoroastrians alike. But in my opinion it is even more interesting that we learn from the account of his life how Christianity has been influenced by Zoroastrianism and how Christians practised their religion by adapting Zoroastrian customs, thus creating some kind of "Iranian" Christianity which could fit an "idea of Iran".

¹⁴Braun 1915, 204 § 20.

¹⁵Cf. Braun 1915, 95; further Scher 1911, 157.

¹⁶Braun 1915, 210-11 §§ 27-38; cf. Scher 1911, 158.

¹⁷Braun 1915, 216 § 36; cf. Peeters 1951, 157; Moffett 1992, 224.

¹⁸Braun 1915, 219 § 39; Moffett 1992, 225 interprets the intended action by the Zoroastrians as a result of their hatred against Mār Abā. But it is certainly better to think of the clergy's attempt to treat Mār Abā according to Zoroastrian rites.

Mār Abā did not like this in the same way as some of the members of his community as can easily be seen.

2.1. Christians who “take wāz”

One of the charges against Mār Abā raised by the *šahr dādwar* runs as follows:¹⁹ “Many Christians in Fars, who eat meat of murmur, he keeps from eating by anathematizing them”. This reference of “murmur” within our text shows knowledge of Zoroastrian ritualistic behaviour. Within Zoroastrian liturgy the recitation of parts of the Avesta holds an important place. The Avestan language, unknown then to Zoroastrian laity and to non-Zoroastrians alike, can be recited in different ways, but often it is recited in a low voice, partly with closed lips – thus Syriac writers often mock about the Zoroastrian “murmur”, clearly reflecting that kind of low-voiced recitation of the holy texts.²⁰ For the non-believer it was just some kind of hocus-pocus; but the “meat of murmur” gives more information: Zoroastrian laity knew (and still knows) some Avestan prayers by heart to use them ritually as a sacred mantra. Reciting such Zoroastrian prayers has been called *wāz/bāj dādan/grifan*.²¹ “Giving/taking wāz” happens for many purposes; I only want to mention here wāz for ordinary meals which is made up with some stanzas either from *Yasna* 37 or from *Yasna* 8. One well-known literary example of “taking wāz” within the Zoroastrian scriptures we can find in *Ardā Wirāz nāmag*. Before Ardā Wirāz relates his vision of heaven and hell to the Zoroastrian priests he says:

Let it be ordered that first food should be given to him who is hungry and thirsty, and then questions be asked of him. – Then the dastwars of the faith said: Good! – And food was brought; and they consecrated the drōn, and Wirāz took the wāz and ate, and made offerings, and left the wāz; and he uttered praises to Ohrmazd and the Amahraspands, and gave thanks to the Amahraspands Hordād and Amurdād, and recited the benediction.²²

Those Christians who, according to the account of Mār Abā’s life, still eat such “meat of murmur” are in my opinion Iranians who try to keep up their old Zoroastrian background. It does not matter much whether they see their former “taking wāz” either as a kind of Christian eulogy before eating or just as “Iranian” cultural behaviour before eating. But it is important that one has to see how such Christians stayed rooted within their former Zoroastrian background – of course not in a religious sense but as part of their being “Iranian”. Mār Abā could not find any good in this way of “Zoroastrianized” Christians, whom he tried to keep from eating or banned them from the community of the Church of the East.

¹⁹ Cf. Braun 1915, 197–198 § 13.

²⁰ Cf. further Braun 1915, 204 § 20. There it is stated that in Azarbaijan the magians gather to learn the “stupid murmur of Zarathustra”. Sundermann 1993, 556 suggests taking this as a reference to the Herbedestān as a place where prospective priests learn to recite the Avestan texts.

²¹ Cf. Modi 1937, 349–351; Boyce–Kotwal 1971; Williams 1989.

²² Boyce 1984, 85; cf. Gignoux 1984, 46–47.

2.2. Christian versus Zoroastrian marriage customs

A well known aspect of Mār Abā's encounter with Zoroastrianism concentrates on marriage: besides the life of Mār Abā, this topic was dealt with by the catholicos at the synod, but there also exists a law book written by the catholicos with paragraphs concerning marriage. It is worth mentioning that Mār Abā is regarded as the starting point of Syriac literature on law.²³ Besides the general importance of marriage in Christianity following biblical law, our sources related to Mār Abā have their special background in Zoroastrian society again.

In the description of his life, the catholicos is accused not only of prohibiting Christians from practising next-of-kin-marriage as is done by Zoroastrians, but also of being eager to oblige his bishops to leave nobody within the church whose marriage is not accepted. Comparable to the aforementioned case of "taking *wāz*", here again we find a kind of "Zoroastrianized Christianity" if we take into account the words of the *mowbedān mowbed* in his dispute with Mār Abā.²⁴ This high-ranking *mowbed* suggests to the catholicos that he should leave those Christians unharmed who already practised – as Zoroastrians – next-of-kin-marriage and did not want to abandon their custom and divorce after becoming Christians. In a dialogic way the *mowbed* suggests a compromise: this Zoroastrian way of living should be allowed further to all those who already had become Christians before the election of Mār Abā as catholicos, while all later converts should have to divorce their partners who do not fit in with ecclesiastical law. But the catholicos only answers in this dispute that he cannot change divine law; therefore nobody practising this Zoroastrian custom can remain a member of the church.

For Mār Abā it was necessary to refute that practice because the Zoroastrians founded their next-of-kin-marriage on their mythological tradition and the creation of the world.²⁵ In his treatise on laws concerning marriage and sexual intercourse,²⁶ Mār Abā quotes a Zoroastrian tradition that creation came into existence according to the sexual intercourse of Ohrmazd with close female relatives; according to Mār Abā's point of view, Ohrmazd learnt these teachings²⁷ about marriage and intercourse with one's own mother, sister, or daughter from the devil. And therefore all people who like Ohrmazd also marry close female relatives, are slaves of the devil and cannot share the community of the true god. In one of his letters²⁸ the catholicos also refers to other Christians who practise marriage with the wife of their own father or their paternal uncle, with an aunt, sister, daughter-in-law, daughter, or step-daughter – just like the Zoroastrians. Whoever leads such a conjugal life and has sexual intercourse must be divorced within a maximum time-span of one year – otherwise he and his wife will be banned from all contacts with the Christian community

²³ Cf. Sachau 1914, xxii-xxvii.

²⁴ Braun 1915, 202 § 17.

²⁵ On *xwēdōdah* in general cf. the study by Macuch 1991.

²⁶ Cf. Sachau 1914, 265; the translation has been reproduced by Zaehner 1955, 437-438; cf. further Braun 1900, 143-144 n. 2.

²⁷ Cf. further Scher 1911, 157.

²⁸ Braun 1900, 131-132.

and also expelled from the sacraments. At least two further canons fixed at Mār Abā's synod on this topic²⁹ – canon 16 with the case of one woman having two men and canon 38 with a similar case as in the aforesaid letter – also show the central role of this topic for Mār Abā.

Judging from the occurrence of marriage laws and the refutation of any case of marriage with close female relatives, it is obvious that next-of-kin-marriage was a well-known practice during the middle of the 6th century also among Iranian members of the Church of the East. The reason for this may be the integration of Christians as “higher-class” people within Sasanian society, which may have led to that kind of “Zoroastrianized” Christianity – which seemed to be accepted as “proper” Persian by Zoroastrian officials like the above-mentioned *mowbedān mowbed*, but which was rejected at the most by Mār Abā.

3. CONCLUSION

Mār Abā, who was brought up as a Zoroastrian before converting to Christianity, did not favour giving Christianity an Iranian garb as other members of the Church of the East did. But he was too well educated in Zoroastrian matters to raise too crude polemics against that religion, especially on topics which did not have a theological basis. Thus the account of his life, and also his ecclesiastical canons, are more reliable than other Syriac texts dealing with persecuted Christians within the Sasanian empire. And we can see from these sources that during the 6th century a number of Christians in Iran were influenced by Zoroastrian practices. This “contact of religions” led in at least one case – namely marriage and laws on marriage – to a strengthening of the Christian position, so that Mār Abā can be seen as a starting point for Syriac literature on law. But on the other hand it is also worth mentioning that the adaptation of Iranian customs helped the Christian community to become closer akin to Iranian culture. Thus since the 6th century we find a good number of Iranian Christians in higher positions at the royal court. Christianity surely would not have overthrown Zoroastrianism if the Sasanian empire had not been overrun by Arabian troops, but in its Iranian form the Church of the East was in a better position to gain acquaintance as an “Iranian religion” which carried Middle Iranian Christian texts as far East as the Turfan Oasis with the fragmentary version of the biblical Book of Psalms,³⁰ arranged for liturgical use and with the notable addition of canons by Mār Abā at the beginning of every psalm.

REFERENCES

- Andreas, F. C., Barr, K., 1933. *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen* (Berlin).
 Baum, W., Winkler D. W., 2000. *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens. Geschichte der sogenannten Nestorianer* (Klagenfurt).
 Bedjan, P., 1895. *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens* (Paris).

²⁹ Braun 1900, 140, 143.

³⁰ Andreas–Barr 1933.

- Boyce, M., 1984. *Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism* (Chicago).
- Boyce, M., Kotwal, F., 1971. Zoroastrian *bāj* and *drōn*, *BSOAS* 24, 56-73, 298-313.
- Braun, O., 1900. *Das Buch der Synhados* (Stuttgart).
- Braun, O., 1915. *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 22, Kempten).
- Gignoux, Ph. 1980 [1983]. Titres et fonctions religieuses sasanides d'après les sources syriaques hagiographiques, *AAASH* 28, 191-203.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1983. Die religiöse Administration in sasanidischer Zeit: Ein Überblick, in H. Koch, D. N. MacKenzie (ed.), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (AMI, Erg.-Bd 10, Berlin), 253-266.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1984. *Le livre d'Ardā Vīrāz. Translittération, transcription et traduction du texte pehlevi* (Paris).
- Gillman, I., Klimkeit, H.-J., 1999. *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Surrey).
- Gnoli, Gh., 1989. *The idea of Iran. An essay on its origin* (Roma).
- Gnoli, Gh., 1993. *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus* (Opladen).
- Hutter, M., 1993. Manichaeism in the early Sasanian empire, *Numen* 40, 2-15.
- Hutter, M., 2000. Manichaeism in Iran in the fourth century, in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme (ed.), *Studia Manichaica* (Berlin), 308-317.
- Macuch, M., 1991. Inzest im vorislamischen Iran, *AMI* 24, 141-154.
- Modi, J. J., 1937. *The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees*, 2nd ed. (Bombay; repr. 1995).
- Moffett, S. H., 1992. *A history of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1, *Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco).
- Peeters, P., 1951. Observations sur la vie syriaque de Mar Aba, catholicos de l'église perse (540-552), in P. Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles), 117-163.
- Sachau, E., 1914. *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, Bd. 3 (Berlin).
- Scher, A., 1911. *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert) I* (Patrologia Orientalis 7, Paris).
- Sundermann, W., 1993. Review of F. M. Kotwal, Ph. G. Kreyenbroek, *The Herbedestān and Nērangestān*, *OLZ* 88, 554-557.
- Williams, A. V., 1989. Bāj, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3 (London) 531.
- Zachner, R. C., 1955. *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford).

Philip Huyse

Es steht außer Zweifel, daß die 1993 erfolgte Entdeckung der baktrischen Inschrift in Rabatak (Robātak) und ihre anschließende meisterhafte Bearbeitung durch Nicholas Sims-Williams (1996 und 1998), die wegen ihrer perfekten Beherrschung der epigraphischen und philologischen Methoden nichts weniger als respektvolle Bewunderung hervorrufen kann, ganz wesentlich zum besseren Verständnis der kušānischen Religion beigetragen haben. Nichtsdestotrotz bleiben auch nach der Entzifferung dieser so wichtigen Inschrift eine Reihe von Fragen offen, deren Beantwortung vielleicht am ehesten seitens solcher Disziplinen wie der Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte zu erwarten sein mag. Obwohl selber in erster Linie Epigraphiker und Philologe, in geringerem Maße Historiker, möchte ich auf den folgenden Seiten dennoch den vorsichtigen Versuch einer weiterführenden Interpretation der Inschrift und insbesondere der sich darin auf das βαγολαγγο ‘Heiligtum’ beziehenden Passagen wagen; ich lege sie in aller Bescheidenheit den Spezialisten der genannten Disziplinen zur kritischen Stellungnahme vor, und freue mich ganz besonders darüber, daß sie in einer Festschrift zu Ehren von Gherardo Gnoli Aufnahme findet, der selbst so viele wichtige Beiträge zum Vorankommen der iranischen Religionswissenschaft geleistet hat.

Als Ausgangspunkt für weitere Diskussion sei es mir gestattet, an dieser Stelle noch einmal in aller Kürze die Gegebenheiten in Erinnerung zu rufen, wie sie den baktrischen Inschriften von Surx Kotal (ISK 4) und Rabatak (R) sowie dem archäologischen Kontext entnommen werden können;² des weiteren gibt es gute Gründe zur Annahme, daß die Inschriften aus Mat (Māt), die sich auf ein *devakula* beziehen, ebenfalls in die Diskussion

¹ An dieser Stelle möchte ich Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams (London) für einige Einzelbemerkungen (vgl. unten S. 177 Anm. d, sowie Anm. 16 und 28) zu einer ersten Fassung des Manuskriptes danken.

² Das Wort baktr. βαγολαγγο (bzw. βαγολαγγο) erscheint außerdem noch in der ebenfalls in Surx Kotal gefundenen sogenannten “Palamedes”-Inschrift und in einer weiteren Inschrift aus Airtam; in beiden Fällen ist der Kontext jedoch zu fragmentarisch, um daraus weitreichende Schlußfolgerungen ziehen zu können. Von der Palamedes-Inschrift sind leider nur noch die Reste dreier Zeilen erhalten; die von Harmatta 1965, 149-64 gemachten Ergänzungsvorschläge sind indes reine Spekulation. Die sechszeilige Inschrift aus Airtam ist offensichtlich wie die große “Kaniška”-Inschrift aus Surx Kotal ebenfalls im 4. Regierungsjahr des Huviška datiert und scheint von ähnlichen Arbeiten hydraulischer Art zu handeln, die auch in Surx Kotal unternommen wurden (zur Inschrift vgl. auch Harmatta 1986); sie befindet sich unterhalb eines stark beschädigten Reliefs, von dem nur noch die untere Hälfte erhalten geblieben ist und das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein göttliches Paar (Śiva und Umā?) darstellt (vgl. Bernard 1981 für weitere Einzelheiten). Zu guter Letzt erscheint das Wort βαγολαγγο noch in einigen der vor kurzem von Sims-Williams 2000 herausgegebenen Dokumenten (vgl. dort den Index auf S. 185); da diese teilweise datierten Dokumente jedoch alle zeitlich wesentlich später anzusetzen sind, können sie hier außer Betracht bleiben.

mit einzubeziehen sind.³ Da dies für den Leser den Vergleich erleichtern dürfte, will ich die Auskünfte hiernach tabellarisch darstellen:

Surx Kotal	Rabatak	Mat
Heiligtum vermutlich im Auftrag von Kaniška I. erbaut ^a	Heiligtum im Auftrag von Kaniška I. erbaut (R, Zl. 7) und im 3. Jahr nach Arbeitsanfang fertiggestellt (R, Zl. 20) ^b	Heiligtum entweder im Auftrag von Vima (Kadphises) – oder Kaniška I. – erbaut ^c
—	Konstruktionsarbeiten vom κορολαργγο 'Grenzgouverneur' Jafar beaufsichtigt	Konstruktionsarbeiten vom <i>bakanapati</i> - 'Herr (des Hauses) der Götter' Humašpala (?) beaufsichtigt
Heiligtum vielleicht der Siegesgöttin σαρνυδο gewidmet (ISK 4, § 1) ^d	Heiligtum in erster Linie für die Göttinnen νανα – der Kaniška in Zeile 2 ausdrücklich den Erhalt seiner Königswürde zuschreibt – und ομμα gebaut (R, Zll. 9 f.), aber auch andere Gottheiten (αρομοζδο, μοζδοοανο, σροβαρδο, νορασοο und μμρο) wurden dort verehrt (dazu s. auch unten)	Heiligtum zu Ehren von Sarva (= Śiva), Ehegatte der Mondgöttin Caṇḍā, gebaut ^e
Im Heiligtum wurden fünf Fragmente von Statuen aus Stein gefunden, die offensichtlich kušānische Prinzen oder Könige darstellen ^f (die Vorfahren des Kaniška I.); auf die Anwesenheit von Götterstatuen kann indirekt geschlossen werden (s. gleich unten)	Im Heiligtum waren sowohl Statuen der Vorfahren von Kaniška I. als auch Statuen der Gottheiten, denen die Anlage gewidmet war, aufgestellt ^g	Das Heiligtum enthielt – nach den Inschriften – zumindest eine Statue des Großvaters (Vima Kadphises) des damals herrschenden Königs der Könige Huviška, ^h aber es gab noch weitere ⁱ

³ Aus Platzgründen kann hier nicht auf Einzelheiten eingegangen werden, aber sowohl Schlumberger–Le Berre–Fussman 1983, 148–152 als auch Verardi 1983, 228–242 scheinen mir die entscheidenden Argumente geliefert zu haben, die es erlauben, beide Heiligtümer (d.h. Surx Kotal und Mat, da die Inschrift von Rabatak damals natürlich noch nicht bekannt war) miteinander in Verbindung zu bringen. Dagegen dürfte der von der russischen Archäologin Galina Pugačenkova ausgegrabene Gebäudekomplex in Xalčajan, wo ebenfalls Götter- und Herrscherstatuen aufgestellt waren, entgegen Staviskij 1986, 224–228 und 278 f. und Cribb in Sims-Williams–Cribb 1996, 109 f. wohl wirklich eher eine Palastanlage als ein Tempelkomplex sein; er wäre somit von den beiden βαρολαργγε in Surx Kotal und Rabatak sowie dem *devakula* in Mat getrennt zu halten (vgl. dazu auch Verardi 1983, 242–244).

Surx Kotal	Rabatak	Mat
‘Infolge eines Angriffs der Feinde’ (απο λρουμωναο ιεπο) ^j wurde die Burg (λιζο) verlassen und zerfiel; dabei wurden die Götterstatuen zur Burg von Lraf gebracht ^k (ISK 4, § 4). Im Jahre 31 der Kaniška-Ära (d.h., im 4. Regierungsjahr des Huviška) wurde das Heiligtum vom καρολραγγo ‘Grenzgouverneur’ Nukunzuk restauriert (ISK 4, §§ 5-8)	—	Das Heiligtum kam in Zerfall und wurde von einem hohen Beamten/General (<i>mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka</i>) restauriert ^l
Spätestens kurz nach dem Ende der Kušanzeit wurden die drei Heiligtümer endgültig aufgegeben		

^a Es scheint mir allerdings sehr plausibel, daß das Heiligtum erst zu Beginn der Regierungszeit des Huviška nach Kaniška I. genannt worden ist (vgl. unten Anm. d).

^b Mit Fug und Recht hat Fussman 1998, 579 f. darauf hingewiesen, daß die Inschrift von Rabatak zwar vom Heiligtum des Kaniška I. handelt, dieser jedoch keineswegs als Urheber der *Inscription* betrachtet werden kann, da von ihm immer nur in der dritten Person die Rede ist (vgl. dagegen die großen Königsinschriften von Dareios I. und Šābuhr I., die beide gleich selbstbewußt mit dem Personalpronomen der 1. Pers. Sg. beginnen). Ferner ist die Tatsache, daß in Zl. 20 darauf hingewiesen zu werden scheint, der Bau des Heiligtums sei im 3. Jahr der Kaniška-Ära vollendet worden (die Interpretation bleibt jedoch unsicher, vgl. Sims-Williams 1998, 87), an und für sich Nachweis genug dafür, daß die Inschrift nicht im ersten Jahr dieser Ära geschrieben worden sein kann; eine genauere Datierung ist jedoch unmöglich (vgl. Fussman, *ibid.*, 582).

^c Vgl. hierzu zuletzt Fussman 1998, 606-614. Die dritte der von Fussman zitierten Sanskrit-Inschriften scheint auf den Bau eines Heiligtums durch Vima Kadphises oder Kaniška Bezug zu nehmen, aber die Inschrift selbst ist eindeutig Huviška zuzuschreiben und wurde erst zu seiner Zeit anlässlich der Vollendung der Restaurierung fertiggestellt.

^d Die erste Zeile der großen Inschrift in Surx Kotal beinhaltet gleich mehrere Interpretationsschwierigkeiten (vgl. dazu ausführlich Grenet in Lazard–Grenet–de Lamberterie 1984, 199-201 und Lazard, *ibid.*, 227 f.). In dem offenen Kompositum κανηρκο οανυδο βαρολογγo kann οανυδο entweder als Epitheton ‘siegreich’ zu Kaniška verstanden werden, oder aber als Name der Siegesgöttin οανυδο. Zunächst weist Nicholas Sims-Williams mich darauf hin, daß es – angesichts solcher Personennamendubletten wie ζανδοκο/ζυνδοκο (Sims-Williams 2000, 192) oder noch solcher Formen wie υοανυδο (*ibid.*, 229) und der Participia Praesentia πιδοοανυδο, usw. (*ibid.*, 218) und χουινυδο (*ibid.*, 233), in denen die Endung -υδο nicht auf ein -i/-y- enthaltendes Suffix zurückgeht – unnötig ist, den -u-Vokalismus in οανυδο als Folge einer Epenthese in einer femininen, auf altiran. *vanda’nti- zurückzuführenden Form zu erklären (vgl. Grenet in Lazard–Grenet–de Lamberterie 1984, 200). Des weiteren ist daran zu erinnern, daß das Adjektiv οανυδο ‘siegreich’ in Zusammenhang mit Kaniška in R, Zll. 18 f. erscheint, wenn auch nicht direkt als Epitheton. Daneben gibt es noch zahlreiche männliche baktrische Personennamen wie βαροοανυδο (Sims-Williams 2000, 185), ωμροοανυδο (*ibid.*, 194), μοζδοοανυδο (*ibid.*, 205), οαχροοανυδο (*ibid.*, 211), παροοανυδο (*ibid.*, 235), in denen das Hinterglied kaum als Gottesname erklärt werden kann. Dennoch wird man mit Grenet in Lazard–Grenet–de Lamberterie 1984, 200 wohl kaum um die Existenz einer Göttin οανυδο herumkommen, aber eine Entscheidung darüber, ob wir es in dem Kompositum κανηρκο οανυδο βαρολογγo mit einem Epitheton oder einem Gottesnamen zu tun haben, ist letztendlich kaum möglich. Die zweite Lösung scheint mir leicht den Vorzug zu verdienen, da sonst in der Inschrift von Surx Kotal – im Gegensatz zu den Inschriften von Rabatak und Mat – nirgendwo erwähnt würde, welcher Gottheit das Kaniška-Heiligtum gewidmet ist. Nun erscheint die Göttin οανυδο zwar nicht auf den Münzen Kaniškas, sondern nur auf denen Huviškas, aber wenn ich recht gehe in der Annahme, daß das Heiligtum erst von Huviška nach Kani-

ška benannt worden ist (vgl. hier gleich unten, sowie Anm. 29), würde dies sogar gut ins Bild passen. Das Wort $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\phi\omicron\pi\omicron$ ist ebenfalls verschiedentlich erklärt worden: die Lösung, es als 'berühmt, ruhmreich' zu verstehen (so Humbach 1976, 66), dürfte von vornherein ausscheiden, da sich das Wort auf $\beta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron$, nicht als Epitheton auf $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\iota\kappa\omicron$ (erst recht nicht auf $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\iota\kappa\iota$) bezieht. Von den drei verbleibenden Möglichkeiten (vgl. Grenet in Lazard–Grenet–de Lamberterie 1984, 200 f.: 'qui a reçu le nom du seigneur roi Kaniška' oder 'auquel le seigneur roi Kaniška a fait porter son nom' oder noch 'à qui le seigneur roi [sc. Huviška] a fait porter le nom de Kaniška') gebe ich letzterer den Vorzug, auch wenn dann der Name des Königs (Huviška) fehlt, der die Initiative zur neuen Namensgebung genommen hat; dieses Fehlen kann man sich jedoch vielleicht so erklären, daß dies für die Zeitgenossen ohnehin eine Selbstverständlichkeit war und nicht der ausdrücklichen Hervorhebung bedurfte, denn auch in § 5, in dem die Inschrift nach dem Jahr 31 der Kaniška-Ära (= Jahr 4 des Huviška) datiert wird, ist Huviškas Name abwesend, und gleiches gilt für § 9, in dem mit dem nicht namentlich genannten $\chi\omicron\omicron\delta\eta\omicron$ gewiß ebenfalls der König Huviška gemeint ist. Den ersten Satz in seiner Ganzheit verstehe ich dann als Nominalsatz und übersetze ihn folgendermaßen: 'Diese Burg ist das der $\omicron\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron$ (gewidmete) Heiligtum (von) Kaniška (oder: das Heiligtum des siegreichen Kaniška), das der Herr, der König (sc. Huviška) den Namen Kaniškas verliehen hat'.

^e Vgl. hierzu Fussman 1998, 611 f.

^f Vgl. Staviskij 1986, 223 (mit Abbildung, Tafel XVIIb).

^g Vgl. dazu die – nach meinem Dafürhalten, zutreffenden – Bemerkungen von Fussman 1998, 583 f.

^h Dies scheint zumindest aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der Sinn der Anfangszeilen der dritten von Fussman 1998, 613 f. übersetzten Sanskrit-Inschrift zu sein.

ⁱ Vgl. die Abbildungen in Staviskij 1986, Tafel XVIIa und XVIII.

^j Ich ziehe es vor, baktr. ($\Delta\epsilon\pi\omicron$ an dieser Stelle mit 'Angriff' zu übersetzen und es – wie Sims-Williams 2000, 195 – auf altiran. **ira-* zurückzuführen. Andererseits dürften die Bedenken, die Lazard 1984, 228 noch gegen die von Gershevitch 1979, 65 vorgetragene Rückführung von baktr. $\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\omicron$ auf den Gen. Pl. eines Substantivs altiran. **duš-manyu-* 'Feind' hatte, nun durch mehrere Belege von baktr. $\delta(\delta)\chi\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ in den neuen baktrischen Dokumenten endgültig aufzugeben sein (vgl. Sims-Williams 1996, 650 und 2000, 190).

^k Vgl. dazu den Kommentar von Grenet in Lazard–Grenet–de Lamberterie 1984, 205–207. Nach Verardi 1983, 241 sind hier nicht die viel zu schweren Statuen aus Stein selbst gemeint, sondern wird eher auf "portable images of deities" angespielt.

^l Vgl. Fussman 1998, 614 Zll. 3–5 (und Kommentar, 611).

Zusammenfassend läßt sich somit sagen, daß in allen drei Fällen die Heiligtümer von einem kušānischen Herrscher im Auftrag gegeben wurden, das früheste womöglich von Kaniškas Vater Vima Kadphises (wenn nicht gar von Kaniška selbst), das späteste von Kaniškas Sohn und Nachfolger Huviška. Die Heiligtümer waren jedesmal anderen Gottheiten gewidmet, die jedoch alle ausnahmslos zu den höchsten des kušānischen Pantheons gehören. Die Konstruktionsarbeiten wurden (deshalb?) jeweils von einem hohen Beamten beaufsichtigt. In allen Heiligtümern (für Mat sind nur Teilangaben möglich) wurden offenkundig Statuen der Vorfahren und der verehrten Götter aufgestellt. Erstaunlicherweise ließen die Kušān es zu, daß die Heiligtümer von Surx Kotal und Mat verwahrlost wurden und infolgedessen zerfielen (für Rabatak sind diesbezüglich keine Angaben möglich). In beiden Fällen wurden anschließend unter Huviška Restaurationsarbeiten vorgenommen, die sich teilweise auf die Wasserversorgung bezogen, doch spätestens kurz nach dem Ende der Kušānzeit wurden die Heiligtümer aus nicht mehr nachvollziehbaren Gründen endgültig aufgegeben.

Soweit ich nichts übersehen habe, hat bisher noch niemand darauf hingewiesen, daß es im zweiten Buch der *Geschichte Armeniens* des armenischen "Vaters der Geschichte" (*patmahayr*) Movsēs Xorenac'i einige Passagen gibt, die eine verblüffende Ähnlichkeit

mit dem oben beschriebenen Tatbestand bei den Kušān aufweisen.⁴ Es lohnt sich meines Erachtens, die betreffenden Stellen in vollem Wortlaut zu zitieren,⁵ bevor ich sie etwas ausführlicher kommentiere.

So berichtet Movsēs Xorenac‘i II 8 zunächst davon, daß König Vařarřak (3./2. Jh. v. Chr.?), den er für einen jüngeren Bruder Arsakes‘ des Großen (*Ařřak Mec*) hält (M.X. I 8 f.) und somit für den Gründer der arsakidischen Linie des armenischen Königshauses,⁶ einen Tempel in Armavir hat bauen lassen, in dem Statuen des Sonnengottes und der Mondgöttin sowie seiner Vorfahren aufgestellt wurden:⁷

After all this he [sc. Vařarřak] built a temple in Armavir and erected statues of the sun and moon and of his own ancestors (Thomson 1978, 143 [= ed. Tiflis, 117]).

Als Nächstes erzählt Movsēs Xorenac‘i II 12 dann, wie Vařarřaks Enkel Artařēs I. (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.?) in dem Tempel weitere Statuen aufstellen ließ, die er aus der griechischen Welt – im breitesten Sinne – eingeführt hatte;⁸ nach dem Tode des Königs wurden die Statuen in eine andere Festung gebracht:

Finding in Asia (sc. in Lydien) images of Artemis (sc. Anahit), Heracles (sc. Vahagn), and Apollo (sc. Tir) that were cast in bronze and gilded, he (sc. Artařēs I.) had them brought to our country to be set up in Armavir. The chief priests, who were of the Vahuni family, took those of Apollo and Artemis and set them up in Armavir; but the statue of Heracles, which had been made by Scyllas and Dipenes of Crete,⁹ they supposed to be Vahagn their ancestor and so set

⁴ In einem Kontext der Kušān wurde Movsēs Xorenac‘i bisher immer nur im Zusammenhang mit einer Stelle in Kap. II 72 zitiert, in der ein gewisser Vehsačan aus Bahl (Balx) genannt wird (vgl. Hübschmann 1897, 84 Nr. 194), den einige mit einem der Könige namens Vāsudeva haben identifizieren wollen. Da Vehsačan jedoch nach Movsēs, *ibid.* der Familie der Karēn Pahlaw angehört (von seiner Historizität gar nicht zu reden, vgl. Kettenhofen 1998, 344 Anm. 195), hält Göbl 1993, 70 f. all diese Versuche mit Recht für von vornherein verfehlt.

⁵ Ich zitiere im Nachfolgenden den Text nach der Übersetzung von Thomson 1978 (die zusätzlichen Erläuterungen in runden Klammern in der Übersetzung sind von mir) und gebe in eckigen Klammern jeweils die Seitenzahl des armenischen Textes in der maßgebenden Textausgabe von Tiflis 1913 an.

⁶ Die Namen der ersten armenischen Arsakiden Vařarřak I., dessen Sohn Arřak I. und Enkel Artařēs I. finden sich bei den armenischen Historikern neben Movsēs Xorenac‘i nur noch bei Sebēos; die angegebenen "Datierungen" sind daher selbstverständlich nur approximativ gedacht und historisch ohnehin wertlos (vgl. zu den ersten armenischen Arsakiden auch Kettenhofen 1998, 337 f. und die Tafeln 2-4; zu Vařarřak vgl. *ibid.*, 339 Anm. 142 und 148, sowie 341).

⁷ Für die hier nachfolgenden Passagen hat Movsēs seine Informationen mehr als einmal bei Agat‘angetos geholt (vgl. Anm. 10 und 13; dazu s. aber unten!). Dieser sagt jedoch nichts über einen Kult für die Sonne und den Mond in Armavir, so daß diese Auskunft wohl eher auf eine syrische Quelle zurückzuführen ist (vgl. Thomson 1978, 40 und 143 Anm. 30).

⁸ Zu den Quellen, von denen Movsēs intensiv Gebrauch gemacht hat, gehört auch die armenische Fassung des Alexanderromans (5. Jh.). Thomson 1978, 24 sieht in M.X. II 12 eine explizite Entlehnung aus § 274 dieses Romans, da darin ebenfalls von Bronzestatuen der Gottheiten Herakles und Athena die Rede ist (vgl. Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York-London 1969), 155: 'And let Ptlomeos also dedicate in Egypt bronze statues to Alexander, Ammon, Athena, Heracles, Olympias, and Philip').

⁹ Die Tätigkeit der beiden Bildhauer Skyllas und Dipoinos von Kreta wird im 6. Jh. v. Chr. angesetzt.

it up in Tarawn in their own village of Ashtishat (*sc.* 'Freude der Astarte') after the death of Artashēs . . . He also took from Hellas images of Zeus (*sc.* Aramazd), Artemis, Athena (*sc.* Nana), Hephaistos (*sc.* Mihr), and Aphrodite (*sc.* Asthik), and had them brought to Armenia.¹⁰ But before they had arrived in our land the sad news of Artashēs' death was heard. [Those bringing them] fled and brought the images to the fortress of Ani (*sc.* [H]ani Kamax im Pontus). The priests followed and stayed with them (Thomson 1978, 149 [= ed. Tiflis, 122 f.]).

Als der armenische König Erowand (Orontes III./IV.?, 212-200) seine eigene Hauptstadt errichtete, ließ er dorthin nach Auskunft von Movsēs Xorenac 'i II 40 alles aus Armavir überbringen,¹¹ mit Ausnahme der Götterstatuen, deren Aufstellung er vielmehr in der ebenfalls von ihm neugegründeten Stadt Bagaran befahl:

When Eruand had built his own city (*sc.* Erowandakert 'von Erowand gemacht') he transferred there everything from Armavir except the idols, which he did not think profitable to bring to his capital, lest when people came to sacrifice there the city could not be securely guarded. But about forty stadia distant to the north, above the river Akhurean, he built a smaller city similar to his own and called it Bagaran, that is, in it he had set up the complex of altars,¹² and he transferred there all the idols that were in Armavir. And having built tem-

Überhaupt kommt Movsēs hier mit seiner Chronologie schwer durcheinander, da er Artasēs im ausgehenden 2. Jh. v. Chr. den lydischen König Kroisos (ebenfalls 6. Jh.) gefangennehmen läßt!

¹⁰Die griechischen Fassungen armenischer Werke (und insbesondere die griechische Version von Agat'angelos) erlauben ohne weiteres die Identifikation der armenischen Götter mit den griechischen, wie ich sie in runden Klammern angegeben habe. Aus Agat'angelos' Werk hat Movsēs im übrigen auch seine Kenntnisse der griechischen Gottheiten her (vgl. Thomson 1976, xxxviii-xxxix, lxi-lxiii und 1978, 29 und 43).

¹¹Movsēs' Chronologie ist auch hier wieder gründlich durcheinander geraten: obwohl er die Ereignisse in II 40 und 49 offensichtlich im 1. Jh. v. Chr. situiert und diese also zeitlich – und im Gedankengang logisch (Umsiedlung von Armavir [II 8-12] nach Erowandakert [II 40]) – auf die in II 8 und 12 erwähnten Geschehnisse des 2. und ausgehenden 2. Jhs folgen, ist Erowand in II 40 in Wirklichkeit vielleicht mit Orontes IV. (212-200) identisch (vgl. Toumanoff 1990, 395; s. aber noch Kettenhofen 1998, 340 und 343 mit Anm. 179); sein Bruder Erowaz ist vermutlich mit Mithras zu identifizieren. Sowohl Orontes IV. als auch Mithras sind beide in den griechischen Inschriften aus Armavir belegt, die zudem bestätigen, daß Orontes' Bruder tatsächlich Hohepriester der Sonne und des Mondes gewesen ist. Hierzu paßt außerdem die Nachricht von Strabo 12.2.3 in seiner Beschreibung der königlichen Heiligtümer in Kappadokien, daß der Hohepriester der zweite Mann im Reich nach dem König war und gewöhnlich selbst aus der königlichen Familie kam. Orontes IV. wurde von seinem Strategen Artaxias I. (Artasēs in M.X. II 49; vgl. Toumanoff 1990, 95 und Kettenhofen 1998, 343 Anm. 179) ermordet, der sich daraufhin selbst zum König hat ausrufen lassen. Damit nahm die Dynastie der Orontiden ein Ende und wurde durch die der Artaxiaden ersetzt; erst danach kamen die armenischen Arsakiden an die Macht, über die Movsēs bereits zuvor in II 8 und II 12 berichtet hatte. Vgl. zu allem noch Thomson 1978, 179 Anm. 3 sowie Mahé 1993, 76 f. (zu Orontes IV./Artaxias I.) bzw. 78 f. (zu Erowaz).

¹²Movsēs verknüpft den Ortsnamen Bagaran (< arm. *bag-aran* 'Götter-Ort' mit Suffix *-aran* [vgl. Hübschmann 1897, 113]) unmittelbar mit arm. *bagin* 'Altar' (vgl. auch Mahé-Mahé 1993, 361 Anm. 1 zu II, 40). Ebenso führt er in II 55 und 66 das Toponym Bagawan (< arm. *bag-awan* 'Götter-Flecken' [vgl. Hübschmann 1897, 113]) auf *bagnac'awan* 'Stadt der Altäre' zurück. Sowohl die Toponyme Bagaran/Bagawan als auch arm. *bagin* dürften jedoch letzten Endes auf arm. *bag-* 'Gott' zurückgehen, das aber im Armenischen nicht mehr als selbständiges Wort belegt zu sein scheint, sondern sich nur noch in diesen und

ples he appointed his own brother Eruaz as high priest (Thomson 1978, 182 [= ed. Tiflis, 166]).

Wenig später ließ Artasēs (Artaxias I.?, 188-161) die Hauptstadt erneut verlegen; Movsēs Xorenac'i II 49 berichtet, wie eine neue, nach dem König genannte Stadt Artasat gegründet wurde, und die Statuen der Anahit-Artemis sowie die Idolen der Vorfahren aus Bagaran dorthin überbracht wurden:

Artashēs came to the place where the Araxes and Metsamawr join; pleased with the hill he built there a city, which he called after his own name Artashat (*sc.* 'Freude des Artasēs'). The Araxes provided him with pine wood, so it was built quickly and without labor. He erected it in a temple and transferred to it from Bagaran the statue of Artemis and all the ancestral idols. But the statue of Apollo he put up outside the city near the road.¹³ They brought from Eruand's capital the Jewish captives who had been transferred there from Armavir, and he settled them in Artashat. Similarly all the splendors of Eruand's capital that the latter had brought from Armavir, plus those that he had constructed there, [Artashēs] transferred to Artashat. And he embellished the city even further himself as the royal capital (Thomson 1978, 190 f. [= ed. Tiflis, 176 f.]).

Zu guter Letzt berichtet Movsēs Xorenac'i II 77 davon, wie Ardašir I. (224-240) nach der Machtübernahme der Sasaniden all diese Statuen zerstören ließ:

Artashir organized Armenia in a splendid fashion and reestablished its former order. Likewise the Arsacids, who had been deprived of the crown and of their residence in Ayrarat, he reestablished in the same place with their former revenues and emoluments. He increased the cults of the temples and ordered the fire of Ormizd, which was on the altar at Bagavan to be kept perpetually burning. But the statues that Vaļarshak had set up as the images of his ancestors with those of the sun and the moon at Armavir, and which had been transferred from Armavir to Bagaran and then brought to Artashat, these Artashir broke up . . . (Thomson 1978, 224 f. [= ed. Tiflis, 216]).

Vorweg sei daran erinnert, das Movsēs zwar behauptet, im 5. Jh. aktiv gewesen zu sein, doch ist seine *Geschichte Armeniens* ohne den geringsten Zweifel in einer viel jüngeren Version auf uns gekommen; ein Datum im 8.-9. Jh. scheint wohl eher im Bereich des Wahrscheinlichen zu liegen (vgl. Thomson 1978, 2-61, insbes. 60 und Mahé-Mahé 1993, 88-90, sowie Kettenhofen 1998, 333 f.). Die oben zitierten Passagen legen zudem beredtes Zeugnis darüber ab, daß Movsēs es mit der Chronologie nicht so ernst nimmt und des öfteren beruft er sich ausdrücklich auf schriftliche Archivquellen, von denen man jedoch allen Grund zur Annahme hat, daß sie niemals existiert haben (vgl. Thomson 1978, 12 f.). Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang hat die Angabe der Namen der einzelnen

weiteren Komposita findet (vgl. Hübschmann 1897, 113 Anm. 2 und 114). Vgl. hiermit auch buddh., man., s. sogd. βγ-, chr. sogd. bγ- 'Gott' und das Nebeneinander beider Bedeutungen 'Altar/Tempel' in chr. sogd. bγn- 'Altar' vs. man. sogd. βγn- 'Tempel' einerseits, und buddh. sogd. βγδ'n'k 'Altar' neben man. sogd. [c]/(x)wδβγδ'nyy 'Synagoge, jüdischer Tempel' andererseits [s. Sims-Williams 1985, 61 f. und Glossar 207]).

¹³ Movsēs scheint hier eine bei Agat'angelos § 778 belegte Information auszubauen, der tatsächlich von einem Altar für Anahit-Artemis und für Tir-Apollon in Artasat zu berichten weiß; der zweite Satz (Apollon) ist sogar wörtlich aus Agat'angelos übernommen worden.

Herrscher und die Chronologie kaum einen historischen Wert und es ist fast ein sinnloses Unterfangen, die von Movsês genannten Namen identifizieren zu wollen (vgl. Kettenhofen 1998, 341 mit Anm. 166, sowie 346). Darum geht es hier aber auch nicht, sondern nur um die erzählten Tatsachen, denn nach meinem Empfinden wäre es falsch, Movsês' Werk nur aufgrund der wertlosen Chronologie einfach beiseite zu schieben; mit Recht hat Gignoux 1999, 217 nämlich darauf hingewiesen, daß die bei ihm enthaltenen Angaben oftmals auf mündlicher Überlieferung beruhen,¹⁴ und daß es sich lohnt diese einzeln zu überprüfen, insofern sie Angaben zu Amtsbezeichnungen sowie Bestattungs- und sonstigen religiösen Bräuchen betreffen. So habe ich oben in Anm. 10 erwähnt, daß Movsês nicht die geringste Ahnung über die griechischen Gottheiten hatte und seine diesbezüglichen Kenntnisse ausschließlich auf Agat'angelos beruhen: das heißt aber *nur*, daß er von diesem die *Identifikationen* zwischen den armenischen und griechischen Gottheiten entlehnt hat und stellt keineswegs in Frage, daß er von solchen Kulte in Armenien gewußt hat! So hat auch die Entdeckung 1911 und 1927 der griechischen Inschriften in Armavir eindrucksvoll bestätigen können, daß die königliche Residenz des letzten Orontiden, Orontes IV. (212-200), den M.X. II 40 Erowand nennt, tatsächlich von Armavir nach Erowandašat (M.X.: Erowandakert [vgl. Hübschmann 1897, 39 bzw. 170]) verlegt worden ist und daß es dort in der Tat Heiligtümer für den Sonnengott (Apollon) und die Mondgöttin (Artemis) gegeben hat. Des weiteren haben die Archäologen vor weniger als zwei Dezennien die von M.X. II 49 genannte Stadt Artasat genau dort entdeckt, wo Movsês sie lokalisiert hatte, nämlich am Zusammenfluß von Araxes und Mecamawr (vgl. Mahé-Mahé 1993, 23).

Angesichts dieser Tatsachen verdient die armenische Überlieferung, die Kušān und Arsakiden miteinander in Verbindung bringt,¹⁵ vielleicht doch größere Aufmerksamkeit, als ihr bisher zuteil wurde (vgl. auch Göbl 1993, 71). Die Ähnlichkeiten mit den Fakten bei den Kušān sind nämlich frappant: Bei den armenischen Arsakiden (Aršakuniern) wie bei den Kušān werden die Heiligtümer im Auftrag des jeweils herrschenden Königs gebaut, in beiden Fällen sind sie den höchsten Gottheiten gewidmet, in beiden Fällen werden Statuen der männlichen Vorfahren des Königs und der verehrten Gottheiten aufgestellt, in beiden Fällen werden diese in einer Krisensituation (bei einem feindlichen Angriff [ISK 4, § 4] bzw. nach dem Tode des Königs [M.X. II 12]) an einen anderen und sicheren Ort gebracht. Selbstverständlich ist der Vergleich nicht perfekt und gibt es auch Unterschiede, da bei den Armeniern beispielsweise nirgendwo von einem Zerfall (und Restaurierung) der Heiligtümer die Rede ist. Die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen beiden gehen aber vielleicht noch weiter und fangen sogar schon bei der Bezeichnung für das Heiligtum an (baktr. βαρυ-λαγγο < *baga-dānaka- bzw. arm. *Bagaran* für die Stadt, wo die Statuen untergebracht wurden [s. Anm. 12]). Es besteht außerdem kein Zweifel, daß etwa in Surx Kotal ein

¹⁴ Im übrigen spielt Movsês des öfteren darauf an (vgl. Thomson 1978, 10 f. und Mahé-Mahé 1993, 20 f.).

¹⁵ Für weitere Einzelheiten vgl. die ausführlichen Bemerkungen von Thomson 1978, 131 Anm. 4 (*ad* II 2) und vor allem 214 Anm. 3 (*ad* II 67); s. auch Staviskij 1986, 149 f. und 153, sowie Göbl 1993, 72-74 und Kettenhofen 1998, 329, 337 und 339 f.

(heiliges) Feuer brennend gehalten wurde (vgl. Staviskij 1986, 223 und die Abbildung bei Bussagli 1996, 217), und umgekehrt kann man M.X. II 77 entnehmen, daß auf dem Altar in Bagawan augenscheinlich dasselbe gemacht wurde (s. aber auch unten). Ich möchte hier keineswegs suggerieren, daß die Kušan direkt von den Arsakiden entlehnt haben, sondern möchte vielmehr in Erwägung ziehen, daß diese Gepflogenheiten womöglich auf eine Zeit zurückgehen, als Parner und Yüeh-Chih nördlich des iranischen Territoriums angesiedelt waren und mit nur gut einem Jahrhundert Unterschied (etwa 250 v. Chr. bzw. um die Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.) von dort in den Iran eingedrungen sind.¹⁶

Sollte der oben angeführte Vergleich mit der arsakidischen Linie der Armenier berechtigt sein, wäre dies neben dem überwiegend (s. unten) iranischen Charakter des kušanischen Pantheons unter Kaniška nur ein Argument mehr, das für eine iranische Interpretation des βαρολαγγο spräche. Dennoch halte ich die von Verardi 1983, 255-275 so brillant verteidigte Interpretation von Kaniška als *cakravartin* für nicht weniger überzeugend.¹⁷ Ich glaube aber, daß sich beide Lösungen nicht gegenseitig ausschließen, sondern vielmehr *komplementär* sind. Mit Recht hat Verardi, *ibid.*, 280-282 in seiner Schlußfolgerung angeführt, daß genau darin die Eigenheit der Kušan liegt, die sie von den Mauryas unterscheidet: während etwa Ásoka seinen Untertanen zunächst mit Gewalt sein Modell eines zentralisierten Staates aufzwingen wollte, um sich erst danach zum Förderer und Garant der Politik des Dharma (*dhamma*) zu entwickeln, haben sich die Kušan von Anfang an als Verteidiger der in ihrem Reich herrschenden Vielfalt verstanden, die in ihrer aus griechischen, iranischen und indischen Elementen komponierten Ikonographie vielleicht am deutlichsten zum Ausdruck kommt. Nur von einem solchen Gesichtspunkt aus kann man verstehen, weshalb sich "typisch iranische" Elemente der Kušan in Indien finden und umgekehrt, weshalb sich die Kušan auch auf iranischem Boden in Surx Kotal und Rabatak als *cakravartins* darstellen konnten und wollten.

Nur mit dem Begriff eines "dynastischen" Kultes, der im Zusammenhang mit der kušanischen Religion so oft in den Mund genommen worden ist, sollte man in Zukunft auch nach meiner Einschätzung der Dinge vielleicht doch etwas vorsichtiger umgehen. Vieles hängt natürlich davon ab, was man darunter genau versteht (vgl. Verardi 1983, 226-228!), aber die Aufstellung von Statuen der Vorfahren des Königs zusammen mit solchen der

¹⁶ Dazu paßt auch folgende Aussage von Staviskij 1986, 228: "En ce qui concerne les cultes mazdéens de la Bactriane kushane, nous avons déjà signalé plus haut l'ancienneté de leurs racines iraniennes orientales qui plongent peut-être jusqu'au fonds paniranien ou indo-iranien. Ces données rendent vaine l'hypothèse d'un emprunt du culte du feu par les Kushans auprès de qui que ce soit, même chez les Parthes". Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Kušan und Arsakiden (wenn auch nicht armenischen Arsakiden) mag – wie Nicholas Sims-Williams mir suggeriert – im Gebrauch von βαροποθορ (ISK 4, § 5) bzw. βαρεποθορ (R, Zl. 19), βαρεποθορ[α]νε (R, Zll. 14 f., dazu vgl. Sims-Williams 1998, 86) < **baga-puθra-* in den baktrischen Inschriften und präkr. *devaputra-* auf den kušanischen Münzen für die Königstitulatur liegen, das zumindest dem Sinn nach gr. θεοπάτωρ auf den parthischen Münzen entspricht (das etymologische Gegenstück parth. *bgpwhr* / *baypuhr* / wird angeblich nur in den manichäischen Texten verwendet).

¹⁷ Verardi 1983, 260 weist außerdem darauf hin, daß die Idee des *cakravartin* keine exklusiv buddhistische, sondern eine allgemein indische ist.

Gottheiten in einem Heiligtum kann man keineswegs so verstehen, daß der König sich und/oder seine dynastischen Vorfahren "vergöttlichen" wollte. Diese Idee ist mit den zoroastrisch/mazdaistischen Vorstellungen unvereinbar; es kann bestenfalls von einer bevorzugten Stellung des Königs den Göttern gegenüber die Rede sein, die ihm Helfer sind.¹⁸ Eine Deutung muß meines Erachtens vielmehr im Rahmen der *Legitimationsansprüche* des jeweiligen Herrschers gesucht werden und um diese kurze Untersuchung zu beenden, möchte ich noch einmal auf die Liste der von Kaniška im Heiligtum von Rabatak verehrten Gottheiten (R, Zl. 9 f.) zurückkommen.

Mehrere Feststellungen drängen sich gleich zu Beginn auf: das sonst in *iranischem* Kontext allgegenwärtige *hvarnah* ist in der Inschrift völlig abwesend und der Gott des königlichen Ruhmesglanzes und Wohlstands $\phi\alpha\rho\rho\alpha$ wird nicht in der Liste genannt.¹⁹ Dies scheint mir mit Verardi 1983, 271 ein gewichtiges Argument gegen die Interpretation eines "dynastischen Kultes" in dem von Staviskij 1986 verstandenen Sinne zu sein, auch wenn der Gründer der Dynastie, Kujūla Kadphises offenbar ebenfalls in der Ahnenreihe abgebildet war (vgl. R, Zl. 12). Auch die sonst in *kušānischem* Kontext so oft repräsentierte Göttin des Überflusses und der Fruchtbarkeit der Erde $\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\chi\beta\alpha$ scheint in der Liste und der Inschrift zu fehlen.²⁰ Kaniška schreibt den Erhalt seiner Königswürde in Zl. 2 *expressis verbis* der Göttin $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$ zu; sie führt auch die Liste der in Rabatak geehrten Gottheiten an und ist mit $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$, über die gleich zu sprechen sein wird, die einzige, die zweimal in der Inschrift genannt wird. Zwischen den Zeilen 9 und 10 sind schließlich noch die Namen der hinduistischen Kriegsgottheiten $\mu\alpha\alpha\sigma\eta\eta\alpha$ (Mahāsena) und $\beta\iota\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha$ (Viśākha) eingeschoben worden (vgl. Sims-Williams 1998, 82 Anm. 2), auf die ich ebenfalls gleich zurückkommen werde.

Will man die An- oder Abwesenheit dieser oder jener Gottheit in der Inschrift verstehen, so ist es zunächst mit Fussman 1998, 590–594 notwendig, die Liste der Götter der Inschrift strikt von der Liste der auf Kaniškas Münzen belegten Gottheiten zu trennen. Während die erstgenannte Liste noch eine persönliche Wahl des Königs widerspiegelt, gibt es ganz andere Beweggründe für die Aufnahme des Bildnisses einer Gottheit auf den Münzen.²¹ Es besteht also kein Zweifel, daß Kaniška in der Inschrift von Rabatak jene

¹⁸In diesem Sinne scheint mir die Definition von Fussman 1998, 589 weit eher akzeptabel zu sein als die Vorstellungen von Rosenfield 1967 und Staviskij 1986: "... il apparaît nettement que les *bagolaṅgo* construits sur ordre de Kaniška sont des sanctuaires dynastiques en ce sens qu'ils étaient consacrés aux dieux qui protégeaient la famille royale, représentée par les ancêtres masculins de l'empereur dont le temple contenait des portraits".

¹⁹Mukherjee 1995, 8 f. und 16 hat das Problem gleich erkannt und deshalb versucht, den Namen in Zl. 9 $\phi\alpha\rho\rho\alpha$ zu lesen, wo Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams–Cribb 1996, 92 und 1998, 82 ein zweigliedriges Epitheton $\mu\alpha . . \alpha\phi\phi\alpha\rho\rho\alpha$ für $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ hat lesen wollen. Letztere Lösung verdient aber eindeutig den Vorzug, da sonst $\phi\alpha\rho\rho\alpha$ – anders als $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$ und $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ – als einziger Gott, der außerhalb der eigentlichen Liste genannt würde, nicht ein zweites Mal in der Liste erschiene (vgl. zu Recht, Fussman 1998, 586 Anm. 30).

²⁰Um diese Schwierigkeit zu umgehen, hat Fussman 1998, 592 und 594 in $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ ein Epitheton für $\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\chi\beta\alpha$ sehen wollen; dazu s. weiter unten.

²¹Vgl. Fussman 1998, 592 (mit Erläuterungen auf S. 593): "Le plus simple est donc de séparer les deux listes. Lorsqu'il ordonne de construire le *bagolaṅgo* de Rabatak, Kaniška veut honorer personnellement, pour son propre compte, les divinités qui l'ont favorisé et peuvent encore le faire. Lorsqu'il choisit les dieux dont

Gottheiten aufgelistet hat, mit denen er sich am meisten verbunden fühlte, allen voran $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$. Doch wie ist diese Auswahl zu begründen und warum tritt neben $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$ auch $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ zweimal in Erscheinung, d.h. auch außerhalb der Liste der Zeilen 9 f.? Die herausragende Stellung, die $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$ im Pantheon der Kušan einnimmt, kommt auch auf den Münzlegenden zum Ausdruck, wo sie $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\omicron$ ‘Königin Nanā’ genannt wird. Auf die ikonographische Nähe in der Darstellung von $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha$ und $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ und die Tatsache, daß beide mit Śiva abgebildet werden,²² hat bereits Cribb in Sims-Williams–Cribb 1996, 108 hingewiesen. Hinzu kommt noch, daß $\nu\alpha\nu\alpha(\iota\alpha)$ von den Persern mit Anāhitā identifiziert und als “*Magna Mater*” betrachtet wurde (vgl. Boyce 1982, 31 und 224), und dieser Funktion dürfte sie ihren besonderen Status bei den Kušan im allgemeinen und bei Kaniška im besonderen verdanken; dasselbe gilt aber genauso für Umā-Pārvatī, die in der indischen Literatur auch *Āmbikā* ‘Mutter’ genannt wird.²³ So scheint mir Umā hier das indische Gegenstück zur iranischen (bzw. iranisch gewordenen) Nanā zu sein, nicht etwa in dem Sinne, daß sie miteinander identisch wären, sondern vielmehr, daß sie als Hypostasen zwei verschiedene Aspekte der Muttergöttin darstellen.²⁴ Beide sind somit enger miteinander verbunden, was die erste Erwähnung von $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ außerhalb der Liste in Zll. 9 f. rechtfertigt und insbesondere die Aussage, daß sie den (Gottes-)Dienst leitet, die nur dann Sinn macht, wenn der Tempel

l’effigie sera reproduite sur ses monnaies, ses préférences personnelles se combinent à des considérations techniques, politiques, et peut-être de circonstance”. Bei den Münzen gilt es noch, zwischen Gold- und Bronzemünzen zu unterscheiden, vgl. wiederum Fussman 1998, 590 f.: “Le monnayage d’or est plus solennel. Il est extrêmement contrôlé par le pouvoir. Ses types ont une signification politique, mais peu de sujets de l’empire kouchan ont eu, dans leur existence, l’occasion de voir une monnaie d’or, tant était grand son pouvoir d’achat. Le monnayage de bronze, par contre, était fort répandu . . .” und *ibid.*, 594: “Sur le monnayage d’or, à fort contenu politique et à circulation restreinte, sont représentés des déesses et dieux tellement iraniens que l’on ne peut les assimiler à aucun des dieux du panthéon indien . . . [L]es dieux du monnayage de bronze supportent tous une *interpretatio indica* . . . La population indienne, qui utilisait le numéraire de bronze, pouvait aisément croire que Kaniška adorait quelques-uns de ses dieux . . .”.

²² Die angesprochene ikonographische Analogie (Nanā wird jedoch mit einem Löwen und eine Keule/einen Stab in der Hand abgebildet, während Umā eine Lotusblume in der Hand hält) wird mit Sicherheit die Bildung eines heterogenen Paares Nanā-Śiva neben dem rein śivaitischen Paar Umā-Śiva erleichtert haben.

²³ Der Name $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha/\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ – die Form $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ (Huviška, Münze) ist ohne Zweifel nur eine spätere Variante von $\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ (Kaniška, Inschrift von Rabatak), bei der die Endung des Femininums - α durch die verallgemeinerte Endung - $\omicron$ ersetzt wurde – kann nicht auf Umā zurückgehen, da dadurch nicht die Geminate erklärt wird (vgl. Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams–Cribb 1996, 84). Und er wird natürlich auch nicht durch die Form *Āmbikā* erklärt, da auslautendes -*kā* im Baktrischen zu - $\gamma\omicron$ hätte führen müssen; aber auch wenn man von *Ambī* ‘Mutter’ (vgl. dt. *Amme*) ausgeht, bleibt die Schwierigkeit bestehen, da zwar die Konsonantenfolge *-*pm*- nach Assimilation zu - $\mu\mu$ - führt, aber umgekehrt *-*mb*- im Baktrischen als - $\mu\beta$ - erhalten bliebe (der Name/das Epitheton *Ambā* – in den südindischen Sprachen auch: *Ammā* – ‘Mutter’ für Śivas Gattin Durgā scheint erst in jüngerer Zeit populär gewesen zu sein, vgl. Fussman 1998, 587). So bleibt der Name wohl am ehesten mit Sims-Williams, *ibid.*, 84 aus dem Iranischen (< **upamā*- ‘höchste’) zu erklären.

²⁴ Falls diese Erklärung zutrifft, ließe sich damit vielleicht neben den bereits oben angeführten noch eine weitere Parallele zu den armenischen Arsakiden vorbringen, wenn man an die bedeutende und führende Rolle der Göttin Anahit in Armenien denkt (der Vergleich hinkt allerdings etwas, da die armenische Anahit nicht mit Nanā, sondern mit Artemis zu identifizieren ist).

in erster Linie ihr gewidmet war;²⁵ da wir jedoch auf iranischem Grundgebiet sind, tritt in Zl. 2 anfangs nur die iranische $\nu\nu\nu$ in Erscheinung. In der eigentlichen Liste führen beide dann logischerweise die Reihe der Gottheiten an, wo sie als $\alpha\mu\sigma\alpha$ 'zuvor genannte' (vgl. überzeugend Sims-Williams 1998, 85) qualifiziert werden. Falls diese Erklärung zutrifft, fände sie vielleicht mit den beiden folgenden Namen ihre Fortsetzung: denn $\alpha\sigma\sigma\mu\sigma\delta\sigma$ (Ahura Mazda) bildet als höchster iranischer Gott gewissermaßen das Gegenstück zum indischen $\mu\sigma\zeta\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu\sigma$ (Rudra/Śiva).²⁶

Die drei folgenden Namen sollte man wiederum als eine Einheit nehmen: so dürfte der Sonnengott $\mu\mu\sigma$ (Mithra) hier in seiner kriegerischen Gestalt erscheinen.²⁷ In dieser Funktion tritt der Gott des Gehorsams und des Gebetes $\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\delta$ (Sraoša, avest. *sraošō ašiiō*) in der zoroastrischen Literatur nämlich als sein enger Mitarbeiter auf, da das Gebet ein mächtiges Instrument im Kampf gegen das Böse ist, während der Götterbote $\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\sigma$ (avest. *nairiiō.sanhō*) seinerseits sozusagen dessen Vorgänger als Gott des Gebetes war (vgl. Boyce 1975, 60 f. und 1982, 252 f.). Dies könnte darauf hindeuten, daß Kaniška I. unter Legitimationszwang stand und nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten an die Macht gekommen ist; zwar räumt die neuentdeckte Inschrift von Rabatak (R, Zll. 13 f.) jegliche Bedenken darüber aus, daß Kaniška tatsächlich der Sohn seines Vorgängers Vima Kadphises gewesen ist, aber das schließt nicht aus, daß er seinen Herrschaftsanspruch möglicherweise gegen einen Konkurrenten hat behaupten müssen (vgl. Göbl 1993, 64, wo die Einzelheiten zu den Familienverhältnissen aber mittlerweile durch die Inschrift von Rabatak überholt sind). Irgendetwas muß Kaniška auch dazu veranlaßt haben, die griechischen Namen der Götter auf den Münzen seines Vaters durch baktrische zu ersetzen.

Ein letztes Problem, für das eine befriedigende Lösung noch aussteht, muß hier noch angesprochen werden, nämlich das der zwischen den Zeilen 9 und 10 eingeschobenen Namen $\mu\alpha\alpha\sigma\eta\nu\sigma$ und $\beta\iota\zeta\alpha\nu\sigma$. Hier haben Sims-Williams-Cribb 1996, 85 und 109 vermutet, daß die indischen Namen in der eingefügten Zeile als Entsprechungen der iranischen Namen des Haupttextes gedacht waren. Doch Grenet 1994-1996, 65 hat sofort erkannt, daß die iranischen Gottheiten, die am ehesten den beiden indischen entsprächen, nicht im Haupttext vorhanden sind; deswegen hat er selber die Möglichkeit einer Wiederverwendung eines bereits zuvor beschrifteten Steins erwogen, wobei Reste einer früheren Inschrift stehengeblieben wären. Diese spitzfindige Lösung ist aber letztendlich aus den von Fussman 1998, 588 genannten Gründen unhaltbar, da sie zu viele unwahrscheinliche Zufallsstände voraussetzt. Wenn nun diese Einfügungen weder gleichzeitig noch vorher vorgenommen worden sind, dann bleibt eigentlich nur als dritte Lösung, daß irgendjemand sie *nachträglich* eingefügt hat. Hier ließe sich nun am ehesten an Huviška denken,

²⁵ Vgl. Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams-Cribb 1996, 85: "Possibly the implication is that Umma 'takes precedence here (i.e. in this sanctuary)', which would make sense if she were the primary dedicatee of the temple".

²⁶ Der hinduistische Śiva ist sozusagen aus dem gefürchteten vedischen Gott Rudra hervorgegangen; zur Deutung des baktrischen Namens und zur Identifizierung vgl. nun Sims-Williams 1997 und Wright 1997.

²⁷ Vgl. Boyce 1982, 287: "Mithra, lord of the sun and of just battles – and naturally all battles fought by Iranians against 'anarya', non-Iranian peoples, could be held to be just".

denn bei den eingefügten Namen handelt es sich um zwei hinduistische Kriegsgötter, die unter Huviška verstärkt in die Ikonographie des kušānischen Pantheons Eingang finden und bei Kaniška überhaupt nicht aufgetreten waren.²⁸ Auch dies deutet wieder auf einen (internen) Konflikt hin und tatsächlich gibt es weitere Indizien, die darauf schließen lassen, daß Huviška nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten an die Macht gekommen ist (vgl. Bussagli 1996, 228 f.). Nicht zuletzt würden die Renovierungsarbeiten von Huviška an den unter seinem Vater Kaniška gebauten Heiligtümern in Surx Kotal und Mat (und Airtam? [vgl. Anm. 2]) dadurch besser verständlich, wenn man sie als einen Versuch von Huviška interpretiert, so seine Herrschaftsansprüche noch stärker zu untermauern.²⁹ Vielleicht ist es nicht einmal übertrieben, darin ein wichtiges und symbolträchtiges Signal von Seiten Huviškas an seine kušānische Untertanen zu sehen, daß derselbe Beamte Nokonzoko,³⁰ der unter seinem Vater Kaniška einige Jahrzehnte (?) zuvor mit dem damaligen Grenzgouverneur Jafar für den Bau von Kaniškas Heiligtum in Rabatak verantwortlich gewesen war (vgl. R, Zll. 16 f.), nun auch an der Instandsetzung beteiligt wurde (vgl. ISK 4, §§ 5-8). Eine stützende Parallele für eine solche Handlungsweise findet sich im übrigen bei den Achaimeniden, denn Huviška verhält sich hier nicht anders als Dareios I., der die von Kyros in seinem Palast zu Pasargadai angefangene Bautätigkeit zur Vollendung hatte bringen lassen und obendrein noch Inschriften in dessen Namen (CMA-c = DMA-c) angefertigt hatte!

Auch wenn man alle verfügbaren Informationen in Betracht zieht, bleibt das Gesamtbild über die Funktion der βαγολαγγε selbstverständlich lückenhaft, aber folgendes läßt sich vielleicht mit einiger Plausibilität herauskristallieren: Nur der jeweils herrschende König konnte kraft seines Amtes den Auftrag für die Gründung eines βαγολαγγο geben, das als eine Burgfestung gebaut wurde. Das Heiligtum war der/den Gottheit(en) gewidmet, die der König der Könige in besonderer Weise als seine(n) Helfer und Beschützer betrachtete. Aus diesem Grund wurden im Heiligtum auch Statuen dieser Götter errichtet,

²⁸ Mukherjee 1995, 9 und 42 hat gemeint, in den Resten des dem Namen μαασηνο vorangehenden Wortes noch κομορο (Kumāra) lesen zu können, womit sich sogar noch ein dritter Kriegsgott zu den beiden anderen gesellen würde, aber diese "Lesung" dürfte wohl eher eine Hineindeutung auf der Grundlage des auf Huviškas Münzen belegten Namens sein; Nicholas Sims-Williams bestätigt mir jedenfalls, daß er nichts von den von Mukherjee vermuteten Resten erkennen kann. Außerdem wäre dadurch auch der Parallelismus zu den beiden folgenden Namen gestört, da *κομορο als einziger Name nicht von der Verbalform ριζδι gefolgt würde. Wenn man nun, wie ich es an dieser Stelle getan habe, die Formen μαασηνο und βιζαγο für spätere Hinzufügungen hält, wirkt die Anwesenheit ebenjener Form ριζδι 'wird/ist genannt' (3. Sg. Ind. Präs. Pass., vgl. Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams-Cribb 1996, 94) "störend" und mir fällt zur Zeit keine passende Erklärung dafür ein (der Satz ist aber nicht vollständig erhalten geblieben), denn über die formale Analyse oder Bedeutung des Wortes lassen die zahlreichen Parallelen in den baktrischen Dokumenten (vgl. Sims-Williams 2000, 221) gar keinen Zweifel aufkommen.

²⁹ Zugleich fände meine oben (Anm. d zur Tabelle) angeführte Interpretation der ersten Zeile der Inschrift in Surx Kotal hierin eine wichtige Stütze und eine ausreichende Erklärung, weshalb das Heiligtum erst in Huviškas Zeit nach Kaniška benannt worden war!

³⁰ Dieser war inzwischen allerdings vom αβτοοο(λγo) (dazu s. Sims-Williams 1998, 86) zum κορολαγγο aufgestiegen.

das des weiteren noch Statuen der männlichen Vorfahren des Königs enthielt, womit letzterer zugleich seinen legitimen Herrschaftsanspruch innerhalb der Dynastie zu erkennen gab. Offensichtlich wurde dort auch ein immerwährendes heiliges Feuer brennend gehalten, ohne daß deshalb auf einen Feuerkult im eigentlichen Sinne geschlossen werden kann; die unmittelbare Anwesenheit von Wasser scheint ebenfalls eine wichtige und notwendige Rolle gespielt zu haben. Drohte in irgendeiner Weise eine Gefahr für das Heiligtum, wodurch es verunreinigt werden konnte, wurde zeitweilig an einen anderen Ort umgezogen.³¹

[KORREKTURZUSATZ: Seit der Fertigstellung dieses Aufsatzes hat mir Frantz Grenet dazu noch einige wertvolle Bemerkungen zukommen lassen, wofür ich ihm an dieser Stelle herzlich danken möchte und die ich hier wenigstens knapp erwähnen will:

Zu S. 175 Anm. 2: Die Anwesenheit des Namens des Huviška auf der Inschrift von Airtam dürfte mehr als zweifelhaft sein; als Alternativlösung für das göttliche Paar auf dem stark beschädigten Relief von Airtam wäre etwa an Ardoxšo und Pharro zu denken.

Zu S. 182 f. und der Schlußfolgerung auf S. 187 f.: der Altar in Surx Kotal mag zwar tragbare Statuetten der Gottheiten enthalten haben (und eventuell auch *thymiateria*), doch reichen die Indizien keineswegs aus, um auf einen Feueraltar mit ewig brennendem Feuer zu schließen.

Zu S. 182 f.: Die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem iranischen Kult in Armenien einerseits und im kušänischen Baktrien andererseits dürfte vielleicht eher durch ein kulturelles Kontinuum zwischen dem arsakidischen Iran und Baktrien zu erklären sein, das bereits im "Zoroastrismus des Tempels" der letzten Achaimeniden seinen Ursprung fand und später durch die "ikonoklastische" Reform der Sasaniden abgebrochen wurde.

Zu S. 186: Kaniškas Bedürfnis, in seiner Inschrift Kriegsgötter anzurufen, läßt sich vielleicht eher durch die große indische Kampagne zu Beginn seiner Regierungszeit als durch einen Konflikt um die Nachfolge erklären.]

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

- Bernard, P., 1981. Un nouveau document sur les cultes hinduistes dans l'Asie centrale kushane, *StIr* 10, 325-329.
- Boyce, M., 1975. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1, *The early period* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.8.1.2.2A, Leiden-Köln).
- Boyce, M., 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2, *Under the Achaemenians* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.8.1.2.2A, Leiden-Köln).
- Bussagli, M., 1996. *L'art du Gandhāra*, traduit de l'italien par B. Arnal (s.l.; Übers. von *L'arte del Gandhara* (Torino 1984)).
- Fussman, G., 1998. L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Śaka, *JA* 286, 571-651.
- Gershevitch, I., 1979. Nokonzok's Well, *Afghan studies* 2, 55-73.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1999. Quelle connaissance eut de l'Iran Movsès Xorenac'i?, *StIr* 28, 215-226.
- Göbl, R., 1993. *Donum Burns. Die Kušānmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie* (Wien).

³¹Vgl. dazu die zutreffenden Bemerkungen von Grenet in Lazard-Grenet-de Lamberterie 1984, 207-209 (zur Entweihung des heiligen Bezirks) bzw. 205-207 (zum Umzug nach Lraf, das vielleicht Amtssitz des Grenzgouverneurs Nukunzuk gewesen sein mag).

- Grenet, F., 1994-1996 [1999]: Rezension von Sims-Williams-Cribb 1996, *Abstrlr* 17-19, 64 f. Nr. 186.
- Harmatta, J., 1965. Minor Bactrian inscriptions, *AAASH* 13, 149-205.
- Harmatta, J., 1986. The Bactrian inscription of Ayrtaṃ, in R. Schmitt, P. O. Skjærvø (Hrsg.), *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München 1986), 131-146.
- Hübschmann, H., 1897. *Armenische Grammatik*, 1. Teil, *Armenische Etymologie* (Leipzig; Nachdr. Darmstadt 1962).
- Humbach, H., 1976. Zu den baktrischen Materialien aus Kara Tepe, *MSS* 53, 63-72.
- Kettenhofen, E., 1998. Die Arsakiden in den armenischen Quellen, in J. Wieshöfer (Hrsg.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Historische Einzelschriften 122, Stuttgart), 325-353.
- Lazard, G., Grenet, F., de Lamberterie, Ch., 1984. Notes bactriennes, *Slr* 13, 199-232.
- Mahé, A., Mahé, J.-P., 1993. *Histoire de l'Arménie par Moïse de Khorène. Nouvelle traduction de l'arménien classique (d'après Victor Langlois) avec une introduction et des notes* (Paris).
- Mukherjee, B., 1995 [1998]. The great Kuṣāṇa testament, *Indian Museum bulletin*, 1-106 [non vidi].
- M.X. = Moses Khorenats'i, *Patmut' iwn Hayots'*, ed. M. Abeṭean, S. Yarut'iwnian (Tiflis 1913; Nachdr. in *Moses Khorenats'i, Patmut' iwn Hayots'* (History of the Armenians). A facsimile reproduction of the 1913 Tiflis edition, with an introduction by R. W. Thomson (Delmar, N.Y., 1981)).
- Rosenfield, J. M., 1967. *The dynastic arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley-Los Angeles).
- Schlumberger, D., Le Berre, M., Fussman, G., 1983. *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane*, vol. 1, *Les temples: architecture, sculpture, inscriptions* (MDAFA 25, Paris), 2 Bde.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1985. *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2* (Berliner Turfantexte 12, Berlin).
- Sims-Williams, N., 1996. Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire et la langue de la Bactriane, *CRAI*, 633-654.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1997. A Bactrian god, *BSOAS* 60, 336-338.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1998. Further notes on the Bactrian inscription of Rabatak, with an appendix on the names of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Taktu in Chinese, in N. Sims-Williams (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, pt. 1, *Old and Middle Iranian studies* (Wiesbaden), 79-92.
- Sims-Williams, N., 2000. *Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan*, vol. 1, *Legal and economic documents* (Studies in the Khalili collection 3, Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 2.6, Oxford).
- Sims-Williams, N., Cribb, J., 1996. A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great, *SRAA* 4, 75-142.
- Staviskij, B. Ya., 1986. *La Bactriane sous les Kushans. Problèmes d'histoire et de culture*, éd. rev. et augmentée, traduite du russe par P. Bernard et al. (Paris 1986; Übers. von Kuṣāṇskaja Baktriya (Moskva, 1977)).
- Thomson, R. W., 1976. *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians* (Albany).
- Thomson, R. W., 1978. *Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians. Translation and commentary on the literary sources* (Cambridge, Mass.-London).
- Toumanoff, C., 1969. The third-century Armenian Arsacids: a chronological and genealogical commentary, *REArm* 6, 233-281.
- Toumanoff, C., 1990. *Les dynasties de la Caucasic chrétienne de l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle. Tables généalogiques et chronologiques* (Rome).
- Verardi, G., 1983. The Kuṣāṇa emperors as *cakravartins*. Dynastic art and cults in India and Central Asia: history of theory, clarifications and refutations (with a note by A. Grossato), *EW* 33, 225-294.
- Wright, J. C., 1997. Bactrian Rudra, *BSOAS* 60, 339-343.

Albert de Jong

In one of the earliest scholarly attempts to interpret the coins of the Fratarakā “kings” of Persis, the nineteenth-century epigrapher M. A. Levy remarked: “Auch die Fahne an der Seite de[s] Tempels muss wohl ein religiöses Symbol bedeuten, das uns aber sonst nicht weiter bekannt ist”.¹ The interpretation of the reverse of the earliest series of these coins is a well-known problem, for which several solutions have been presented.² The reverse shows the monarch in a gesture of worship facing what can be interpreted as a building or an oversized fire-holder, behind which we find the banner to which Levy referred.³ It is a square banner on a pole or lance, from which a number of tassels are suspended and which bears a non-figurative design.

The banner is the only object present on *all* coins from the first four rulers, including the coins that do not show the building or fire-holder, but portray the monarch sitting on a throne facing the banner. Together with their mysterious self-designation as *prtrk’ zy ’lhy’*, ‘*fratarakā* of the gods’,⁴ an interpretation of the banner seems necessary for a fuller under-

¹ M. A. Levy, *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran’s und zur Kunde der ältesten Pehlewi-Schrift*, ZDMG 21 (1867), 421-465, 439.

² The most important discussions of the reverse of these coins can be found in: M. Alram, *Nomina propria Iranica in nummis. Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch 4, Wien 1986), 162-186; M. Boyce, F. Grenet, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3, *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden 1991), 110-116 (= HZ III); and J. Wiesehöfer, *Die “dunklen Jahrhunderte” der Persis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Färs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v. Chr.)* (Zetemata 90, München 1994), 103-115.

³ The discussion on the interpretation of the “building” has reached a deadlock. The evolution of the image from a building-type structure to a fire-holder type structure is used both to interpret the earlier design as a fire-holder and to interpret the later design as a building; see, for instance, HZ III, 113; P. Naster, *Fire-altar or fire-tower on the coins of Persis?*, OLP 1 (1970), 125-129 with plate V, for interpretations of the design as a fire-holder, and B. Goldman, *Persian fire-temples or tombs?*, JNES 24 (1965), 305-308, and J. Houtkamp, *Some remarks on fire altars of the Achaemenid period*, in J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l’époque achéménide* (Iranica Antiqua, Supplement 5, Gent 1991), 23-48, for the interpretation of the design as a building.

⁴ The problem for an interpretation of this title is, of course, the identity of the ‘gods’ mentioned. If we believe, as I certainly do, that the first word of the inscription is to be read *prtrk’*, and is identical with the administrative title *prtrk* known from Egypt, the identity of these ‘gods’ becomes a huge problem. There should be no doubt that the title in question really is ‘vice-regent (*vel sim.*) of the gods’ as a unit, since the whole phrase is later on replaced with the title *MLK* ‘king’. Syntactically, it would be wrong to separate the two elements and to connect the ‘of the gods’ part directly with the name (as seems to be the solution of those who interpret this inscription as a prefiguration of the later Sasanian usage *kē cihr az yazadān* ‘whose essence/seed/family comes from the gods’). It has been suggested that the ‘gods’ referred to would be the deified Seleucid kings, under whose sovereignty the Persid kings operated (HZ III, 110-111) or that the word is an early ideogram for Middle Persian *bay*, referring to the Parthian king (H. Humbach, *Herrscher, Gott, und Gottessohn in Iran und in angrenzenden Ländern*, in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschwerdung Gottes – Vergöttlichung*

standing of the background of these mysterious rulers. There seems to be general agreement on the fact that the whole scene on the reverse has clear religious implications. In fact, the Fratarakā rulers have been interpreted as “priest-kings” by a number of researchers.⁵ Although such an interpretation seems unlikely and has been generally rejected, the image on their coins is more heavily laden with religious meaning than the images on all other Western Iranian coins before the rise of the Sasanians and is clearly in need of further reflection.

Michael Alam has felicitously presented the Fratarakā coins as *Prestigeprägung*.⁶ They were never meant to (fully) replace the existing coins in use in the region, but they were an addition to them, to underline the “prestige” of the Fratarakā rulers. It would be worthwhile, therefore, to speculate on the foundations of their prestige. In order to answer this question, we can only study the coins and their designs, for there are no other sources. In addition to the building/fire-holder and the banner, they have representations of a number of other symbols: the rulers themselves wear royal headgear and hold one from among several objects: a flower, a sceptre or a bow. These objects – including the banner – have most often been interpreted as royal *insignia*, mustered on Achaemenian prototypes. They are, consequently, interpreted as elements of *royal* imagery. In the absence of comparative evidence from other minor rulers, there is little one can say or hold against such an interpretation. Certainly, for most objects, the examples were ready at hand, carved in stone during the rule of the Achaemenians.

The banner, however, poses particular problems in this respect: if we follow Nylander’s interpretation of the Achaemenian royal standard on the reliefs from Persepolis,⁷ there is no escaping the fact that this standard is *very* different from the Fratarakā standard. Although the shape is similar – a square-shaped object on a pole – the Persepolis standards do not have tassels and do not have any recognisable design on them. Nylander has argued – among others on the basis of early drawings of the Pompeii Alexander mosaic – that the Achaemenian standard on the Persepolis reliefs would have carried the representation of a bird. This is impossible to verify, since all standards on the Persepolis reliefs are entirely undecorated. Nylander’s suggestion that a bird would have been painted on these standards is just possible, but it would be unusual.⁸ Even if we accept that it was, however, a

von Menschen (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 7, Freiburg–Göttingen 1988), 89–114, pp. 101–103). See also Antonio Panaino in this volume.

⁵ This subject is critically discussed by Wiesehöfer, *Dunkle Jahrhunderte*, 131–134, with references.

⁶ Alam, *Nomina propria Iranica*, 162.

⁷ C. Nylander, The standard of the Great King. A problem in the Alexander Mosaic, *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983), 19–37. Nylander’s interpretation has been endorsed both from the Iranian side (P. Bernard, Du nouveau sur la mosaïque d’Alexandre, *StIr* 13 (1984), 263–264), and from the Graeco-Roman side (A. Cohen, *The Alexander mosaic. Stories of victory and defeat* (Cambridge 1997), 124–126). For overviews of Persian standards, see F. Sarre, Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eines unveröffentlichten Stückes, *Klio* 3 (1903), 333–371; Ph. Ackerman, Standards, banners, and badges, *A survey of Persian art*, vol. 3 (New York–London 1939), 2766–2782; A. Sh. Shahbazi, Derafš, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7 (Costa Mesa 1996), 312–315.

⁸ There can be no doubt that the reliefs were painted; that is not the problem. But the standards would have been almost the only objects on these reliefs that would have a decoration of considerable importance

bird is clearly *not* visible on the standards of the Fratarakā. On the reverse of the later coin series, of course, a bird – presumably a falcon – perches on top of the standard, just as the image of the figure in the winged circle hovers over the fire-holder. Since these two images also appear in combination,⁹ one would be justified in assuming that the bird does not necessarily represent a “real” decoration of the standard, but symbolises the standard’s meaning: a visible sign of the divine glory (*xwarrah* etc.).¹⁰ In fact, in one of the very few Pahlavi texts mentioning a standard (*drafs*) in a context not exclusively devoted to military confrontations or national symbols (see further below), the *drafs* occurs as a gloss to explain precisely that concept.¹¹

A famous and much-discussed fragmentary red-figured cup by the important Greek painter Duris, now in the Louvre (tentatively dated to 490 BCE), *does* show a standard remarkably similar to the standard on the Persis coins;¹² this certainly supports the idea that the design was traditional (i.e. not borrowed from the West by the kings of Persis) and may represent a standard similar to the ones in use in the Achaemenian armies.

The Parthian kings and their vassal kings of such regions as Persis or Adiabene, are known to have used a number of royal *insignia*, which show a great similarity to several Achaemenian symbols. They are, therefore, most often presented and interpreted as royal symbols. It is a curious fact, however, that several of these *insignia* are also to be found as objects in the possession of modern Parsi fire-temples. This is true, at least, for the sword,¹³ the sceptre, and the banner.¹⁴ The best-known weapon held by Parsi priests is, of course, the *gurz*: a bull-headed mace, which plays an important role in the *Navar* or initia-

only in paint. For traces of painting, cf. A. B. Tilia, *Studies and restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fārs*, vol. 2 (Rome 1978), 31-69; for the standards on the reliefs, see also M. C. Root, *The king and kingship in Achaemenid art. Essays on the creation of an iconography of empire* (Acta Iranica 19, Leiden 1979), 239-240.

⁹ For instance on a tetradrachm of Wādfraḏād II (?), Alam, *Nomina propria Iranica*, nos. 546-550.

¹⁰ A. Sh. Shahbazi, An Achaemenid symbol: II. Farnah ‘(God given) fortune’ symbolised, *AMI* 13 (1980), 119-147, with pp. 137-139 on the falcon/eagle. The interpretation of the bird as the final of the standard (thus, for instance, Ackerman, *Standards, banners, and badges*, 2768), should be viewed with caution.

¹¹ *PhlVd* 19.37: *be xwānom pērōzgar ī Ohrmazd-dād [Wahrām yazad], kē +barēd xwarrah ī Ohrmazd-dād [drafs]* ‘I invoke the victorious one, created by Ohrmazd [the god Wahrām], who bears the glory created by Ohrmazd [the banner]’.

¹² For this cup (Paris, Louvre, G 117), see, *inter multos alios*, E. Pottier, *Douris et les peintres de vases grecs* (Paris [1909]), fig. 20 (restored); M. Wegner, *Duris. Ein künstlermonographischer Versuch* (Münster 1968), 100-101; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris. A master-painter of Athenian red-figure vases* (Kerameus 9, Mainz am Rhein 1995), no. 108 (with an additional fragment from Florence, Museo Archeologico 3929). The most interesting study of the cup in context is A. Bovon, La représentation des guerriers et la notion du barbare dans la 1^{re} moitié du V^e siècle, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 87 (1963), 579-598 (Bovon’s reference to Parthian coins, however, is mistaken; the coin she refers to – E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge 1913), 316, fig. 226 – is, in fact, one of the coins of Persis, wrongly attributed by Minns).

¹³ For the sword as a royal emblem in the Parthian period, see Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates* 20.32, describing the use of the *sampseira* in royal investiture; for that word, see L. Isebaert, Une denomination iranienne de l’épée, *Sprache* 28 (1982), 163-165.

¹⁴ Photos of some of these objects can be found in S. S. Hartman, *Parsism. The religion of Zoroaster* (Iconography of religions 14.4, Leiden 1980), pl. XXIIb-c: a sword and a sceptre from the Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Agiary in Mumbai. For banners in Parsi temples, see Modi’s article mentioned in n. 16.

tion into the priestly degree of *ervad*.¹⁵ The history of these “royal” *insignia* is almost entirely unknown and has been little studied.¹⁶ At the very least, however, the presence of these symbolic objects in the main centres of religious activity among modern Zoroastrians would open up the possibility of their having had a religious or cultic significance in much earlier periods.¹⁷ In other words, if modern fire-temples are the guardians of what we are accustomed to interpret as secular, royal or military symbols, and interpret these objects in a religious way, it is possible that they continue a much older tradition of religious centres guarding similar objects, not (only) because of their significance for the ruling house, but for religious purposes.¹⁸

There are several problems with such an interpretation, chief of which is the almost total absence of documentary evidence. But there are some traces of “cultic” banners both in Iranian traditions and in religious traditions that were very much influenced, especially in their cultic settings, by Zoroastrianism. A quick survey of these may help us a bit further.

1. IRANIAN TRADITIONS ON THE *DRAFŠA*¹⁹

The word *drafša*- ‘banner’, occurs a number of times in the Avesta, in two different meanings, ‘drop’ and ‘banner’.²⁰ In most cases, the *drafša*- is an object, a banner, held by armies and peoples hostile to the “we-group” of the Avestan texts. These armies or peoples are said to have uplifted banners or bloody banners. There are two important exceptions to this rule, however: the Fravašis of the righteous also hold a banner in one of the more martial descriptions of their exploits (*Yt.* 13.37), and the blessed land of Bactria is qualified by the epithet ‘with uplifted banners’ (*ərəδβō.drafša*-).²¹

¹⁵ J. J. Modi, *The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees* (Bombay 1922), 199–207.

¹⁶ The most important study is J. J. Modi, The *gurz* (mace) as a symbol among the Zoroastrians, in J. J. Modi, *Anthropological papers*, vol. 1 (Bombay 1912), 313–329. Of the many photos to which Modi refers in this article, only two accompany the printed version.

¹⁷ I believe, therefore, that Wiesehöfer’s assessment of, for instance, the sceptre as a clearly secular symbol (*Dunkle Jahrhunderte*, 134) is in need of modification.

¹⁸ Standards are, of course, a very eye-catching aspect of the religious traditions of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Parthian period. For these, too, a *religious* significance is obvious, alongside their possible military, national and other “secular” associations (the whole distinction is, of course, questionable). For a catalogue of these standards, see S. Downey, A preliminary corpus of the standards of Hatra, *Sumer* 26 (1970), 195–225, with earlier literature; for an important contribution to their interpretation, see especially M. Henig, A question of standards, *Oxford journal of archaeology* 2 (1983), 109–112.

¹⁹ The most fundamental discussion still is A. Christensen, *Smeden Kāvāh og det gamle persiske rigsbanner* (København 1919).

²⁰ The *gaoš drafša* of *Y.* 10.14 is now most often not interpreted as a banner (although the *Zand* interprets it thus), but as a ‘drop’. See D. S. Flattery, M. Schwartz, *Haoma and harmaline. The botanical identity of the Indo-Iranian sacred hallucinogen “soma” and its legacy in religion, language, and Middle Eastern folklore* (Berkeley 1989), 108–111; J. Josephson, *The Pahlavi translation technique as illustrated by Hōm Yašt* (*Studia Iranica Upsaliensia* 2, Uppsala 1997), 96–97.

²¹ The materials have most recently been gathered and discussed in I. Colditz, *Zur Sozialterminologie der iranischen Manichäer. Eine semantische Analyse im Vergleich zu den nichtmanichäischen iranischen Quellen* (*Iranica* 5, Berlin 2000), 113. For the very many Swedish contributions to the theme, see below.

The fact that the word is thus attested twice in a clearly positive sense is important for a discussion of the most elaborate theories on this emblem, which were proposed by Stig Wikander and Geo Widengren. They both interpreted the *drafša-* as a cultic emblem, belonging to the male warrior bands (*Männerbünde*), to which they have devoted so much time and effort.²² Their interpretation of these warrior bands is based mainly on very specific interpretations of words that are most often ambiguous or neutral in meaning. I have demonstrated this in a study of the word *jahikā-* and the situation for *drafša-* appears to be similar.²³ There is no reason to accept their interpretation of these banners as symbols of bloodthirsty, demon-worshipping, corpse-eating bands of marauding young men, as there is no real reason to accept the presence of these groups in the Avesta altogether.²⁴ The basic meaning of the word *drafša-* and its descendants (Middle Persian *drafš*; Persian *derafš*; Soghdian *'rδ'yšp* etc.) is, simply, 'banner' or 'flag'; there is no inherent evil to the term.

In Pahlavi literature, the banner (*drafš*) mainly occurs in descriptions of military confrontations between Iran and the rest of the world; these passages thus continue the main function of the banner in the Avesta. The most important text in this connection is the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, which has many descriptions of hostile armies holding banners of various colours and designs.²⁵ In this text, too, the good armies and armies coming to the support of Iran are characterised by banners.²⁶ Most interestingly, a description of the signs of sovereignty that will be removed from Iran in the beginning of its period of distress includes the removal of the banners.²⁷ There are some indications, also, of named banners: the examples from the *ZWY* may all be dubious,²⁸ but in the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, the *drafš ī*

²² See, for instance, S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund. Studien zur indo-iranischen Sprach- und Religionsgeschichte* (Lund 1938), 60-64; Vayu. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur indo-iranischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Quaestiones Indo-Iranicae 1, Uppsala-Leipzig 1941), 155-160, 170; G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran. Eine religionsphänomenologische Untersuchung* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1938, 6, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938), 317-324; and cf. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 40, Köln-Opladen 1969), 19: "Dieser Terminus [i.e. *drafša*, A.J.] ist die Bezeichnung des Kultsymbols des Männerbundes".

²³ A. de Jong, *Jeh the Primal Whore? Observations on Zoroastrian misogyny*, in R. Kloppenborg, W. J. Hanegraaff (ed.), *Female stereotypes in religious traditions* (Studies in the history of religions 66, Leiden 1995), 15-41.

²⁴ The subject of the *Männerbünde* in early Iranian history is clearly in need of detailed study, including a study of the theories of Wikander and Widengren in their contexts. For an interesting perspective (and an important addition to de Jong, *Jeh the Primal Whore?*, 17 n. 9), see B. Lincoln, *Warriors and non-herdsmen: a response to Mary Boyce*, in B. Lincoln, *Death, war, and sacrifice. Studies in ideology and practice* (Chicago-London 1991), 147-166.

²⁵ C. G. Cereti, *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian apocalypse* (Serie orientale Roma 75, Roma 1995).

²⁶ Hostile banners are evident, for instance, from *ZWY* 6.3 and 6.5; good banners from *ZWY* 7.7-7.14.

²⁷ *ZWY* 4.61.

²⁸ *ZWY* 7.14: *drafš ī + babr pōst* and *wād-drafš*.

pērōzān 'banner of victory' plays a decisive – if enigmatic – role in the downfall of the evil sorcerer Wīdrafš (!).²⁹

The interpretation of the *drafš* as a sign of divine glory in the Pahlavi *Vendidad* has already been discussed above. The importance of the banner in the Sasanian armies is evident from *Dēnkard* 8.26.8, but the precise meaning of that passage is unclear.³⁰

2. THE MANDAEAN *DRABŠA*

The genesis and early history of the Mandaeans are still very unclear. Until fairly recently, a *communis opinio* had been reached among scholars that placed the proto-Mandaeans in Palestine around the beginning of the Common Era. Mandaism, in that reconstruction, originated in a sectarian variant of Judaism and the Mandaeans would have been pushed out of their native land by opposing Jewish factions or by the turmoil after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE; this reconstruction accords well with the exceptional hatred of Jews evident in Mandaean literature and it is also somewhat supported by the internal historical traditions of the Mandaeans.³¹ Recently, however, very strong opposition to this reconstruction has been launched by Christa Müller-Kessler in a number of brilliant studies.³² Müller-Kessler, following but a handful of earlier authorities, squarely puts the Mandaeans in their native Babylonian land: that is where they are still found and that is where they come from. Her arguments are mainly based on the undeniable and very strong "afterlife" of local, Mesopotamian, knowledge, traditions, and terminology in Mandaean magical texts. Müller-Kessler's proposal for a local origin of the Mandaeans would also be very helpful in explaining the very strong Iranian influence on Mandaism, particularly in the sphere of ritual and ritual terminology. The impact of Iranian traditions on Mandaean ritual is generally accepted, even though not many scholars would go as far as E. S. Drower in the enthusiasm with which she compared modern Parsi rituals with Mandaean ceremonies.³³

Iranian influence is at its strongest in the Mandaean rituals. The *rasta* or ritual dress worn by Mandaean laymen and priests bears a striking resemblance to Zoroastrian ritual

²⁹ AZ 106; 109. The word *pērōzān* is most often taken to be the plural of Middle Persian *pērōz* and thus the banner would mean 'the banner of victors' (thus, for instance, D. N. MacKenzie, review of D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Die Geschichte Zarēr's* (Uppsala 1981), *IJ* 27 (1984), 155-163, p. 163). In view of the many Parthian words in the text, one could perhaps better interpret the word as a "Parthianism" and compare Manichaean Parthian *paryōzān* 'victory'.

³⁰ A. Tafazzoli, Un chapitre du *Dēnkard* sur les guerriers, in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Res Orientales 7, Bures-sur-Yvette 1995), 297-302.

³¹ This reconstruction is discussed *in extenso* by Ş. Gündüz, *The knowledge of life. The origins and early history of the Mandaeans and their relation to the Sabians of the Qur'ān and the Harranians* (Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement 3, Oxford 1994).

³² For references, see Ch. Müller-Kessler, Phraseology in Mandaic incantations and its rendering in various Eastern Aramaic dialects. A collection of magic terminology, *ARAM* 11-12 (1999-2000), 293-310.

³³ E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1962), 225-239; ead., *Water into wine. A study of ritual idiom in the Middle East* (London 1956), 199-255. For a more sober assessment, see K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, vol. 1, *Das Mandäerproblem* (Göttingen 1960), 118-141.

dress and insignia: it consists of the *sadra*, a shirt made of one piece of cloth with a V-shaped incision near the neck, next to which a small pocket (*daša*) is made; a pair of trousers (*šaruāla*) tied with a tunnel-shaped string; a turban (*burziŋqa*) that is wrapped around the head (one piece of cloth (*rugza*) is left free on the shoulder; this is wrapped before the mouth by a priest and then called *pandama*); the *našifa*, a piece of cloth worn around the shoulders; and the *himiana* (girdle), that is tied around the waist a number of times with several knots.³⁴ In addition to this, a priest wears the *taga*, a separate piece of cloth over the *burziŋqa* which is often crowned by a myrtle wreath (*klila*); two different rings (*šum iauar* and *skandola*) and a staff (*margna*).³⁵ Most of these items of dress and insignia are (or were), of course, standard items of dress in Zoroastrianism (the *sudreh* with the *girehbān*, the *kustī*, the trousers, a head-covering, sometimes with a myrtle wreath,³⁶ the *panām*; the *mārgan*). The Mandeans, furthermore, adopted at a certain moment the Zoroastrian calendar and some of the Zoroastrian festivals (*panja/paruanaiia* and *nauruz*). And there is, of course, the *drabša*.

The *drabša* was interpreted as a cross by the first Christian missionaries who visited the Mandeans in Iraq in the seventeenth century.³⁷ Although it is more like a proper standard, it is shaped somewhat like a cross, because it uses a separate piece of wood from which the banner proper is hung (and to which it is stitched).³⁸ The banner itself is a very long piece of white cloth (approximately three metres), which is planted in the ground in the vicinity of the cult hut (*mandi*), blessed and crowned, touched and praised in prayers.³⁹ Its presence is mandatory in most – but not all – Mandaean rituals.⁴⁰ The chief interpretation of the banner in Mandaeanism is that it dispenses light from the world of good to this imperfect world. It is a visible sign of the fact that this world – though very imperfect – can receive glimpses of its ultimate origin and destination, the light world. One of the mythical beings holding such a banner is Bihrām, whose Iranian origin needs no further comment. The banners in the banner hymns are frequently named banners and – alongside their symbolic value as dispensing radiance, glory, and light – are also seen as “banners of victory”.⁴¹

³⁴ An illustrated guide to the *rasta* was produced by M. Fandi al-Mubarakī, Z. al-Mubarakī, B. Mubarakī, *The Mandaean rasta. Its making and wearing* (Sydney 2000).

³⁵ Drower, *Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, 30–40.

³⁶ A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin literature* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 133, Leiden 1997), 114–115.

³⁷ The best discussion of this subject is E. Lupieri, *I Mandeī. Gli ultimi gnostici* (Biblioteca di cultura religiosa 61, Brescia 1993), 85–154, with some notes on the identification of the *drabša* as a cross on p. 114; for the history of Roman Catholic missionary activities among the Mandaeans, see also C. Alonso, *Los Mandeos y las misiones católicas en la primera mitad del s. XVII* (Orientalia Christiana analecta 179, Roma 1967).

³⁸ Drower, *Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, 108 with pl. 12.

³⁹ These banner hymns can be found in E. S. Drower, *The canonical prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (Leiden 1959), 233–240.

⁴⁰ K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, vol. 2, *Der Kult* (Göttingen 1962), 31–33, first competently describes the fact that the *drabša* “wird bei fast allen Kulthandlungen aufgestellt”, but then concludes: “Zum Wesen des Kultes gehört es nicht”. This conclusion truly boggles the mind.

⁴¹ E. S. Drower, *The secret Adam. A study of Nasorean gnosticism* (Oxford 1960), 61–65.

3. THE *DROŠA* OF THE COMMUNITY RELIGIONS OF THE MOUNTAIN GEORGIANS

Cultural relations between Georgia and Iran date back at least to the Achaemenian period. From that period up to early Islamic times (and beyond), cultural ties can only be described as having been very strong. This is evident mainly from excavations in Georgia, from medieval Georgian literature, and from the considerable number of Iranian loan-words – deriving from various strata of the Iranian languages – in the Georgian literary language.⁴²

When it comes to the development of religious ideas and practices, the situation is very different. Most Western scholars believe that the god Armazi, whose cult was introduced by the Georgian king P'arnavaz I in the fourth century BCE, is the Iranian god Ahura Mazdā, but this is passionately denied by other, especially Georgian, scholars, who prefer to find the prehistory of their own culture in early Anatolian civilizations.⁴³ The Georgians were, of course, converted to Christianity in a fairly early period of their documented history and the Georgian church has been so powerful a catalyst of Georgian national identity, that much of the earlier religious traditions – in which one can assume some Iranian influence – comes to us only through the distorting lense of Christian polemics.

In order to remedy this situation, many scholars have turned to the community religions of the Caucasus, in particular the religious traditions of three Georgian nations – the Pshav, Khevsur and Tush – and the Svans (who are not Georgian *stricto sensu*, but speak a separate South Caucasian language). These religions, which are either still living traditions or have disappeared only very recently, are known chiefly from ethnographic accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These community religions⁴⁴ pose

⁴²For overviews, see D. M. Lang, Iran, Armenia, and Georgia, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1983), 505–536; D. Braund, *Georgia in antiquity. A history of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia* (Oxford 1994), 122–132; 235–267. For archaeology, see now the collection of articles in *AMIT* 32 (2000); for the Iranian impact on medieval Georgian literature, it suffices for our purposes to refer to the existence of Georgian versions of some of the most prominent Iranian literary compositions, such as the *Šāhnāme* and *Wis o Rāmīn*. The lexical relations have been studied in greater depth: M. Andronik'ašvili, *Nark'vevebi iranul-kartuli enobrivi urtiertobidan* / *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi 1966) [I have not seen the recent second volume of this work]; J. Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen* (Wien 1993).

⁴³For opposing views, cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, Über georgisches Heidentum, *Caucasica* 1 (1924), 1–102, and M. van Esbroeck, La religion géorgienne pré-chrétienne, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2.18.4 (Berlin–New York 1990), 2694–2725 (reporting on the work done by Georgian scholars).

⁴⁴I use this term intentionally, to replace the other terms usually chosen for these systems, such as “paganism”. The term “community religion” expresses the fact that these traditions are “co-extensive” with the societies in which they occur. The term is used fruitfully, for instance, in the study of African indigenous religions; cf. J. Platvoet, The religions of Africa in their historical order, in J. Platvoet, J. Cox, J. Olupona (ed.), *The study of religions in Africa. Past, present and prospects* (Cambridge 1996), 46–102, pp. 51–52 (J. O. Hunwick's definition of these religions as “ethno-specific polyspiritual systems operating within a micro-cosmic environment”, quoted by Platvoet on p. 51, is highly interesting for the Caucasian community religions, too). Note Platvoet's warning that “African societies and their religions should . . . not be viewed as sharply demarcated, highly stable, or very ancient systems” (p. 51), a warning that is certainly also suitable for the Caucasian societies.

many problems and are one of the most understudied subjects in the history of religions. Almost all work done on them has either been published in Georgian – and is therefore difficult to access for most scholars – or was written in an environment that was very sharply dominated by academic standards and traditions that most Western scholars would not be able to share: Russian imperialism and Marxist-Leninist history of religions. The former has sponsored the idea that these traditions are backward and can be suitably described in terms of “folklore”. The latter has resulted in a very strict periodization, running from an original matriarchy through phases of totemism and animism, etc.⁴⁵

Fortunately, the community religions of the Pshav and Khevsur have been treated in depth in two very important works in languages and from perspectives that are more common in Western scholarship. It is on these that the discussion of the *droša* in these religions is based.⁴⁶

In spite of the early arrival of Christianity in Georgia, many Georgian nations and societies preserved their traditional religious systems up to very recent times. It is impossible to say how old these traditions are; methodological rigour would demand that they be treated as traditions from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and they certainly are not as archaic as some scholars would like to believe.⁴⁷ That is to say, they probably do preserve ancient traditions, but as a system show all the normal signs of adaptation and change one would expect in living religions.⁴⁸ Like all other Caucasian religions – the traditions of the Ossetes, the Abkhaz, the Chechens and Ingush etc. – the Georgian community religions show many signs of the impact of Christianity, in the names of their spiritual beings, in the calendar and in some of the rituals. They also show some signs of Zoroastrian influences,⁴⁹ although these are more difficult to

⁴⁵The situation is remarkably similar for most community religions of the Caucasus. Representative examples for the community religion of the Ossetes are, for instance, V. F. Miller, *Osetinskie étyudy*, vol. 2 (Moskva 1882), 237-301, for imperial Russia, and L. A. Čibirov, *Drevnejšie plasty duxovnoj kul'tury osetin* (Cuxinali 1984), for Marxist periodization.

⁴⁶G. Charachidze, *Le système religieux de la Géorgie païenne. Analyse structurale d'une civilisation* (Paris 1968; repr. 2001); H. Fähnrich, *Lexikon georgische Mythologie* (Kaukasienstudien 1, Wiesbaden 1999). The two studies are very different in approach and in their interpretation of the traditions. Charachidze's work is one of the chief examples of French structuralism – with all its implications for historical questions – and focuses heavily on ritual and behaviour; Fähnrich bases much of his work on narrative oral traditions (*andres*) and thus is more oriented towards the narrative content of the religions. Clearly, much more research is needed.

⁴⁷It is known, for instance, that the campaigns against the Georgian church in the Stalinist period included an attempt to reinstate the community religions, but one can only speculate on the impact this has had on the traditions themselves or the way they were studied.

⁴⁸I have not been able to read K. Tuite, Highland Georgian paganism. Archaism or innovation?, *Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasica* 7 (1996), 79-91.

⁴⁹But cf. G. Charachidze, Survivances mazdéennes chez les montagnards géorgiens, in *École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Mémorial du cinquantenaire. 1914-1964* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10, Paris 1964), 171-186.

detect.⁵⁰ The vocabulary of these religions makes use of a number of Iranian words: *dast'uri* for one of the priests of the sanctuaries (a priest selected to serve the sanctuary for the period of a year); *darbazi* for one of the cultic rooms in the sanctuary; and *droša* for the most important ritual object kept in the sanctuaries.⁵¹

The *droša* is a banner, which consists of a piece of cloth (*samk'adreo*) tied to a lance or a pole, which is raised during all community rituals and most often placed upwards diagonally, on a standard or in a hole in a rock.⁵² The chief religious specialist handling and bearing the *droša* is the *mk'adre*, through whom the chief inhabitant of the sanctuary (the *xat'i*) speaks. He is therefore also called *medroše*.

The *droša* is used in almost all rituals; it is adorned with bells, touched and praised with words. Most sanctuaries have more than one *droša*, for the various uses to which they are put. They are frequently named and they can travel. Especially in situations of war (a common occurrence), they fulfil a highly important function, going before the troops and securing them the victory. The *droša* is also, finally, of great importance in the swearing of oaths.⁵³

Mandaicism and the community religions of the Pshav and Khevsur are only related by the fact that they arose in societies to which Iranian culture and Zoroastrianism have made important contributions: Parthian and Sasanian Babylonia and Georgia. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that the religious importance of a sacred (often named) banner – representing the god(s) and standing for victory – in *both* traditions is the result of a similar Zoroastrian custom. The chief evidence that this might be so are the banners on the Fratarakā coins and the main evidence speaking against it is the almost complete silence on the subject in all other sources. What separates these sources, which are mainly from the Sasanian period, from the Fratarakā coins are the early Sasanian attempts to create a united, “national” religious organisation in a united empire.⁵⁴

These attempts are also difficult to chart, but evidence for them certainly exists. Much of it can be derived from reflection on the insistence in most sources on the fact that before Ardashir I, Iran was ruled by the famous ‘petty kings’ (*kadag-xwadāy*; Arabic *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*). A much discussed passage from the *Letter of Tansar* tackles this problem precisely in reference to religious establishments:

⁵⁰ The cultic treatment of fire or reverence for the sun or water are *not*, of course, clear-cut signs of Zoroastrian influence; it is a pity that these are precisely the subjects that dominate the recent book of G. M. Kurbanov, *Zoroastrizm v srednevekovom Dagestane. Istoriko-filosofskie aspekty* (Makhachkala 1998).

⁵¹ For the word *droša* and its Iranian background (*drašš*), see Andronik'ašvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, 315, lemma 14 (and see pp. 190 and 203 for the development of Iranian /aš/ to Georgian /o/).

⁵² For an illustration, cf. Charachidze, *Système religieux*, 219.

⁵³ Fährnrich, *Lexikon georgische Mythologie*, 85, s.v. *Droschit Dapizeba*.

⁵⁴ In spite of the weakness of some of its details, R. N. Frye, Notes on the early Sassanian state and church, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. 1 (Roma 1956), repr. in R. N. Frye, *Opera minora*, vol. 1 (Shiraz 1976), 25-46, gives an interesting perspective on these changes.

Next for what you said, that the King of kings has taken away fires from the fire-temples, extinguished them and blotted them out, and that no one has ever before presumed so far against religion; know that the case is not so grievous, but has been wrongly reported to you. The truth is that after Darius each of the “kings of the peoples” built his own fire-temple. This was pure innovation, introduced by them without the authority of kings of old. The King of kings has razed the temples, and confiscated the endowments, and had the fires carried back to their places of origin.⁵⁵

In her comments on this passage, Mary Boyce has rightly noted that it only makes sense for the reign of Ardashir and that it is one of the chief arguments to accept the core of the *Letter of Tansar* as deriving from the reign of the first Sasanian monarch.⁵⁶ She has also, memorably, characterised the religious organisation of Zoroastrianism in the Parthian period as a “fraternity of regional communities”.⁵⁷ Such communities, some of which were led by local dynasts, would logically be held together by a strong symbol: important shrines or temples, in which the chief religious *and* dynastic/national symbols were kept, including a dynastic fire and a banner. Alongside their symbolic value as markers of group identity, these sanctuaries certainly also represented a considerable economic factor; the mention of the endowments in the *Letter of Tansar* raises the suspicion that the wealth of the local shrines would have been an important reason for Ardashir to destroy them and confiscate their property.

Like the Fratarakā, the early Sasanians have also been presented by some scholars as priest-kings, because of their functions at the shrine of Ādur-Anāhid in Staxr.⁵⁸ This interpretation has generally been rejected, and for good reasons. Bahrām II bestowed on Kerdīr the titles of *ēwēnbed* and *pādixšāy* of the two shrines of Staxr (KKZ 8) and it is likely that these were precisely the titles they had before their rise to even higher office. They are not, of course, priestly titles.

In view of these considerations, we can perhaps come back to M. A. Levy’s statement that the banner on the Fratarakā coins must represent some sort of religious symbol. No one would want to return to the idea that the Fratarakā dynasts were in some sense priest-kings. The consistent use of religious imagery on their coins, however, must form part of any discussion of the foundation of their prestige. The parallels adduced above, from contemporary Parsi usage and from the Mandaean and Georgian materials, strongly suggest that it is wrong to interpret the banner – and most other symbols found on these coins – in strictly secular terms. The religious meaning of the banner in these traditions – like the religious function of the standard in Syro-Mesopotamian traditions – opens up the possibility that the banner on the coins also chiefly was a religious symbol, in the possession of the Fratarakā. Viewed from this perspective, the coins strikingly suggest that the Fratarakā based their prestige on the fact that they were the guardians of an important shrine, gover-

⁵⁵ M. Boyce, *The letter of Tansar* (Serie orientale Roma 38, Roma 1968), 47.

⁵⁶ Boyce, *Letter of Tansar*, 16–17.

⁵⁷ M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians. Their religious beliefs and practices*, 3rd ed. (London 2001), 103.

⁵⁸ M. L. Chaumont, *Le culte d’Anāhitā a Staxr et les premiers Sassanides*, *RHR* 153 (1958), 154–175 (see her characterisation on p. 151 of “les origines sacerdotales de la dynastie sassanide”).

nors of the gods in a very literal sense. This would certainly have meant sufficient income to be able to mint coins. It would also explain their privileged position as subjects of the Parthian great kings. Their rise to the title “king”, evident from later coins, would offer a striking parallel with the rise of the Sasanians. The trend in scholarship has been, recently, to tie the Fratarakā as closely to the Achaemenians as possible.⁵⁹ It is time, perhaps, not only to look back at their glorious predecessors, but also to look forward and cast a glance at the Sasanians, the family destined to eradicate the very memory of these dynasts and at the same time to fulfil their ambition.

⁵⁹ Wiesehöfer, *Dunkle Jahrhunderte*, *passim*.

THE “SITZ IM LEBEN” OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE *DĒNKARD*

Judith Josephson

The seventh book of the *Dēnkard* or the “legend of Zoroaster” is one of the most interesting and colourful of the Pahlavi books. It is an attempt to write a universal history from the first man to the final events. The philosophy which gives it its special character is that it presents Zoroaster as the central point of world history in a chain of prophecy which stretches from Gayōmard to Sōšyāns.¹ Attempts have been made to define the nature of the prophetology which is postulated about Zoroaster in this text. Thus Molé observes that Zoroaster appears as the archetype of the priest in the *Gāthās* but that he came to be conceived of as a prophet of Semitic mould as a result of a changing concept of time as linear instead of cyclical. He notes that the legend of Zoroaster’s life comes close to expressing this.² Earlier Barr had written that Zoroaster is portrayed in this text as first priest, warrior and herdsman just as in *Yt.* 13.89. Darrow has studied aspects of the prophetology of Zoroaster and observes that the element which is characteristic of the text of *Dēnkard* 7 is that Zoroaster not only has a *frawahr* and *xwarrah* as in other Pahlavi texts but that he also possesses a *tan gōhr* (‘body substance’). Darrow interprets this to mean that the redactor of this text is specifying his corporeality and humanity. He calls for an examination of the “Sitz im Leben” of the various types of material which have been brought together in this text as a prerequisite for writing the history of the legend of Zoroaster.³

As a tribute to Professor Gnoli, the eminent scholar of Iranian religion to whom this volume is dedicated, I would like to make a close study of how the redactor has presented the narrative in order to see if it is possible to learn a little more about the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the text. I will do this by focusing on certain concepts and themes which occur throughout the book as organizing principles. While the final redaction of the entire *Dēnkard* took place in the mid-tenth century it is probable that already much earlier a redactor assembled the material of *Dēnkard* 7 from different sources to present a statement relating to certain specific circumstances of his day with the intention of reaching a certain audience. In other words I will try to establish a “Sitz im Leben” for *Dēnkard* 7.

At first glance the style of *Dēnkard* 7 appears extremely heterogeneous with sequences in prose, verse or rhythmic prose and extensive quotations from Avestan texts. The sections in prose often precede and explain the main points of the poetic sections which follow. While *Dēnkard* 7 is not a translation of an Avestan text the redactor often uses quotations. It has been assumed that the main Avestan text quoted from is the *Spand Nask*, which is no longer extant, and which, according to the summary in *Dēnkard* 8,

¹ De Menasce 1958, 66; Boyce 1968, 45.

² Molé 1963, 532.

³ Darrow 1987, 122 f. and 130 f. as well as 128 for references and an account and critique of K. Barr’s interpretation of Zoroaster’s role in this text.

recounted the story of Zoroaster's life.⁴ It will be seen that some of the poetic sections are the renderings in Pahlavi of Avestan epic poetry but others are genuinely old stories and chronicles in Pahlavi which have been orally tradited in the form of sequences of rhythmic prose. All this material has been assembled and provided with guiding words to direct our attention to a particular message. It can be suggested that the form chosen by the redactor is a usual one in a predominantly oral culture in which the text will be told to an audience or read to a number of listeners.

Dēnkard 7 has been divided into eleven chapters which fall naturally into two sections. The first, which runs from chapters 1 to 6, covers the period from the First Man to the death of Wištāsp with most of the text devoted to the life of Zoroaster. The second, chapters 7 to 11, relates the main events of the subsequent history of Iran up to the end of the world and the final events. The world year of twelve millennia provides the overall framework within which the events take place.⁵

Already the first chapter, which is a combined introduction and prehistory of the transmission of the word (*waxš abar-barišnih*) of Ohrmazd, sets the tenor of the work and alerts us as to what to watch for. This is the story of the illustrious (*warzāwand*) prophet (*aštag*) Zoroaster. The topic of discussion is the prophets (*waxšwarān*), apostles (*frēstagān*) and bearers (*āwurdārān*) of the word in earlier times. Gayōmard is the first man to receive the word in the material world. After him the word (*waxš*) and the *xwarrah* are passed along to all the illustrious mythological heroes and founders of human institutions before Zoroaster including some twenty representatives of the *parađāta*- and the *kauui*- dynasties and even an Arab king in what is called a limited list of prophets in *Dēnkard* 7.1.8 [*DkM* 592.19] (*nām parwastag waxšwar*). Before closing the introduction the redactor states that there were other prophets before Zoroaster whose names have not been noted.⁶

In this chapter the redactor uses traditional material but gives it a new slant. In a very skilful way he manages to recast Gayōmard and the mythological Iranian kings and heroes, who are ordinarily found in the lists of sacrificers to a divinity, as bearers of the word (*waxš*) and forerunners of Zoroaster. He thereby provides him with a lineage or genealogy of precursors which suggests the prophets of the Old Testament and the Coran without in any way betraying the traditional teaching of the Iranian religion.⁷

The second chapter contains a description of the processes by which the three constitutive elements of Zoroaster's person came together in his parents to be joined in him when he was begotten by them. The elements which come together to form Zoroaster's earthly constitution are three: *frawahr*, *xwarrah* and *tan gōhr* (body substance). The acquisition of the three elements is described in great detail with many subordinated stories.

⁴ De Menasce 1958, 65; Molé 1967, *2; Darrow 1987, 114 n. 17.

⁵ It is also the principle according to which West divided the text into chapters and verses. It has been followed by Molé (1967) in his edition and translation of *Dēnkard* 7 and is the accepted manner of quoting the text so I will keep it. However as was noted by Darrow (1987, 112 n. 14) the divisions sometimes seem to come in the wrong place when processes continue from one millennium to the next.

⁶ Molé 1967, 156 n. 43 remarks on the similarity of this statement to Coran 4.161-2.

⁷ Compare the list of worshippers in the Avestan *Yt.* 19 (Kellens 1976, 48). See Molé (1967, 147 n.15) for a comparison with similar lists in other Pahlavi texts.

Towards the end of chap. 2 (verse 61) it is noted that not only was the birth of Zoroaster and his prophethood (*waxšwarīh*) announced by both Jam and Frēdōn but that the divinities (*yazdān*) had spread the news in the language of the animals. Thereupon follow two tales which show how the animals are aware that a great prophet will come (Sṛid and the bull at the border between Iran and Turan in verses 62-66 and the Gāw ēw-tāg in verse 67).

This chapter is discussed in detail by Darrow from the viewpoint of the pre-existent component parts which make up Zoroaster's person. He makes the interesting observation that in this work he is composed of a bodily substance (*tan gōhr*) in addition to the *frawahr* and the *xwarrah* whereas in the other two Pahlavi texts which discuss this matter (the *Spand* as summarized in *Dēnkard* 8 and the *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram*) there are only two, *frawahr* and *xwarrah*. He notes at the same time that this is not in conflict with how he is presented in the Gāthās and quotes *Y.* 33.14 in which Zoroaster offers the vitality of his body (*tanuuasci*) to Ohrmazd. He concludes that the redactor is emphasizing the mortality and humanity of Zoroaster in the concept of *tan gōhr* and traces the idea to priestly speculation.⁸ It can be suggested that the reason for this discussion in *Dēnkard* 7 is that the redactor wishes to remind listeners of Zoroaster's humanity and stress that he had been a prophet who had actually lived on this earth at a particular time.

In chapter 3 after the birth of Zoroaster the representatives of the old religion (*karbān*) engage in a relentless quest to kill him because they can foresee that their power based on magic is doomed. All these efforts fail because the animals who are supposed to bring about his death recognize that he is the one who was to come. In verse 46 it is said that his greatness was obvious even before the meeting with Ohrmazd and that the two *xwarrahs* of kingship (*kayān xwarrah*) and priesthood (*ān ī hērbēd xwarrah*) have converged in him. When in due time Wahman comes to lead Zoroaster to Ohrmazd he tests him by asking what he is seeking. He declares that his heart is set on justice (*ahlāyīh*) which brings joy to Wahman and they set out for the first consultation. *Ahlāyīh* is to be the key term in Zoroaster's preaching according to *Dēnkard* 7.

Chapter 4 relates Zoroaster's experiences in spreading the teachings and religion of Ohrmazd during the ten years between the first consultation with Ohrmazd and the conversion of King Wištāsp. It relates several episodes in which Zoroaster invites various personages – and animals – to accept his religion in an increasing degree of importance and potential danger. Thematic words and phrases provide guidance in interpreting the events. Thus Zoroaster faces a group of traditional priests (*karbān*) alone in order to announce his prophethood of the Mazdean religion and apostleship of Ohrmazd (4.2 [*DkM* 626.7-8] *waxšwarīh ī-š dēn mazdēs ud aštaḡih ī ohrmazd*). Because of his beatitude, glory and strength fitting for apostleship (12 [*DkM* 627.22-628.2] *hu-āxwīh xwarrah ud amāwandīh . . . passazag ō aštaḡih*) he invites a warrior (Tūr ī Urwētdeng)⁹ to profess the

⁸ Darrow (1987, 130, see also 122 f.) notes the rich folklore connected with the acquisition of the three elements in *Dk* 7 and quotes parallels in Indian folktales. Regarding the dyadic scheme of Zoroaster's nature he suggests on the basis of a passage in *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram* that this is a metaphor of ritual activity and represents the mixing of *hōm* in the *yasna* ceremony.

⁹ [*DkM* 627.4] written 'wlw'yt'dyng.

faith. After other events he performs a miracle known not only in Iran but throughout the world (42 [DkM 633.5-6] *nē ēwāz andar ērānšahr . . . bē andar harwisp būm*) when he breaks the physical form of the demons by reciting the Ahunwar prayer, thereby driving them into invisibility and obliging them to exist in men. This is celebrated in the text by an inserted poem which could be a Pahlavi version of *Yt.* 19.78-81. The climax of this story is reached as he resolves to speak to Wištāsp at his court and brave the wrath of the king's attendant *karbān* in order to testify to the advent of his prophethood (65 [DkM 637.14] *gugāyīh ī abar waxšwarīh madan rāy*). Their hostility is implacable and Zoroaster is imprisoned and nearly starved to death – here a description in rhythmic prose of the horrors of starvation is inserted. Ohrmazd then sends Wahman, Ašwahišt and his fire to convince the vacillating Wištāsp and suspense is sustained until he finally professes the faith and agrees to be its protector after he has been given a view of paradise.

Another interesting point in this eventful and impressive sequence is that Zoroaster invites each potential adherent to his teachings to pronounce a profession of faith. This profession is an abbreviated form of the *Frauarānē* with two main points which occur in all formulas: the praising of justice (*stāyīdan ī ahlāyīh*) and the forswearing of the demons (*nikōhīdan ī dēwān*) and a number of variations depending upon whom Zoroaster is addressing. Curiously enough it is the *karbān* who are the only ones who are invited to practice marriage between blood relations (*xwēdōdah*). Wištāsp is invited to recite the Ahunwar, to praise justice and not to engage in demon-worship.

This climactic sequence is followed by two short chapters (5 and 6), one of which marks the remaining years of Zoroaster's life and deeds and the other the years of Wištāsp's subsequent time on earth. The events of these periods are not presented as central to this recounting of the events surrounding Zoroaster's activities as a founder of religion but are simply further proof of his superiority. Wištāsp becomes the protector of religion, defeats Arjāsp and is rewarded by an immortal son Pēšōtan who is full of glory (*pur-xxwarrah*).¹⁰ Gradually our attention is shifted to the Avesta and its testimony and we are told that the Avesta is a miracle containing all knowledge. The main concern of chapter 6 is to summarize all the miracles which took place at Wištāsp's court and remind us that they had all been predicted in the Avesta, thus demonstrating the superiority and trustworthiness of this body of teaching. There is a short account of a tale of the miraculous chariot of Sṛid quoted also to demonstrate the miraculous nature of the teachings of the religion in order to convince Wištāsp's people of their veracity.

To summarize chapters 1 to 6, the aim of the redactor in this section is to provide the Zoroastrians with an interpretation of their religion which will encourage them to remain steadfast in their faith at a time when a new religion is spreading and profound changes are taking place in society. It was a common attitude at this time that victory on the battlefield and political domination were signs of God's blessing and it was obvious to one and all that the Arabs were being favored by God. Islam was the religion supported by the authorities, more and more friends and relatives were converting, and the new

¹⁰ This is a reminiscence of the list of worshippers in *Hōm Yašt* which included kings, heroes and Zoroaster himself.

Iranian-Muslim cultural synthesis was very attractive. It was important for the members of the Zoroastrian community to be able to perceive their own founder in the same terms as those of society at large. Thus there is much mention of *waxšwar* 'prophet', *aštaġih* 'apostleship', *wuzurg awdih* 'great miracle', *xwarrah* 'glory', *amāwandih* 'strength', *warzāwandih* 'illustriousness' and *pērōzih* 'victory'. Another term was *wābarīgānīh* 'verification, confirmation' and *wābarīhistan* 'being confirmed as true' is frequently said of messages, predictions and the faith. To designate Zoroaster as *waxšwar* was certainly not new but the identification of the Iranian hero-kings as his spiritual genealogy and as bearers of the word, the insistence on his mission, the heavy emphasis on the quantity and quality of his miracles to confirm the truth of his mission and the short formula of the profession of faith appear to be a new orientation. At the same time Zoroaster has a cosmic dimension and is placed at the centre of the history of the world. The two glories (*xwarrah*), the royal and the priestly, come together in him and diverge again after him as they are passed on to Wištāsp's son Cihrōmēhan and then to Zoroaster's sons Hōšedar, Hōšedarmāh and Sōšyāns. The message to the Zoroastrians is that they are justified in remaining faithful to their religion which has been proven to be superior to all others.

The second half of the work is devoted to the history of Iran from the death of Wištāsp to the final events and renovation of the world. In this section there are two important issues. One is the fact that all future events were predicted in the Avesta and the course of Iranian history shows that they have all come true which in turn demonstrates the authenticity and superiority of the Avesta. The other concerns the belief that the Zoroastrian faith has been reduced to its present abject state because of corruption within the religion and that the day will come when its former glory will be restored.

In chapter 7 the scene shifts from the period of origins to later times and the history of Iran from the death of Wištāsp to the collapse of the empire is briefly reviewed. It is noted in the beginning that the Avesta has predicted all these events. The account begins with Alexander and, after a period dominated by heretics, Ardašir ī Pābagān comes to power assisted by Tōsar. There are a few scattered names for the period from Ardašir to the Mazdakite revolt and a short account of how Khosrow restored order. This is not a recounting of history but discussion woven around historical names. The purpose of this section is to report that Iran has been troubled periodically by disruptive religious movements but that in each instance order has been restored by a great leader.¹¹

From verse 29 onward the discussion revolves around signs indicating the destruction of Iran. This is in fact a report of events which have already taken place in connection with

¹¹The structure of chapter 7 is interesting in the light of Vansina's theories (quoted by Hintze 1998, 157) of how orally tradited history is structured. He writes that in oral societies historical memory focuses both on the immediate past and on the origin whereas little information is handed down about the long middle period in between. He notes that accounts of the origin are usually mythic just as in the detailed account of Zoroaster's life while the near-present is still fresh in mind as is witnessed by the detailed account of conditions following the collapse of the empire and the ascendancy of the Arabs. Of the period in between only a few names remain and in the present text few facts are reported. See Wiesehöfer (1996, 208 f.) who tends to accept the account of the doctrines of Mazdak in *Dēnkard* 7 as fairly reliable even though he is fully aware of the tendency to project the present into the past which is typical of oral history.

the Arab invasion.¹² The signs which will reveal destruction of the country are the hate which the tyrants (*sāstār*) show towards the population. This leads to internal corruption and decay of the traditional education of the priesthood. As a result people will no longer bring the allotted portions to the priests nor will anyone tend the fire properly. The local leaders and incompetent priests are identified as the destroyers of the land (*rēšīdār ī deh*) in a refrain which is repeated several times. Only in verse 33 does the foreign aggressor enter upon the scene, the *mar* who will reduce others to nothing and who will commit murder to win but whose children will perish. In verse 35 the *mar* even presumes to be law-giver, judge and also able to pardon. A poetic passage or song of lamentation bewails the depth of evil (*abārōn*) to which leaders have sunk and the sorrow it causes. This sequence is closed in 38 and 39 with the observation that the Avesta predicted all of this and that had it not really happened the Avesta would have been discredited and no longer known to us.

Chapter 8 is entirely dedicated to the events between the collapse of the empire and the end of the millennium of Zoroaster. Verses 1 to 10 give a condensed view of the situation in Iran after the Arab invasion. It is also cast as a prediction of the future and touches upon some of the same phenomena as the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* but it does not use the same wording or style. In the rest of the chapter the redactor is concerned with identifying the causes of corruption within the Zoroastrian religion and society. The text consists of a series of sequences of material formed as answers to questions put by Zoroaster to Ohrmazd in which different categories of persons who have caused inestimable damage to the faith and the faithful are alluded to. He accuses the apostate, the false priest and collaborators with the enemy as having a large share in the responsibility for the disaster. In the block of text from verses 11-17 he names the heretics "*ahlamōg*" and it can be suggested that the heretics meant are apostates, Zoroastrians who have converted to Islam. Two details indicate this. In verse 13 the rulership preferred by this kind of *ahlamōg* is described as *dušbarišnīh* which is more closely specified in a commentary as combining religious authority and political power in one office.¹³ This could be a reference to the caliphate. The other is found in verse 16 which expresses concern over the fact that people adopt whichever customs they wish and move wherever they wish. It has been assumed that converts to Islam usually left their communities and moved to the city or to another neighborhood either as having been ostracized for violation of the laws of purity or in search of better opportunities.¹⁴

In the next sequence of material beginning with verse 18 the redactor speaks of false priests¹⁵ and describes the catastrophes they bring down upon people, how corrupt offi-

¹²The apocalyptic form was the only way in which contemporary politics could be safely discussed a century and a half after the Arab invasion and is common to all the peoples of the area at this time, e.g. Syrian, Greek and Armenian Christians, Jews (see Choksy 1997, 48 ff.) and even Yemenite Arabs after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (see Cook 1997, 37 n. 1).

¹³[DkM 659.20-23] *axōmandīh ud radōmandīh (xwadāyīh ud dastwarīh) pad dušbarišnīh barēnd (pad abārōn be ēwtāg ō ham barēnd).*

¹⁴Bulliet 1979, 53 f. The passage is as follows [DkM 660.13-15] *gyāg <ī> kāmag mānišn bawēd (kū harw gyāg-ē kū-šān abāyēd be mēnēnd pad har brahmāg ī-šān abāyēd be rawēnd).*

¹⁵[DkM 660.19] *mog-mānāg mog bawēd* 'the priest-like one becomes a priest'.

cials of the tribunals (the *srōšāwarz*, who implemented the judgments handed down by judges) lead ordinary people into sin. He notes that religion will be discredited and destroyed. In verse 23 he notes that nature will also be destroyed because *ahlamōgān*, i.e. 'converts to Islam' will be recognized as legitimate leaders. They will fail to observe the rules preventing pollution and will only be interested in furthering the interests of their own families. The wealth of the evil-doers will be more attractive than the righteousness of the poor (27). There will nonetheless be eloquent defenders of the faith among the Zoroastrians but they will be accused by some of bringing disaster upon the community (28-31).

In 32-37 he recapitulates, with other words and examples, some of the points made above but focuses now on those in the community who are collaborators. Thus he says that in the 9th and 10th centuries those who cooperate with the enemy are evil whether they do it as leaders or as followers. This is illustrated by the fact that they do not help to enforce or respect the laws about the treatment of corpses, they pollute fire and water and aid and abet foreign armies. They will call Zoroaster an idiot, steal his inheritance and scorn his teaching. In 38 Zoroaster asks how the ordinary man who has no weapons to protect himself is to survive and receives the answer (39) that he is to work quietly and persist in his faith.¹⁶

After recounting the story of suffering and woe it was necessary to find some hope for the future when religion would be restored with the help of warrior-heroes who would defeat the hosts of evil and renew and restore the old civilization. This is the expected pattern in this type of literature which is found across the Middle East in the two centuries following the Arab invasion. Accordingly in the course of events predicted at the end of chapter 8 one is informed that the tide can be expected to turn at the end of the 10th millennium when Cihromēhan (Wištāsp's son) and his followers will drive out the enemy with their power and might and the resulting victory will bring all men to accept the Zoroastrian religion.¹⁷

The story continues with three short chapters describing the last three millennia which represent different stages in the renewal of creation and the final victory of Ohrmazd over evil. Chapter 9 tells the story of Hōšēdar in the tenth millennium and the question of the eating of meat. In this version the animals of the plains come and appeal to the righteous to kill them and eat them before they will be killed by the Ahurian animals, like snakes. Chapter 10 is about Hōšēdarmāh and the eleventh millennium when meat is no longer eaten and there is love between man and animal.

The description of the coming of Sōšyāns in chapter 11 is unique among descriptions of the final events in the extant Pahlavi texts. The Sōšyāns of *Dēnkard* 7 is the incarnation of victory. He is the 'victorious saviour' (*sūdōmand pērōzgar*), he is he 'whose nourishment is spiritual' (*mēnōg-xwarišn*) and 'whose body is like the sun' (*xwaršēd-kirb*). He

¹⁶ As noted by Molé (1967, 208) this section of chapter 8 can also be found in the summary of Waršt Mānsar in *Dēnkard* 8 (*DkM* 838-840). This illustrates how sequences of texts could be used and reused in different contexts. In the present passage it occurs in the context of betrayal by Iranians willing to cooperate with the enemy while in *Dk* 8 it occurs in a passage where the evil of the demons referred to in verses of *Y.* 32 is being illustrated in a long series of instances of evil-doing among which one finds collaboration with foreign rulers.

¹⁷ Molé (1967, 214 n. 48) remarks that it is his power and victory which influences men.

has six eyes with which to keep watch against the demons and finds means to destroy them. He is accompanied by the same victorious *xwarrah* as the famous heroes of yore. This sequence illustrates how the redactor skilfully uses quotations from the Avesta to build up his text and emphasize his point which is the final victory of Iran and the Zoroastrian religion. The ancient glory of Iran is evoked by conjuring up all the ancient heroes in a rapid synopsis of ancient history quoted approximately (perhaps from memory which would explain certain discrepancies) from *Yt.* 19.92-93. It closes with quotations partially identical with and partially parallel to *Yt.* 19.92 and 89 with the magnificent scene in which 'he whose name is "victorious"' ([*DkM* 676.7] *kē ast pērōzgar nām*) emerges from the lake accompanied by a thousand companions.

The form of the text with mixed prose and poetry or rhetorical prose suggests that it was performed or recited before an audience.¹⁸ Even though the work constantly reminds us of the issue at hand, the superiority of the religion as demonstrated by its inspired prophet and miraculous history, it is full of entertaining side stories with their roots in folklore and popular mythology. The prose sections introduce and summarize what is happening as the story progresses. The passages in rhythmic prose follow and focus on some aspect mentioned in the introduction. There can be a dialogue as in the conversations between Zoroaster and his potential converts in chapter 4. A question can often be a pretext for a brief homily as in chapter 7 when Ohrmazd bewails the country in the hands of heretics. Lyrical sections describing emotions and suffering (for example the starvation which Zoroaster experiences in prison in chapter 4.67-68) are moving and rhetorical but non-specific and could obviously be moved to other works of this kind where they would receive a specific colouring from the context of the work. Translations from the Avesta could be used where they suited the context as in the description of Ardašīr in chapter 7.12 in the words of a Pahlavi version of *Yt.* 13.106.¹⁹ One can even surmise that there was a good deal of audience participation and that everyone in the audience recognized both local administrators and highly-placed officials in the enumeration of traitors of different kinds.

There are several factors which suggest that this text could have been composed somewhat earlier than the mid-10th century when the extant *Dēnkard* is presumed to have received its final form. Linguistic evidence suggesting this is the archaic nature of the vocabulary especially in the poetic sections.²⁰ In grammar there are occasional archaic traits such as the passage in chapter 4, verse 57, where the first person pronoun appears in the direct case *an* instead of the form *man* which had become regularized as universal case in the

¹⁸The sequences of *Dk* 7 which appear to be in verse or rhetorical prose frequently contain material which has been tradited from earlier times. Formally there is no regular metre and rhyme is only incidental. The rhythmical effect is achieved by the usage of parallel grammatical forms and syntactic structures as well as rhetorical devices such as repetition which emphasizes key words. Not only is this style easy to memorize but it can be very powerful in evoking events, feelings, description, etc. as in 7.29-32 where the words 'he is the destroyer of the country' (*ān rēšidār ī deh*) occur seven times when the redactor is pointing out who is responsible for the destruction of Iran. For more discussion with examples from other texts see Josephson 2002.

¹⁹This was evidently a popular passage. See Molé (1967, 197 n. 12) for all the places where it occurs.

²⁰Some examples are *āhuftan* 'reveal, uncover', *āsiftan* 'light (a fire), ignite', *nasīdan* 'perish'.

later Pahlavi texts.²¹ As regards content the conception of religion presented in the text is typical of the period antedating and following the Arab invasion which includes the idea that political domination is a sign of God's approval. There is also a belief in miracles as proof of the veracity of a prophet and his message. The need to find a cause within the community which led to weakness and punishment is typical for the 8th century.²² Also among the many competing religions of the period verification of the message was important; religious revelation found acceptance in the verification of its prophecies of future events; the faithful verified in their hearts the words expressed by their lips. This is the discourse of *Dēnkard* 7 and it is also the discourse of 8th-century Middle Eastern society regardless of which language the texts were written in. It seems plausible therefore that *Dēnkard* 7 could have been assembled some time between 760 and 800 and was performed in the community for a longer period afterward.²³

The external evidence for dating the text to the second half of the eighth century can be inferred from the fact that the redactor is preoccupied with identifying groups within Iranian society who have betrayed their own community by joining the camp of the enemy. It is known that when the 'Abbasids established their rule in Baghdad in the last half of the eighth century and tightened their grip on Iran they did so with the help of Iranian advisors and administrators.²⁴ Perhaps even more devastating in the long run was the active policy pursued by al-Manṣūr (754-775) of adopting the Sasanian imperial ideology. As part of the 'Abbasid program of being heirs to all the cultures of the Middle East he appropriated Zoroastrian ideology, thereby removing its appeal to groups of Iranians inimical to 'Abbasid rule. He did this partially by means of translations of Zoroastrian works from Pahlavi and New Persian into Arabic and he certainly had the help of Iranians in this task.²⁵ At the same time Iranian Muslims succeeded in shaping a tradition which made Islam appear as a partly Iranian religion. Meanwhile the Zoroastrian community suffered greatly at the hands of their Muslim countrymen and it is precisely

²¹ [DkM 636.4] *u-š dawid kū an (ANE) hom spandarmad* 'and he said, "I am Spandarmad"'. On grammatical criteria for dating early texts see Cantera Glera 1999, 195 and 202.

²² Compare the conviction of Byzantine writers that the iconoclastic quarrel which raged during the reign of Leo III (714-741) arose because it was thought that this was perhaps a source of corruption which had weakened the religion from within and led to the political losses caused by the Arab invasion. See Crone (1980, 60 f.). Even among the Arab invaders this type of writing occurred especially among the followers of the defeated Umayyads and critics of 'Abbasid rule in the decades following 750. This often took the form of a kind of moral apocalyptic writing in which heresy and hypocrisy were identified as causing political weakness. See Cook 1997, 59.

²³ This text does not show signs of having been reworked and the language modernized in the same way as the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (see Cereti 1995, 26 f. on the different themes which form various layers of material in this work). Rather it would appear that changes were made by adding or deleting sequences of texts from one performance to another.

²⁴ Kennedy (1981, 102 ff.) describes the increasing numbers and influence of Iranian and other *mawālī* 'early non-Arab converts to Islam' and *kuttub* 'secretary/administrators' especially during the reign of al-Mahdi (775-785).

²⁵ See Gutas 1998, 46 and 48 ff.

this group which is the main target of criticism in chapters 7 and 8 of this text.²⁶

In conclusion this text presents a picture of Zoroaster in which he is at the same time a cosmic figure standing at the centre of history joined to the beginning and the end by his glory (*xwarrah*) and a mortal human being preaching the word of Ohrmazd and inviting potential converts to make the profession of faith. It is probable that there is little in this picture which has been added to the general conceptions about Zoroaster already developed during earlier periods. It is rather the wording which reveals a desire to bring the description of him into line with prevailing ideas of the time about founding prophets as well as to show his superiority to them when compared to them in their own terms. This story has been joined to an account of the suffering of the Zoroastrian community in the contemporary period, cast in the future as a kind of apocalyptic tale with emphasis on the betrayal of the Zoroastrian faith by its own renegade members. The two stories have been filled out with entertaining tales of mythology and folklore. The form of mixed prose and poetry/rhetorical prose marks the work as a composition for oral performance. Its purpose was to give consolation and encouragement to the members of the Zoroastrian community at a difficult time. I suggest that this is the "Sitz im Leben" of *Dēnkard* 7.

REFERENCES

- Boyce, M., 1968. Middle Persian literature, in *Iranistik. Literatur* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.4.2.1, Leiden), 31-66.
- Boyce, M., 1979. *Zoroastrians, their religious beliefs and practices* (London).
- Bulliet, R. W., 1979. *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- Cantera Glera, A., 1999. Die Stellung der Sprache der Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta innerhalb des Mittelpersischen, *StIr* 28, 173-204.
- Cereti, C., 1995. *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (Serie orientale Roma 74, Roma).
- Choksy, J. K., 1997. *Conflict and cooperation, Zoroastrian subalterns and Muslim elites in medieval Iranian society* (New York).
- Cook, D., 1997. Moral apocalyptic in Islam, *Studia Islamica* 86, 37-69.
- Crone, P., 1980. Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine iconoclasm, *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* 2, 59-95.
- Darrow, W. R., 1987. Zoroaster amalgamated: notes on Iranian prophetology, *History of religions* 27, 109-132.
- DkM* = D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911).
- Gutas, D., 1998. *Greek thought, Arabic culture* (London).
- Hintze, A., 1998. The Avesta in the Parthian Period, in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart), 147-161.
- Josephson, J. 2002. Parallelism in Middle Persian prose, in Ph. Huyse (ed.), *Iran: questions et connaissances. Actes du IV^e congrès européen des études iraniennes. Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999*, vol. 1, *Etudes sur l'Iran ancien* (Paris), 63-76.
- Kellens, J., 1976. L'Avesta comme source historique: la liste des Kayanides, *AAASH* 24, 37-48.
- Kennedy, H., 1981. *The early Abbasid caliphate, a political history* (London).
- de Menasce, J., 1958. *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne, le Dēnkart* (Paris).
- Molé, M., 1963. *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris).
- Molé, M., 1967. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi* (Paris).
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1996. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 659 AD*, trans. A. Azodi (London).

²⁶ See Boyce 1979, 150 f.

SUR QUELQUES GRANDES TENDANCES DES ÉTUDES AVESTIQUES
ET MAZDÉENNES AU XX^e SIÈCLE

Jean Kellens

Les grands spécialistes de l'Avesta du XIX^e siècle n'ont cessé de retracer l'histoire de leur jeune science: Haug, Hovelacque, Darmesteter, Geldner s'y sont pareillement attachés. Il n'en est que plus frappant que personne n'ait rendu compte du tumultueux développement de nos études durant le XX^e s. – les quelques pages que Duchesne-Guillemain y a consacrées dans *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1962, 391-399) composant un catalogue purement descriptif. Le chapitre "Views of Zoroastrian history" (pp. 39-75) de *Traditions of the Magi* (Leiden 1997) d'Albert de Jong est certes trop bref pour combler véritablement la lacune, mais il constitue un essai d'interprétation réfléchi et mériteraient d'être le point de départ d'un débat qui nous ferait mieux prendre conscience du développement de nos recherches. Des mélanges en l'honneur de l'un des plus éminents d'entre nous me paraissent le lieu idéal pour entamer la discussion.

1. FRAGMENTATION ET HARMONISATION

De Jong classe les diverses représentations de l'histoire du zoroastrisme en trois catégories:¹ "les fragmentantes" ("fragmentising"), les "harmonisantes" ("harmonising") et les "diversifiantes" ("diversifying"). L'hypothèse fragmentante, qui présente l'Iran préislamique comme une mosaïque de sectes religieuses, fait beaucoup plus figure d'école que ne l'admet de Jong, qui ne concède ce statut, à la rigueur, qu'au groupe des savants suédois (Nyberg, Wikander et Widengren: p. 44). Elle est pourtant propre à un cercle de personnes très soudé et à une époque bien précise. Elle est le fruit de la collaboration étroite qu'ont menée, dans les années vingt, l'école linguistique de Paris (Meillet, Benveniste) et l'école théologique d'Uppsala (Nyberg), mises en contact par l'historien des religions et évêque luthérien d'Uppsala Nathan Söderblom, qui avait étudié chez Antoine Meillet durant les dernières années du XIX^e siècle. Meillet prononce ses *Trois conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta* (Paris 1925) à Uppsala en mars 1924 et Nyberg ses *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes* (*JA* 214 (1929), 193-310 et 219 (1931), 1-134, 193-244) à Paris entre janvier et mars 1929. Entre les deux événements, Benveniste a donné (1926) et publié les conférences de *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts* (Paris 1929), qui est véritablement, comme de Jong est très près de le reconnaître (p. 46), le programme fondateur de l'hypothèse fragmentante. Il n'y a aucun doute que c'est à partir d'une réflexion sur ce texte que Nyberg a reconstitué l'histoire très différente et beaucoup plus tourmentée des conflits sectaires de l'Iran ancien que dépeint *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig 1938). Mise à part la ténacité de Widengren, l'hypothèse fragmentante entre en léthargie en 1946, après la parution de *Feuerpriester in Klein-*

¹ Le terme exact de de Jong est "view", dont la traduction française littérale est difficile à utiliser.

asién und Iran de Wikander (Lund 1946), et s'effondre au début des années soixante. En 1962, Duchesne-Guillemain oppose de manière programmatique, mais implicite, le singulier de *La religion de l'Iran ancien* au pluriel de *Die Religionen des alten Iran*. La réfutation décisive, mais confuse dans l'énoncé, a été faite l'année suivante par Molé (*Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1963)), dont l'argument principal est que toutes les sectes religieuses iraniennes dont nous ayons connaissance se placent sous le patronage des Gāthās attribuées à Zarathushtra.

Ainsi, la réfutation de l'hypothèse fragmentante coïncide avec la fondation de l'hypothèse harmonisante. Les deux "vues" ne s'opposent pas, mais se succèdent. L'hypothèse harmonisante peut être critiquée pour ses aspects les plus vulnérables: Duchesne-Guillemain (*Numen* 8.1 (1961), 46-50), puis Gnoli (*Zoroaster's time and homeland* (Naples 1980), 4-5) ont justement reproché à Molé sa perspective anhistorique.² Mais, surtout dans la version à la fois plus décidée et plus souple de Boyce, elle ne peut être réfutée. C'est que l'idée de l'unité, de la cohésion et du conservatisme de la tradition zoroastrienne est, comme le souligne de Jong (p. 53), une "idée directrice" (en français). Fondée sur un postulat qui n'a rien d'invraisemblable, l'hypothèse harmonisante constitue bien un modèle pertinent. Je reprocherai à de Jong de trop opposer mes conceptions à celles de Mary Boyce.³ Je considère comme lui qu'il est injuste d'accuser cette grande œuvre d'être anhistorique ou défailante sur le plan linguistique. Il est vrai que Boyce fait une large place aux phénomènes évolutifs et manie les textes avec compétence, mais non toujours avec méfiance ou étonnement.⁴ Je suis même d'accord avec elle pour reconnaître à la religion avestico-pehlevie beaucoup de cohésion et de conservatisme. Nous avons encore en commun de croire au polythéisme des Gāthās et à l'importance du rituel, ce qui n'est tout de même pas rien, tant ces convictions sont peu partagées. Mes désaccords portent essentiellement sur l'histoire des origines, c'est-à-dire sur sa reconstruction de la religion pré-zoroastrienne, que je juge effectivement aberrante,⁵ et sur l'originalité doctrinale des Gāthās, que je ne perçois pas. Tous les aspects innovants soulignés par Boyce me paraissent illusoire: je souscris à l'analyse de Narten (*Die Amaša Spəntas im Avesta*, Wiesbaden 1982), qui fait du système des Amašas Spəntas une innovation de l'Avesta récent; je partage le sentiment de Dumézil (*Mythe et épopée*, vol. 1 (Paris 1968), 222-230) que

² Le problème de Molé ne se réduit pas à cette critique partielle, mais qui frappe si savamment au défaut de la cuirasse qu'elle paraît annihilante. Son drame a sans doute été de s'être senti contraint, tant par conviction personnelle que par sujétion académique, de combiner le scepticisme de Darmesteter envers la rupture zoroastrienne, certains aspects du fragmentisme de Benveniste, la mythologie de Dumézil et l'harmonisation la plus anhistorique des diverses expressions de la tradition zoroastrienne. Son œuvre ne pouvait que sombrer dans la contradiction; elle laisse cependant échapper de fulgurantes intuitions.

³ Soit dit en passant, le jugement sur Boyce que de Jong m'attribue p. 40 n. 2 appartient en réalité à Clarisse Herrenschmidt.

⁴ Il faudrait un jour débattre: qu'est-ce que connaître l'avestique ou le pehlevi?

⁵ A titre d'exemple, la croyance dans le mainiu des pierres, des eaux, etc. (*Zoroastrianism*, 1992, 35), alors toutes les représentations indo-iraniennes font de la pensée le trait distinctif essentiel commun aux dieux et aux hommes.

l'eschatologie relève du conservatisme et non de l'innovation; la mue éthique des concepts rituels ne m'apparaît pas dans les textes.

2. CONCEPTION ÉTROITE ET CONCEPTION LARGE

Je n'aperçois pas bien les raisons pour lesquelles de Jong classe Lommel et moi-même parmi les fragmentants, Gnoli parmi les harmonisants et attribue à Gershevitch une position intermédiaire. Il y a bien sûr entre nous quatre de fortes divergences: entre Gershevitch et tous les autres sur la datation de Zarathushtra (du moins à l'époque où écrivait de Jong), entre moi et tous les autres sur l'origine de la condamnation des daivas, etc. Mais nous avons en commun d'interpréter l'histoire du zoroastrisme, avec plus ou moins de force, en fonction du schéma dialectique thèse–antithèse–synthèse. Ceci est un trait véritablement distinctif: ni les harmonisants, qui postulent la continuité de la tradition, ni les fragmentants, qui réduisent le monothéisme zoroastrien à une distillation sectaire de la religion spécifiquement iranienne des ahuras, ne sont dialectiques. De Jong, qui attribue la paternité du schéma dialectique à Lommel, a raison contre Clarisse Herrenschmidt, qui l'attribue à Haug et se contredit.⁶ C'est dès le moment où l'on fait de la condamnation des daivas l'œuvre de Zarathushtra et le fondement de sa doctrine que celle-ci paraît soumise à l'évolution hégélienne la plus stricte: la thèse est le vieux polythéisme indo-iranien, l'antithèse le monothéisme gâthique et la synthèse le polythéisme gradué de l'Avesta récent. La distinction de Gershevitch entre “Zarathuštrianism” (les Gāthās), “Zarathušttricism” (le reste de l'Avesta) et “Zoroastrianism” (la religion sassanide), acceptée par Gnoli, est une variante décalée du schéma dialectique qui laisse la thèse implicite et fait place à la postérité de la synthèse. Ma singularité, entre 1986 et 1994, n'a consisté qu'en l'atténuation maximale des exigences conflictuelles de l'antithèse, le débat étant supposé n'avoir porté que sur des “détails” comme le caractère diurne/nocturne du sacrifice ou la dignité sacrificielle des dieux autres que Ahura Mazdā. C'est pourquoi je pense que nous occupons une position intermédiaire. Tout en postulant l'unité de la tradition zoroastrienne, nous la fragmentons néanmoins en la distribuant en des phases dont chacune est ou devient à un mo-

⁶ Haug se représente en réalité l'histoire du zoroastrisme comme une succession de phases dont chacune conserve les traces de la précédente et porte en germe la suivante (correctement Herrenschmidt, in *L'impensable polythéisme* (Paris 1988), 327-328). Le premier interprète dialectique est Bartholomae (*Zarathustras Leben und Lehre* (Heidelberg 1924)), mais en fonction d'une vision très personnelle des choses. Il faut encore préciser que la position de Gershevitch a été fluctuante. Hésitant à situer l'originalité doctrinale des Gāthās dans l'invention du monothéisme ou dans la transformation en dualisme d'un monothéisme préexistant, il semble d'abord avoir cherché à concilier les deux interprétations (*The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge 1959) 9; *JNES* 23 (1964), 98), puis donné sa préférence à la première (in *Mithraic studies* (Manchester 1975), 79-80; in *Studia grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München 1986), 98) et enfin à la seconde (*Iran* 33 (1995), 9 préparé par *IJJ* 18 (1976), 81). L'hypothèse du monothéisme seule est dialectique. Celle du dualisme est l'héritage de Henning (*Zoroaster* (London 1952)) et il convient de faire remarquer qu'elle est énorme. L'instauration du monothéisme, que l'on présente si volontiers comme un événement transcendant, cesse subitement d'exiger explication ou commentaire dès qu'il s'agit d'un monothéisme préexistant. Celui-ci n'a pas de fondateur connu, il n'intéresse pas. Bizarre.

ment donné irréductible à la précédente. Ce faisant, nous ébauchons aussi une version archaïque et trop rigide de l'hypothèse diversifiante. Nous nous mouvons tous les quatre à l'intérieur du triangle et je le relève sans intention apologétique, n'ayant ni le goût, ni le respect excessif des solutions équilibrées.

Nous n'avons aucun pris clairement conscience de la possible diversité du zoroastrisme, Lommel parce qu'il était trop tôt pour qu'il en eût les moyens, Gershevitch, Gnoli et moi parce que cela échappait à nos préoccupations. De Jong a bien vu que les différentes approches du zoroastrisme n'étaient pas seulement le produit d'une conviction méthodologique, mais aussi de la focalisation sur telle ou telle question. Si Boyce est soucieuse de l'histoire du zoroastrisme des origines à nos jours, c'est avant tout la question des origines qui retient notre attention à Gershevitch, Gnoli et moi. Nos intérêts ont évidemment conditionné nos méthodologies. Ce n'est certainement pas un hasard si je me sens plus proche de Boyce et des diversifiants depuis que ma recherche porte sur l'Avesta récent.

De Jong ne mentionne que deux savants diversifiants (mais se range sans aucun doute à leurs côtés): Shaked et Kreyenbroek. Représentation d'autant plus faible que leurs écrits diversifiants sont tous récents, voire inédits. Il est néanmoins vrai que leur position a sa singularité et se caractérise par une conception "large" ("broad") du zoroastrisme qui s'oppose à la conception "étroite" ("narrow") commune aux fragmentants, aux harmonisants et aux dialectiques. Le fait que la tradition zoroastrienne n'a pas été doctrinale, mais souple et variée, est illustré par trois exemples : 1. certaines sources donnent une image du panthéon mazdéen très différente de celle de l'Avesta et parfois fort surprenante; 2. la magie, absente de l'Avesta, a cependant été pratiquée au cours de toute la tradition zoroastrienne d'Iran; 3. le fait de réserver la fonction cosmogénitrice à Ahura Mazda est un trait fondamental du zoroastrisme ancien,⁷ mais des sources plus récentes ou étrangères rapportent d'autres modèles cosmogoniques. Ces traits sont probants, mais il est exagéré de les considérer comme étrangers à l'Avesta. Que sont donc ces formules sacrificielles adressées à des divinités inconnues par ailleurs et que l'on a cru bon, de surcroît, d'insérer dans le noyau sacré (*Y 42*)? Les *Yašts* 2 à 4, si négligés et méprisés jusqu'ici, ne sont-ils pas des textes magiques? Le *Yašt* 13 ne contient-il pas trois récits cosmogoniques distincts (2, 53-58, 76-78), mais qui ont en commun de ne pas tout réduire à une abstraite "instauration" par Ahura Mazda? Ces textes sont la preuve que la tradition avestique elle-même tolérait parfaitement les variations doctrinales. Nos prédécesseurs, surtout fragmentants, ont usé de l'argument "on n'est pas zoroastrien si . . ." avec trop de confiance.⁸ A une époque où les philologues n'avaient pas encore pris l'habitude d'intervenir dans la théologie zoroastrienne, le vieux Friedrich Spiegel, qui venait d'achever son œuvre de défri-

⁷ De Jong me reproche d'avoir considéré que l'ordonnancement du chaos n'est pas une création (p. 62 n. 69). Quand j'ai rédigé l'article incriminé, je savais parfaitement que l'idée de création *ex nihilo* ne remontait qu'au II^e s. de l'ère commune, mais on a si souvent écrit, depuis de Harlez, qu'elle était l'invention de Zarathushtra que l'emploi des mots "créateur" ou "création" dans la traduction de textes avestiques me semble devoir être évitée pour parer à tout malentendu. C'est ce que j'ai voulu souligner.

⁸ Exemples particulièrement frappants chez Benveniste (*op. cit.* (1929), 35-38) et Nyberg (*op. cit.* (1938), 363-364).

cheur et commençait à s'interroger sur le sens des textes, a bien vu que le problème résidait dans la notion de schisme (*ZDMG* 41 (1887), 285). Dans le cadre d'une religion archaïque d'origine indo-iranienne, quels points de doctrine peuvent bien transformer les polémiques en rupture irréversible? Force est de dire que nous n'en savons rien et donc de considérer la notion de schisme comme anachronique. Mais la plupart d'entre nous pensent qu'elle est néanmoins adéquate au zoroastrisme parce qu'il n'est pas une religion archaïque, mais pleinement "a faith" (le mot est fréquent chez de Jong, qui nous épargne au moins "new faith"). Ce serait une autre distinction très pertinente: *new faith or archaic thought*? Si les diversifiants relativisent la portée conflictuelle des variations doctrinales, ils n'adoptent pas la même attitude "équilibrée" vis-à-vis de la question des origines. Ils partagent avec tous les autres l'idée que le zoroastrisme a pour origine une rupture radicale avec le passé indo-iranien, la fondation d'une doctrine nouvelle par une personnalité historique. L'approche historicisante des Gāthās conçues comme la biographie et l'enseignement de Zarathushtra, que de Jong attribue avant tout aux fragmentants (p. 42), est commune à tous, à l'exception de Molé, et y compris à moi-même, avec des variations, jusqu'en 1994. La question de l'existence historique de Zarathushtra n'est pas "irrélevante" (p. 38), elle est au contraire essentielle parce que c'est celle de la naissance du zoroastrisme. Le zoroastrisme existe bien entendu, mais le tout est de savoir à partir de quand. Mon opinion est que la vieille hypothèse de Darmesteter, nonobstant les détails, reste un modèle concurrentiel: le "zoroastrisme" est une variante de la religion indo-iranienne qui s'est différenciée de l'indienne et d'autres variantes iraniennes éventuelles non par rupture, mais par évolution progressive, en conservant des traits que l'Inde a perdus et en innovant à d'autres égards. Les arguments de de Jong en faveur de la réalité d'une rupture zoroastrienne ne me paraissent pas décisifs. Mais ils ne sont pas nouveaux, ils sont même traditionnels et ce n'est pas le lieu de les rediscuter. Je prierai seulement de Jong de bien vouloir me considérer désormais comme un diversifiant extrémiste, c'est-à-dire diversifiant aussi dans la question des origines.

3. LINGUISTIQUE ET HISTOIRE DES CONCEPTS

De Jong consacre une longue discussion au vieux conflit entre la méthode védicante et la méthode traditionnelle. Ce débat, qui remonte au deuxième tiers du XIXe s., a opposé tout d'abord les pères fondateurs de la philologie védique, Theodor Benfey et Rudolf Roth, à deux champions de la méthode traditionnelle, Spiegel et Darmesteter, qui étaient, de manière inégale, leurs cadets. Il apparaît clairement aujourd'hui que ces derniers ont injustement dramatisé le problème parce qu'ils ne l'ont pas bien compris. Le premier en raison de son âge, le second à cause de l'éloignement géographique, ils avaient tous deux en commun de ne pas avoir assimilé l'innovation décisive de la grammaire comparative: la découverte de l'existence des lois phonétiques à l'Université de Leipzig aux environs de 1870. Leur grammaire désuète les a conduits à définir la méthode védicante comme une méthode étymologique. Or, le védique et l'avestique sont trop contemporains et trop étroitement apparentés pour que les comparer relève de l'étymologie. C'est seulement opérer une très légère et très banale transposition, comme si on versait du lorrain en picard: il s'agit en réalité d'une méthode dialectologique. La querelle s'est éteinte dans les dernières années du

XIX^e s. parce que les védisans de la deuxième génération, Geldner, élève de Roth, et Bartholomae, formé au moule néo-grammairien, n'ont pas voulu prolonger un faux débat. Tous deux, dans ce qui constitue l'aboutissement de leur œuvre, ont souligné l'importance du recours à la tradition et l'ont amplement pratiqué (la pratique du *Wörterbuch* [AIW] en témoigne et Geldner a très clairement expliqué sa position dans les *Prolegomena*, 48a).

De Jong répète l'abus de ses prédécesseurs pré-néo-grammairiens en réduisant la méthode védicante à l'étymologie et, quoiqu'il reconnaisse la légitimité du comparatisme indo-iranien dans le domaine linguistique, il voudrait l'y confiner. Pour conclure, il renvoie les deux méthodes dos à dos comme deux postulats. Ce n'est pas mon avis: il me semble que le comparatisme indo-iranien et le recours à la tradition sont deux moyens de vérification mutuelle (et il n'est pas si rare que leur résultat concorde). La première traduction scientifique des Gāthās, celle de Martin Haug, est entièrement fondée sur cette conception. Haug, formé de telle sorte qu'il pouvait être védisant et traditionnaliste avec le même bonheur, ne se posait pas de faux problèmes: il s'est tout simplement servi du comparatisme indo-iranien pour corriger les interprétations du traducteur pehlevi qui étaient incompatibles avec la grammaire. Les progrès de la grammaire historique indo-iranienne ont provoqué deux réajustements ultérieurs: le premier aboutit à la traduction de Bartholomae (*Die Gatha's des Avesta* (Straßburg 1905)) et le second est en cours depuis les premiers articles de Humbach (*MSS* 1 (1952), 25-28 et 2 (1952), 1-30). Il faut bien se représenter que toutes les traductions des Gāthās, sans exception, dérivent d'une source unique, qui est la traduction de Haug, et assemblent en dosage variable des fragments de calque védique et de version pehlevie. Mais ces deux composantes ne se situent pas au même niveau: les calques védiques sont le produit d'une méthodologie consciente et menée avec système, les éléments pehlevis le reliquat hasardeux de ce qu'il subsistait de traduction pehlevie dans la traduction de Haug. De surcroît, celui-ci a fort mal compris la traduction pehlevie, pour la bonne et simple raison que ce sont des travaux des années 1860, dont les siens, qui la rendront intelligible. Or, depuis Bartholomae, qui l'avait collationnée pour le *Wörterbuch*, les commentateurs des Gāthās n'ont pas revérifié la traduction pehlevie ou, si certains l'ont fait, cela ne se remarque pas. Un réexamen est donc souhaitable, tant pour réhabiliter certaines interprétations que pour éliminer des défauts résiduels.

Il ne s'agit pas d'opter entre deux postulats, mais d'adopter un principe critique élémentaire: l'interprétation traditionnelle ne peut être reçue dans les cas où elle n'est obtenue qu'au prix d'une incorrection grammaticale. Ce principe ne suscite pas autant de désaccord dans les faits que dans les discours, car personne n'applique ni la méthode traditionnelle, ni la méthode védicante à l'état pur. Je ne vois pas que les chantes les plus convaincus de la première lisent les Gāthās en exploitant le traducteur pehlevi plus que l'érudition moderne. On peut certes considérer qu'il faut faire la différence entre la traduction pehlevie de l'Avesta et la tradition zoroastrienne au sens large. Mais qu'est-ce que cette tradition si elle n'est fiable qu'une fois amputée de sa part vérifiable, précise, immédiatement attachée à son objet? D'autre part, après trois vagues de corrections védicantes, les traductions les plus récentes des Gāthās reproduisent encore des interprétations pehlevis incompatibles avec la grammaire. Pirart et moi en avons détecté deux exemples particulièrement importants (et omis combien?).

1. Y 45.2 *aṭ frauaxšiiā anḥāuš mainiiū paurauiē / yaiiā spaniiā ūitī mrauuat yām angrām / nōit nā manā . . . nōit uruunō hacaintē*. Bartholomae (*op. cit.* (1905), 69) : 'Ich will reden von den beiden Geistern zu Anfang des Lebens, von denen der heiligere also sprach zu dem argen: "Nicht stimmen unser beiden Gedanken . . . noch Seelen zusammen"' et Humbach–Ichaporia (*The heritage of Zarathushtra* (Heidelberg, 1994), 73): 'Now I shall proclaim the two spirits in the first (stage) of existence, of whom the holy one shall address the harmful one as follows: "Neither our thoughts . . . nor our souls are in agreement"'. Cette traduction est inspirée de la pehlevie, qui n'est pourtant pas plus en harmonie avec la grammaire que les deux esprits entre eux: *ēdōn frāz-gōvam andar axvān mēnōgīhīh [ī] fradom (gāsānīgīh) az pad avēšān abzōnīgīh āš ēdōn guft ō ōy ganāg kū nē amā mēnišn . . . ud nē ruvān 'šn [ʰaxt?] pad āgenēn* 'je proclame dans le monde la spiritualité fondamentale (à savoir la doctrine gāthique). Celui d'entre eux qui est la bienfaisance a dit alors ainsi au quant: "ni nos pensées . . . ni (nos) âmes ne vont ensemble"'.

Nous aurions ici la seule attestation, dans tout le domaine indo-iranien ancien, de la construction de *brū* : *mrū* avec l'accusatif de la personne à qui on s'adresse, au lieu du datif. L'apparence est que *mrauuat* régit un ou deux objets au sens 'dire qui est ceci (acc.)': *spaniiā*, au nominatif parce qu'il est introduit par *ūitī*, et *angrām*, à l'accusatif parce qu'il est intégré à la relative et attiré au cas de *yām*, lui-même objet de *hacaintē*. Il se pourrait aussi que *spaniiā* soit le sujet de *mrauuat*, le reste étant inchangé, car, si *angrām* avait valeur de datif dans la principale, *ūitī* n'aurait pas de fonction. Cela donne, au choix, 'dont x dira lequel est le plus bénéfique (et) lequel est le mauvais que ni les pensées . . . ni les âmes ne suivent', avec sujet elliptique, ce qui est fréquent dans les Gāthās, ou 'dont le plus bénéfique dira qui est le mauvais que . . .'. Il est clair que le traducteur pehlevi est victime de son principe de traduction vers par vers. Il est condamné à l'erreur dès lors qu'il n'admet pas de subordonnée en enjambement. En le suivant néanmoins, les philologues modernes ont entretenu le mythe d'une sorte de déclaration de guerre entre les deux esprits et soutenu la strophe des jumeaux (Y 30.3) de ce qui apparaissait comme un cas de personnalisation de *mainiiu-*.

2. Y 30.9 aa' *aṭcā tōi vaēm xiiāmā yōi īm fərašəm kərənaon ahūm* [puis *mazdāscā ahurānō . . .*]. Bartholomae (*op. cit.* (1905), 15): 'und die möchten wir sein, die die Menschheit tauglich machen' et Humbach–Ichaporia (*op. cit.* (1994), 31): 'Thus may we be those who make existence brilliant'. La traduction pehlevie ne dit pas tout à fait cela: *ēdōn amā kē tō hēm ēn frašgird kunišn andar axvān* 'et ainsi, à nous qui sommes à toi appartient l'acte de *frašgird* dans le monde'.

La traduction nominale de *fərašəm*, sans doute fondée sur le désir de mettre en lumière l'importante notion de *frašō.kərati*, contraint le traducteur pehlevi à prendre trois libertés avec son modèle: il inverse le rapport principale/subordonnée, traduit nominale *kərənaon* et transforme *ahūm* en complément de lieu. Malgré le flou qui en résulte, on comprend bien qu'il considère que le verbe principal et le verbe relatif ont le même sujet, en d'autres termes que *vaēm* est l'antécédent de *yōi*. Les philologues modernes (à l'exception de Gershevitch, in *Studia grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München 1986), 89-90) ont adopté cette analyse. Or, si elle était correcte, il y aurait impérativement accord de personne entre les deux verbes, donc une 1ère pluriel

aussi dans la relative (cette règle s'impose même dans le sanscrit de Neryosang: *te svayam ... smaḥ ye idaṃ akṣayatvaṃ kurmahe!*). Par contre, l'interprétation de *tōi* comme gén. sing. du pronom de la 2ème personne est abandonnée sans raison contraignante. Pirart et moi l'avons restaurée parce qu'elle laisse entrevoir la construction qui justifie la 3ème personne du verbe relatif: 'Soyons à toi, ô Mazdā, et aux Ahuras qui rendront plantureuse cette existence!' (TVA III 51-52). Dans un bref instant d'aveuglement grammatical, les védisans les plus pointus ont cru lire dans ce vers une ardente exhortation à renouveler le monde lancée par le prophète à ses ouailles. Mais non: elle dit que les dieux, si nous leur faisons allégeance, rendront l'état d'existence *fraša*.

Il arrive au philologue contemporain de se faire plus zoroastrien qu'un dastur. Le cas de l'adjectif *arədra-* est exemplatif de cette surenchère. Bartholomae propose 'getreu', ce qui est traduire pour traduire, car la méthode védisante ne fournit aucune solution et le traducteur pehlevi comprend *rād* 'généreux'. Pirart et moi nous sommes un jour avisés que, formellement, *arədra-* était à *rādah-* ce que *sūra-* est à *sauuah-* ou *uṣra-* à *aojah-*. Étymologie dira de Jong. C'est surtout un œuf de Colomb phonétique. L'exemple, quoi qu'il en soit, est lourd d'enseignement. Ici, pas de discrédance en figure "either/or" entre le sens étymologique et le sens traditionnel: le premier n'était pas à disposition et le second semble n'avoir convenu à personne. On constate encore que la tradition elle aussi pratiquait volontiers la conjecture étymologique. Elle le fait avec des instruments évidemment moins performants que les nôtres, mais elle ne manque pas d'intuition. Dans le cadre de *arədra-*, elle a procédé remarquablement: elle a su faire l'hypothèse d'une racine produisant dans certaines conditions un *ā* interne et elle a pu proposer *rā* parce qu'elle en connaissait des dérivés à dentale finale. De plus, elle s'est sentie libre devant le sens 'généreux'. On voit aujourd'hui où le bât blesse, mais on a envie d'applaudir. Inversément, il arrive aux savants les plus védisans de torturer la grammaire pour justifier la tradition: à titre d'exemple extrême, l'ignominieuse analyse de Y 30.4 *dazdē* comme 3ème duel indicatif parfait moyen à sens actif (!), encore envisagée par Sims-Williams en 1989 (BSOAS 52, 256), afin de préserver l'idée que le bon mainiiu crée la vie et le mauvais la non-vie.⁹ Pire, il leur arrive de s'en remettre à une conviction gratuite: l'interprétation de *arədra-* comme 'pieux' n'est fondée ni sur la tradition, ni sur le comparatisme indo-iranien, mais sur la présupposition de ce que Zarathushtra est censé avoir enseigné. Je crains fort que l'explication par *rādh*: *rād*, qui est formellement parfaite, mais impose 'compétent', ne soit jamais largement acceptée et que beaucoup restent fidèles au sens immotivé. C'est que la piété renvoie à l'éthique, la compétence, tout comme la générosité du traducteur pehlevi, au rituel et, de surcroît, à un rituel de type védique accusé.¹⁰

Rappelons encore le cas de l'important adjectif *hudāh-* (qui entraîne avec lui son antonyme *duždāh-*). En 1997, Pirart et moi avions encore la naïveté de nous étonner que l'équivalence évidente avec scr. *sudās-*, reconnue par Humbach en 1952 (MSS 2, 8-15),

⁹ Sur cette question, Kellens et Pirart (JA 285.1 (1997), 63 n. 61).

¹⁰ *arədra-* mérite la considération la plus soignée, car ce pourrait être un mot important: le synonyme vieil-avestique de véd. *yājant-* 'sacrifiant technicien', dont l'équivalent littéral est exclu par la diathèse.

était restée lettre morte pour nombre de savants.¹¹ La tradition confirme le sens ‘généreux’ (*hudāg*), qu’elle pose dans tout l’Avesta récent, mais lui substitue ‘à la bonne connaissance’ (*hudānag*) dans l’Avesta ancien. Donc, elle dédouble le mot, conserve le sens original pour le premier et en forge un nouveau pour le second en procédant à une conjecture étymologique dont chacun conviendra qu’elle est irrecevable (elle postule la forme perse du verbe et fait l’impasse sur sa nasale constitutive), démarches évidemment révélatrices d’une spéculation innovante. Il est saisissant que les philologues modernes aient fait la même chose en pire: admettre deux mots, affadir le sens étymologique *et* traditionnel du premier (*AIW* 1825 ‘wohl-, guttägig’, comme s’il dérivait de *dhā* et non de *dā*), accorder au second un sens fondé sur une nouvelle étymologie (‘clairvoyant’ < *dī* ‘voir’), tout aussi irrecevable, mais moins visiblement. Tout se passe comme si les philologues d’aujourd’hui rechignaient à reconnaître que ceux qui font la différence entre les deux mainiius ne sont pas des hommes clairvoyants, mais des dieux généreux – pour la tradition, soit dit en passant, il s’agit bien d’un dieu, même s’il est singulier et savant plutôt que généreux. Il est vrai que la substitution embue un sens qui paraissait familier (le fameux “good sense”) et perturbe la belle algèbre des abstractions éthiques à laquelle, depuis Lommel, il est convenu de réduire les Gāthās.

On ne peut opposer monolithiquement la linguistique à l’histoire des concepts. Non seulement parce que, dans le principe, il y a entre les deux la philologie (un mot fort négligé par de Jong) et que la mission du philologue est de partir de la linguistique pour aboutir au sens des textes. Les exemples que nous venons d’examiner montrent aussi que, dans les faits, le progrès de l’analyse linguistique n’est jamais sans effet sur l’analyse des concepts.¹² Il se fait que le seul moyen dont nous ayons jamais disposé pour faire progresser l’analyse linguistique de l’Avesta est le comparatisme indo-iranien. Il est vain de le déplorer et d’assigner à ce comparatisme des limites qui, fort heureusement, ont été violées dès la naissance de notre discipline.

“However, the Veda equally demonstrably is wholly unrelated to them [= les Gāthās]” (p. 59) est la seule phrase de de Jong qui me paraisse totalement absurde. Dès que s’ouvre le grand sacrifice avestique (Yasna), qui est pratiqué aujourd’hui encore par les zoroastriens, le récitant en fait l’objet de deux verbes répétés en litanie: *niuuāēdaiiemi haṇkāraiemi*, qui sont synonymes parfaits et homonymes jusqu’au préverbe de scr. *nivīd-* ‘invitation préalable au sacrifice’ et *saṃskāra-* ‘organisation parfaite du sacrifice’. La tradition ne l’infirmes pas; elle ne le confirme pas non plus, mais on ne peut tout de même exiger pour preuve qu’elle fasse explicitement le rapprochement. Et lorsque nous, nous le faisons, nous ne formulons pas seulement une équation étymologique (l’homonymie), mais nous relevons aussi une de ces concordances conceptuelles (la synonymie) parmi tant d’autres qui nous invitent à appliquer la méthode védique à l’histoire des concepts.

¹¹ La question est exposée en détail par Kellens et Pirart (*JA* 285.1 (1997), 54-56).

¹² Je ne suis pas sûr que l’analogie avec l’exégèse biblique (p. 58 n. 57) soit valide. Il me semble que la désignation de notre travail sur les textes comme “exégèse” contient une certaine dose de métaphore. On ne peut non plus exiger des études iraniennes, qui sont au stade du déchiffrement et ne le dépasseront pas, vu la limitation du corpus, les mêmes scrupules méthodologiques que de l’exégèse biblique.

Je crois que si le débat entre méthode traditionnelle et méthode védisante s'est réanimé après un siècle d'accalmie, c'est justement parce que les résultats de la troisième phase védisante dépassent le cadre de la linguistique et compromettent l'image que l'on s'était faite des Gāthās, non tant celle que transmet la tradition que celle qui est greffée sur les préjugés judéo-chrétiens séculaires à propos du zoroastrisme. La restauration de l'importance du rituel a suffi à provoquer cette crispation, alors que rien n'a encore été dit d'une autre catégorie de la pensée archaïque, dont de Jong ne mentionne pas le nom et qui requiert elle aussi, c'est l'évidence, l'investigation comparative indo-iranienne: la mythologie. Mais ceci est l'avenir de notre discipline, non plus son histoire.

ABRÉVIATIONS

AIW = Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Straßburg 1904).

Prolegomena = K. F. Geldner, *Avesta. The sacred books of the Parsis*, vol. 1, *Yasna* (Stuttgart 1889), i-liv.

TVA = J. Kellens, É. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* (Wiesbaden 1988, 1990, 1991), 3 vol.

Gilbert Lazard

1. INTRODUCTION

Dans plusieurs des articles qui forment la série à laquelle j'ai donné le titre général d'"Etudes sur la versification dans les langues irano-aryennes",¹ j'ai tenté d'élucider quelque peu la vieille question de la nature du vers dans la poésie iranienne préislamique. C'est une nouvelle variation sur ce thème que voici. J'espère que, prenant pour objet un hymne religieux manichéen, elle ne déparera pas trop ce volume consacré à l'histoire religieuse de l'Iran préislamique et que Gherardo Gnoli voudra bien en accepter l'hommage avec mes vœux amicaux.

En prenant appui sur les poèmes manichéens en parthe (EVLIA 6), j'ai cru pouvoir soutenir que la versification en est fondée sur les règles suivantes:

- le rythme est donné par le retour périodique des ictus, qui coïncident souvent, mais pas nécessairement, avec l'accent de mot;
- le nombre des syllabes du vers est variable dans certaines limites, qui sont en rapport avec la nature des syllabes;
- la distinction pertinente est entre syllabes lourdes et syllabes légères; les syllabes lourdes sont des longues, les syllabes légères sont des brèves ou des longues dans des mots accessoires ou en position faible (prothèse, anaptyxe); l'ictus tombe toujours sur une syllabe lourde.

Le parthe et le moyen-perse ayant des structures phonétiques très semblables, on pouvait s'attendre à ce que les mêmes règles s'appliquent à la poésie moyen-perse. De fait, il a été possible de proposer sur ces bases une interprétation de la structure métrique des quelques morceaux versifiés conservés dans la littérature pehlevie (EVLIA 9, 10).

Mais on peut aller plus loin. La poésie persane classique, comme on sait, a emprunté à la poésie arabe le principe de la versification quantitative, c'est-à-dire fondée sur la disposition des syllabes brèves et longues. Cependant, on sait aussi que, du moyen-perse au persan, la langue n'a pas subi de bouleversement phonétique comme on en constate entre le vieux-perse et le moyen-perse. On présume donc que les rythmes naturels de la langue persane à ses débuts ne différaient pas beaucoup de ceux du moyen-perse: tout au plus l'emprunt massif de mots arabes a pu, en quelque mesure, accroître la proportion des syllabes brèves. On est donc porté à penser que les vers persans de type classique, dont les plus usuels ne sont pas identiques aux plus usuels de la poésie arabe, peuvent garder une certaine parenté avec des types de vers usités par les poètes préislamiques. C'était déjà l'idée de Benveniste (1932, 293), qui écrivit: "L'originalité des Persans en matière de technique poétique a consisté à assujettir le mètre syllabique iranien à la poésie quantita-

¹ Abrégé: EVLIA, v. ci-dessous la bibliographie. Le présent article est EVLIA 11.

tive arabe". La formule reste pertinente, à condition de remplacer "syllabique" par "accentuel". La même idée a été, plus récemment et indépendamment, soutenue par Utas (1994, 140), qui s'exprime ainsi: "The origin of many of the New Persian metres must be sought in earlier Iranian rhythmic patterns that were formally adapted to a quantitative structure".

Persuadé de la justesse de cette idée, j'ai tenté de la préciser: il m'a semblé possible de déceler dans certains des types de vers pehlevi, tels que je les avais analysés, une parenté avec certains mètres de la poésie persane, ce qui suggère fortement une filiation des premiers aux seconds (v. ci-dessous, § 3 et § 4). C'est cette thèse que je voudrais ici mettre à l'épreuve sur un texte versifié en langue parthe.

2. LE POÈME

Le poème est un hymne alphabétique au Moi Vivant, qui fut publié pour la première fois par Henning (1933, 317-318) et qui a été inséré dans l'anthologie de Boyce (1975, 104-105). Je l'ai moi-même cité dans EVLIA 6 (1985) dans une transcription inspirée du glossaire de Boyce (1977) et j'en ai étudié sommairement la versification, sans faire alors de rapprochement avec la versification persane classique. Ce dernier texte est reproduit ci-dessous, avec l'indication de la quantité des syllabes et de la place présumée des accents de mots. Les sigles sont les suivants: ∪ syllabe brève (légère), ÷ syllabe longue, mais légère, - syllabe longue (lourde), ˆ syllabe longue portant un accent de mot, ˘ syllabe accentuée longue ou brève selon qu'on fait ou non la liaison avec la voyelle qui suit.

2a	bagrāštīgar	yazdān abardum
	- - - ˆ	- ˆ ∪ - ˆ
b	kē didēm ud farrah	[. . .]
	÷ - ˆ ÷ - ˆ	
3a	gašād ud wārād	humayāg rōš[a]nān
	∪ ˆ ÷ - ˆ	∪ ∪ ˆ - (∪) ˆ
b	kad tō zād a'ī	pad šahrđārīft
	÷ ˆ ˆ ∪ -	÷ - - ˆ
4a	dwādes puhṛān	ud šahršahrān
	- ˆ - ˆ	÷ - - ˆ
b	andarwāzīg	būd šādmānag
	- - - ˆ	ˆ - - ˆ
5a	harwīn yazdān	ud mānendān
	- ˆ - ˆ	÷ - - ˆ
b	kōfān dālūg	ud xānsārān
	- ˆ - ˆ	÷ - - ˆ
6a	wēh[u]m ōstīg	appadan ud talwār
	- (ˆ) - ˆ	- ∪ ˆ ÷ - ˆ
b	pad tō friyānag	wišminād ahēnd
	÷ ˆ ∪ - ˆ	- ∪ ˆ ∪ -
7a	zabēn kanīgān	ud kumārčanān
	∪ ˆ ∪ - ˆ	÷ ∪ - ∪ ˆ

b	manohmed wisprixt	kadišān did a'ī
	~ - - - -	~ ~ - - ~ -
8a	harwīn hāmawāg	pad istāwišn
	- - - -	÷ ÷ - - -
b	āfrīd ō tō	yuwān abēnang
	- - - -	~ - - - -
9a	tabil šang	ud nad padxunād
	~ - - -	~ - - ~ -
b	srōdān niwāg	až harw āgōž
	- - ~ - -	÷ - - - -
10a	yazdān harwīn	būd handēmān
	- - - -	- - - -
b	ō tō wispuhr	šahrdārzādag
	÷ - - -	- - - -
11a	xunēd wažan	až andarwāz
	~ - - ~ -	~ - - -
b	srōdān niwāg	až zamīgrōš[a]n
	- - ~ - -	÷ ~ - - (-)
12a	kad ōh wāžēnd	ō pidar rōš[a]n
	÷ - - - -	÷ ~ - - (-)
b	kū zād razmyōz	kē karēd rāmišn
	÷ - - - -	÷ ~ - - -
13a	lālmīn wispweh	yazdān abardum
	- - - -	- - ~ - -
b	hrē kār ō tō	abispurd ahēnd
	- - ÷ - -	~ ÷ - ~ -
14a	maran wigānāh	ōžanā ō dušmenīn
	~ - - ~ - -	- ~ - ÷ - ~ -
b	ud nigund ō hamag	rōš[a]n wahištāw
	÷ ~ - ÷ ~ -	- (-) ~ - -
15a	namāžut burd	ud izgad a'ī ō razm
	~ - ÷ - -	~ ÷ ~ - - ÷ -
b	ud nigust ō hamag	rōš[a]n wahištāw
	÷ ~ - ÷ ~ -	- (-) ~ - -
16a	sēzdēn axšēn	bast yāwēdān
	- - - -	- - - -
b	ud wigand ārām	čē tārīgān
	÷ ~ - - -	÷ - - - -
17a	friyānag rōš[a]n	mardōhm naxwēn
	~ - - - (-)	- - - -
b	ōd būd yad kad	pidar kām hanžaft
	- - - -	~ - - - -

Le poème se présente en distiques (le 2 est lacunaire dans le manuscrit), dont les deux vers sont eux-mêmes divisés en deux hémistiches. La longueur de l'hémistiche varie de 3 à 7 syllabes; la moyenne est de 4,5 syllabes.

Voyons où se placent les ictus. La plupart des hémistiches ont deux mots accentués. Il y a toute apparence que, dans la majorité des hémistiches, les ictus coïncident avec des accents de mots: il n'y a aucune raison de les situer ailleurs. L'hémistiche est donc caractérisé par la présence de deux ictus. Par exception 17bb comporte trois mots principaux:² le premier ictus de l'hémistiche doit être sur *kām*, qui porte l'accent du syntagme *pidar kām*.

On admettra facilement que des mots tri- ou quadrisyllabiques peuvent porter deux ictus, l'un sur la finale, l'autre sur une syllabe intérieure lourde; le cas est fréquent dans d'autres poèmes parthes (EVLIA 6, 378-379). Il l'est aussi ici, par exemple, en 2aa *bagrāštīgar*, en 3bb *sahrdārīft*, etc. En 10ab, *būd* est théoriquement accentué, mais on peut penser que ce verbe (de faible poids sémantique) s'efface devant un ictus porté par la première syllabe de *handēmān*. Il en va probablement de même de *bast* dans 16ab, où l'ictus doit se situer sur la première syllabe de *yāwēdān*. Dans 11ab et 11bb, le premier ictus de l'hémistiche ne peut pas être ailleurs que sur la première syllabe de *andarwāz* et la seconde de *zamīgrōš[a]n*. En 8ab, on peut admettre qu'une longue en principe légère (*is-*) porte l'ictus par exception.

J'ai montré, je crois, que dans la versification les enclitiques sont traités de la même manière que les mots toniques (EVLIA 6: 379-381). En 3ba, *zād-a'ī* porte donc l'ictus sur la finale; de même en 7bb *dīd-a'ī* (on peut lire aussi *zād-ē*, *dīd-ē*). En revanche *wišminād-ahēnd* en 6bb et *abispurd-ahēnd* en 13bb ont nécessairement deux ictus, l'un sur le verbe principal, l'autre sur l'auxiliaire.

L'hémistiche 6aa n'a que trois syllabes dans la transcription de Boyce, qui lit *wēhm*, et il ne peut être scandé qu'avec un ictus sur ce premier mot. Mais on peut aussi admettre l'insertion d'une voyelle dans ce mot et le lire *wēhum*, ce qui donne un rythme plus satisfaisant, avec un ictus coïncidant avec l'accent final de chacun des deux mots. On peut de même, au lieu de *rōšn*, lire *rōšan*. Cette lecture est sans inconvénient en 3ab, et elle facilite la scansion en 14bb et 15bb, en évitant un ictus initial, et surtout en 11bb et 17aa, où autrement l'hémistiche aurait deux ictus consécutifs, ce qui n'est guère admissible.

Restent trois cas embarrassants, 9aa, 14ab et 15ab. Le premier semble comporter deux ictus consécutifs. Faut-il supposer une faute de copie, par exemple l'omission de *ud* 'et'? Ou admettre une courte pause entre les deux ictus? 14ab et 15ab sont les seuls à compter sept syllabes. En 14ab, Henning corrige *ōžanā* en *ōžan*, qui porterait le premier ictus, mais alors le pied suivant compte encore quatre syllabes, ce qui est exceptionnel. Je préfère supposer que la brève voyelle de la syllabe centrale de *dušmenīn* est réduite au point de ne pas compter. Quant à 15ab, on peut le scander en lisant *ē* au lieu de *a'ī* et en supposant que le premier ictus est sur la syllabe finale de *izgad*. Une autre hypothèse est que *ud* se contracte avec la voyelle qui suit (*wizgad* ou *uzgad*); dans ce cas l'ictus est sur l'auxiliaire *ē*.

Les vers étant scandés comme on vient de l'indiquer, le tableau ci-dessous, où ils sont disposés de telle sorte que les syllabes portant un ictus figurent dans les mêmes colonnes,

² 2aa signifie premier hémistiche du vers 2a, etc.

permet d'apercevoir leur structure commune. Bien que la plupart des vers n'aient que huit ou neuf syllabes et qu'aucun ne compte plus de onze syllabes, il faut distinguer douze positions, qui sont ici numérotés en partant de la fin. Dans ce tableau, la distinction entre syllabes brèves et syllabes longues légères est négligée; d'autre part on fait apparaître l'ictus. Les sigles sont les suivants: o syllabe légère, L syllabe lourde, L" syllabe lourde portant l'ictus.

	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
2a		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"	o	L	L"
b	o	L	L"	o	L	L"						
3a		o	L"	o	L	L"	o	o	L"	L	o	L"
b		o	L"	L	o	L"		o	L"		L	L"
4a		L	L"		L	L"		o	L"		L	L"
b		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"
5a		L	L"		L	L"		o	L"		L	L"
b		L	L"		L	L"		o	L"		L	L"
6a		L	L"		L	L"	L	o	L"	o	L	L"
b		o	L"	o	L	L"	L	o	L"		o	L"
7a		o	L"	o	L	L"	o	o	L"		o	L"
b	o	L	L"		L	L"	o	o	L"	L	o	L"
8a		L	L"		L	L"		o	L"		L	L"
b		L	L"		L	L"		o	L"	o	L	L"
9a		o	L"			L" ?		o	L"	L	o	L"
b		L	L"		o	L"		o	L"		L	L"
10a		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"
b		o	L"		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"
11a		o	L"		o	L"		o	L"		L	L"
b		L	L"		o	L"	o	o	L"		L	L"
12a		o	L"		L	L"	o	o	L"		L	L"
b		o	L"		L	L"	o	o	L"		L	L"
13a		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"	o	L	L"
b		L	L"		o	L"	o	o	L"		o	L"
14a		o	L"	o	L	L"	L	o	L"	o	L	L" ?
b	o	o	L"	o	o	L"		L	L"	o	L	L"
15a		o	L"		o	L"	o	o	L"	L	o	L" ?
b	o	o	L"	o	o	L"		L	L"	o	L	L"
16a		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"
b	o	o	L"		L	L"		o	L"		L	L"
17a	o	L	L"		L	L"		L	L"		L	L"
b		L	L"		L	L"	o	L	L"		L	L"

Dans ce tableau, les quelques cas litigieux (3 sur 63 hémistiches) sont signalés par un point d'interrogation: ils sont négligés dans ce qui suit. Les colonnes 1, 4, 7 et 10 ne comprennent que des syllabes lourdes portant l'ictus. Qu'en est-il des autres? Les colonnes 2, 5, 8 et 11 comprennent des lourdes et des légères. Il en va de même des colonnes 3, 6 et 9; la colonne 12 ne comprend que des légères. En outre ces quatre colonnes sont souvent vides, c'est-à-dire que les syllabes de position 3, 6, 9, 12 manquent souvent dans le vers.

Il est clair que l'unité rythmique de base (le pied) est composée d'une syllabe lourde portant un ictus précédée d'une syllabe indifféremment lourde ou légère et facultativement d'une autre syllabe indifférente (toujours légère dans la position 12), avec cette condition que le pied ne peut comprendre plus de deux lourdes. En outre on constate que les douze positions ne sont jamais occupées toutes simultanément. On peut représenter la structure du vers par la formule suivante, où x symbolise une syllabe indifférente et X une syllabe affectée de l'ictus, en ajoutant la condition que les syllabes facultatives ne peuvent être présentes toutes ensemble:

(x) x X (x) x X (x) x X (x) x X

3. DU MOYEN-IRANIEN AU PERSAN

Des analyses semblables à celle qui précède ont été effectuées sur des poèmes pehlevi et ont abouti à poser des formules du même genre que la précédente, que nous avons pu mettre en rapport avec certains mètres de la poésie persane classique (v. § 4). Appelons ces formules "formules structurales". Les règles de correspondance entre les formules structurales de la versification préislamique et les mètres persans sont les suivantes:

- la formule structurale, qui, rappelons-le, est toujours plus longue que les vers effectivement attestés parce qu'elle inclut toutes les syllabes facultatives et que celles-ci ne sont jamais présentes toutes ensemble, a le même nombre de syllabes que le mètre persan;
- les syllabes brèves du mètre persan correspondent à des syllabes facultatives de la formule structurale (mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie: des syllabes facultatives peuvent correspondre à des longues);
- les syllabes portant l'ictus de la formule structurale correspondent à des longues du vers persan (mais des longues du persan peuvent correspondre à des syllabes sans ictus).

L'application de ces règles au poème parthe examiné ici conduit à mettre en rapport la structure de ses vers avec le mètre persan dit *motaqāreb sālem*, qui compte douze syllabes. Les formules se laissent superposer sans difficulté:

(x) x X (x) x X (x) x X (x) x X
 ~ - - ~ - - ~ - - ~ - -

Ce mètre persan est employé dans la poésie non narrative. Parmi les plus anciens poètes persans, Daqiqi l'a utilisé dans un beau morceau d'inspiration morale cité dans le *Tārix-e Beyhaqi* (Lazard 1964, vol. 2, 166), qui commence ainsi:

ze do ciz girand mar mamlakat-rā
yeki zarr-e nām-e malek bar-nebešte

yeki parniāni yeki za'farāni
degar āhan-e ābdāde-y yamāni

Avec deux choses on peut gagner un trône,
 L'une à reflets de soie et l'autre de safran:
 L'une est l'or marqué au nom du roi,
 L'autre le fer trempé du Yémen.

Le rapprochement proposé signifie que le *motaqāreb sālem* de la versification persane classique semble bien, pour reprendre les termes de Benveniste et ceux d'Utas, résulter de l'adaptation du vers illustré par l'*Hymne au Moi Vivant* à la prosodie quantitative inspirée du modèle arabe. Il est vrai que le vers persan est un peu plus long que le vers préislamique. Mais on sait que le persan compte plus de syllabes brèves que le moyen-perse, et, d'autre part, les brèves du vers ne sont souvent que de fausses syllabes, c'est-à-dire la troisième more de syllabes ultralongues. La filiation n'est donc pas invraisemblable.

4. RÉCAPITULATION

Je crois utile de récapituler ici les quelques points sur lesquels il a paru possible d'apercevoir une relation de filiation entre la versification en moyen-iranien occidental et celle de la poésie persane classique.

1) Le motaqāreb catalectique (*mahzuf*), vers narratif, est en rapport avec le vers pehlevi de l'*Hymne à la Sagesse* (EVLIA 9) et aussi avec le mètre épique baloutchi, qui pourrait être lui-même l'héritage du vers épique iranien préislamique (EVLIA 8):

(x)	(x)	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	(x)	X	x	X
~	-	-	~	-	-	~	-	-	~	-

L'hypothèse d'une filiation est confirmée par le fait que les syllabes du *motaqāreb* les plus favorables à la présence d'un accent de mot correspondent à celles qui portent l'ictus dans la formule structurale (EVLIA 8).

2) Le motaqāreb acatalectique (*sālem*), vers non narratif, est en rapport avec le vers parthe de l'*Hymne au Moi Vivant*, comme montré ci-dessus:

(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X
~	-	-	~	-	-	~	-	-	~	-	-

3) Une variété de hazaj, vers narratif, est en rapport avec le vers d'un autre poème moral pehlevi (EVLIA 10):

(x)	X	(x)	(x)	X	(x)	X	(x)	(x)	X
-	-	~	~	-	~	-	~	-	-

4) Le robāi dérive d'un quatrain populaire en un mètre accentuel, forme attestée en persan préclassique par le distique *Āhu-ye kuhi* (EVLIA 1):

x	X	x	x	X		x	X	x	x	X	x	x	X
-	-	~	~	-		~	-	~	-	-	~	~	-

RÉFÉRENCES

- Benveniste, É., 1932. Le Mémorial de Zarēr, poème pehlevi mazdéen, *JA* 220, 245-293.
 Boyce, M., 1975. *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Leiden-Téhéran-Liège).
 Boyce, M., 1977. *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9a, Leiden-Téhéran-Liège).

- Henning, W. B., 1933. Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 306-318.
- Lazard, G., 1964. *Les premiers poètes persans. Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits* (Téhéran–Paris), 2 vol.
- Lazard, G., 1970. *Āhu-ye kuhi* . . . : le chamois d’Abu Hafs de Sogdiane et les origines du robāi, in *W. B. Henning memorial volume* (London), 238-244 [= EVLIA 1].
- Lazard, G., 1985. La métrique de la poésie parthe, in *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, vol. 2 (Leiden), 371-399 [= EVLIA 6].
- Lazard, G., 1994. Le mètre épique baloutchi et les origines du motaqâreb, in L. Johanson, B. Utas (ed.), *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry* (Istanbul) 81-90 [= EVLIA 8].
- Lazard, G., 2001. La versification d’un poème pehlevi, in A. A. Sadeghi (ed.), *Tafazzoli memorial volume* (Tehran), 39-47 [= EVLIA 9].
- Lazard, G., Sous presse. Encore la versification pehlevie, in *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* (Mélanges Shaked) [= EVLIA 10].
- Utas, B., 1994. Arabic and Iranian elements in New Persian prosody, L. Johanson, B. Utas (ed.), *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry* (Istanbul), 129-141.

Maria Macuch

One of the convincing theses presented with acumen by Gherardo Gnoli in several articles of the past years and especially in his inspiring book *The idea of Iran*¹ is the concept of *Ērān-šahr* as a result of the religio-political propaganda of the Sasanians, based on the well attested doctrine of the inseparable relationship between kingship and religion, constituting as twin brothers the pillar and the foundation of the state. Although this doctrine represents an ideal state of affairs which certainly does not reflect a complex historical reality (since – as Gnoli points out in his subtle discussion of the problem² – there was certainly no lack of hostile conflicts between the church and the state from the beginning to the end of this dynasty's rule) we have no reason to doubt that as an ideology it played an important part in the consolidation of Sasanian power. We have in fact enough evidence to assume that the close ideological connection between the church and the state in the beginning of the dynasty's reign did not only remain a clever idea in the sphere of Sasanian political and cultural propaganda, but was skilfully used by the church to establish fundamental social and legal institutions to its own advantage which turned into the social backbone of the state by the end of Sasanian rule. This was not only achieved by accumulating enormous wealth in pious foundations and huge estates belonging to fire temples (which could have been probably controlled and even confiscated by the state),³ but especially by fixing the laws regulating marriage and inheritance according to Zoroastrian principles, hereby connecting the basic structure of the family and kinship groups with important religious obligations and establishing them in a manner which could not be easily changed by the king.

The political success of the clergy was most probably the result of a close alliance with the nobles who gained their power from real estate and were interested in promoting and maintaining a legal system which would open additional options to their advantage in the field of inheritance and transmitting property across the generations. The Zoroastrian church with its explicit acknowledgement of endogam alliances, especially incest, and of different forms of real and fictive matrimonial bonds based on this Zoroastrian obligation was the best ally of a nobility interested in keeping their vast property together, as I have

¹ See Gnoli 1989 with further references in the bibliography.

² *Ibid.* 169.

³ In fact, we have ample evidence that so-called 'servants of the fire' (*bandag i ātaxš* or *ādurān bandag*), persons who were put in charge of the upkeep and administration of fire temples and their property (often huge estates), did not necessarily have to belong to the clergy, but could be laymen (even freed slaves) and also high dignitaries of the State, as the case of the famous prime minister Mihr-Narseh demonstrates. An interesting passage in the Sasanian Law-book (*MHDA* 39.11-17) on Mihr-Narseh as a fire servant demonstrates clearly that the king had the right to assign State officials to the service of fire temples and also to end their engagement under certain circumstances. See especially Macuch (forthcoming); on pious foundations under Sasanian rule see also Macuch 1991a and 1994 with further references.

argued elsewhere.⁴ It is certainly not coincidental that an alliance of the clergy and the nobility caused the downfall of Mani,⁵ the first eminent threat to the Zoroastrian church since the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, and that the high priest Kardēr who was engaged in the proceedings against Mani⁶ boasts of having promoted *xwēdōdah*-marriages in his famous inscription at the Ka'ba of Zoroaster.⁷ Needless to say, this well known passage was not simply included in order to underline Kardēr's adherence to the Zoroastrian faith, but rather to emphasize the increasing power of the Church, which could hardly be symbolized in a better manner than by referring to the establishment of numerous fire temples and next-of-kin marriages. It seems that the balance of power between the Zoroastrian clergy (in alliance with the nobility) on the one side and the king on the other side was gradually shifted to the advantage of the church in the long period of Sasanian rule from the third to the seventh century and could not be basically changed by the king without risking total chaos. History itself gives us a glimpse of what could have happened if the laws regulating family affairs and inheritance, based on Zoroastrian obligations, were to be changed. When king Kawād tried to weaken the power of the clergy and the nobility by altering the laws of matrimony in correspondence with the "heretic" teaching of Mazdak in the sixth century, these radical measures not only almost led to a total collapse of the social system, but became a serious threat to the reign of the Sasanian dynasty itself. Only by reinserting the previous marriage regulations and renewing the tie between the ruling house and the Zoroastrian clergy – among other measures – did Kawād's son, the famous Hosrau Anōšagruwān, manage to ensure his reign and to restore the legitimacy of Sasanian rule.⁸

In the light of these considerations, the organisation of Zoroastrian kinship seems to be far more important for our understanding of the social and political history of Sasanian Iran than hitherto realized, especially if we bear in mind that this was a completely different society from our own, in which descent groups were the basic political, religious and economic units! But although there is enough material in the sources on the subject and interesting work has been done in the past years on family law, on marriage and inheritance, the far-reaching implications of having these important fields of law based on fundamental Zoroastrian principles and the consequences for Iranian society on the whole have largely remained unrecognized. Seen from the perspective of kinship structure, Sasanian family law was thoroughly Zoroastrian. Almost none of the basic regulations concerning marriage and inheritance would have been possible in a society which did not expressly confess Zoroastrianism (the Law-book of Jesubocht, written for the Christian community of Pars and extant only in a Syriac translation of the Pahlavi original, is completely based on Sasanian law with the sole exception of family law and the law of inheritance which was

⁴ Macuch 1995.

⁵ See Gnoli 1989, 159 f.

⁶ See Henning 1942, 949 and 952.

⁷ See Back 1978, 433, and on this passage Macuch 1991b, 147 and 152.

⁸ Macuch 1995, 165 f.

far too Zoroastrian to be adapted by the Christians and is expressly refuted by Jesubocht).⁹ The integration of religious ideas in this manner was a marked prerogative of the clergy in the struggle for power which leads us to the conclusion that the church finally managed to establish itself as an important political factor, even though – as Gnoli rightly observes¹⁰ – orthodox Zoroastrianism did not really succeed in imposing an unchallenged *spiritual* supremacy over other religious confessions and movements. That, however, is quite a different matter. Let us leave these general observations for the moment and try to reconstruct the main traits in the organisation of kinship and its terminology according to the available material, and see how far it was dependent on important Zoroastrian obligations and principles.

According to the most common anthropological definition “kinship” denotes simply the relations between “kin”, that is persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity.¹¹ We should bear in mind that the definition of those who count as “blood” kin varies considerably from society to society. A consanguine must not necessarily be a “real” blood relative as we usually understand the term today, that is a person genetically related to another, but can be defined as one by the society (and consequently its legal system). The *pater*, or legal father, for example, need not necessarily be the *genitor*, or actual biological father (the most obvious case, known in almost all societies, is that of the adopted child who is not related by blood to his parents and siblings, but assumes the role of the child with all its legal implications). In the context of our topic it is important to stress the anthropological discovery that no society treats the question of consanguinity in an arbitrary fashion, but assumes its own theory and has its own reasons to encourage the development of certain fictive consanguineous relationships. Sasanian kinship is full of presumed consanguineous bonds to an extent that can be quite confusing, not only because the technical terms used in this context are difficult or even impossible to translate, but especially since the expressions have overlapping meanings and cross connotations which all have to be taken into consideration if the underlying pattern is to be reconstructed correctly. The main reason for the overwhelming number of fictive ties – as will be seen – lies in the obligation to ensure the continuity of a man’s lineage (*nāmburdārīh*) on the one hand and the performance of religious ceremonies in his name (*nāmgānīh*) on the other hand, thus linking kinship and religion inseparably to each other. Although these obligations were certainly not restricted to Zoroastrian Iran, but were also known in other ancient societies, none of these went so far as to develop such an elaborate system of constructed kinship comparable to that of Sasanian Iran in order to avoid the extinction of a lineage. There is also another well known difference between the Sasanian model and those in almost all other known communities which clearly distinguishes the Zoroastrian pattern from almost all other systems. Whereas the study of kinship and marriage in other societies has to take into consideration, that “primary kin do not mate with each other”¹² as a major principle,

⁹ See especially Sachau 1914, 30–41.

¹⁰ See Gnoli 1989, 158 ff.

¹¹ For a concise introduction to kinship and marriage from an anthropological perspective see Fox 1967.

¹² Fox 1967, 31.

one of the main features of the Sasanian system is the complete lack of an incest taboo. Of course, this is neither new nor in the least surprising, but it is, as will be seen, one of the most important prerequisites of Sasanian family law, allowing not only real marriages inside the nuclear family, but also far more important fictive consanguineous bonds which are unique and not to be found anywhere, except in a society that not only accepted incest on an ideological basis, but integrated it into its kinship system.

The complex structure of kinship (of which I will only sketch the main features important for our topic) was fundamental for those estates and classes of Sasanian society that had property at their disposal to a certain extent (in any case the aristocracy and the clergy, probably also the town-dwelling middle classes belonging to the third estate).¹³ The basic unit was the family (*dūdāg* or *kadag*), which in its most simple form consisted of a *kadag-xwadāy*, master of the house or *paterfamilias*, his wife from an arranged marriage of the *pādxšāy* type (marriage with full matrimonial rights)¹⁴ or *kadag-bānūg* (*materfamilias*) who was under the guardianship (*sālārīh*) of the husband. The children from this alliance were the father's legitimate offspring (*dādestān-pus* 'son according to the law' and *dādestān-duxt* 'daughter according to the law')¹⁵ and his legal successors (*yōhē pasčāēta*). This Avestan phrase 'who (succeeds) him afterwards' is used as a technical term for the legal successor of a *paterfamilias* in general, no matter whether succession took place directly or through intermediaries. Having been taken from a lost Avestan context not known to us, it probably reflects a period of Zoroastrian law, in which the sophisticated legal terminology of the Law-book regarding succession and inheritance (and maybe also its complex institutions) were not yet developed, since Sasanian jurists in fact drew a sharp distinction between direct succession by a legitimate son and intermediary succession by a legitimate daughter (or any other relative or fellow-citizen recruited for this purpose) that does not correspond with the general use of the Avestan phrase for all kinds of successors.¹⁶ The intermediary successor was regarded as a link between a man and his legal successor and had the obligation to produce a son for the deceased. According to the Law-book the daughters were only accepted as intermediary successors

¹³ The Sasanian Law-book does not mention any differences in class or rank in connection with the estate or caste to which a man belonged, but a minimum of property (amounting to 80 *satērs*, in later texts 60 *satērs*) is referred to especially in the context of secondary succession (*stūrīh*). Evidence from other sources must also be taken into consideration. We know, for example, from the *Letter of Tansar* that nobles were not allowed to wed common women (of the 4th estate, as we may assume) and that commoners, on the other hand, were not allowed to acquire the possession of land from the nobles (Boyce 1968, 44; see also Macuch 1995, 160). If we accept the assumption that the *Letter of Tansar* was written sometime in the 6th century during the reign of Hosrau I (as there is good reason to do so), then we must conclude that differences of a legal nature did exist between noblemen and commoners, even though there is no direct evidence in the Law-book.

¹⁴ On the *pādxšāy*-marriage and its implications see Macuch 1981, 73-77 (n. 4) with further references.

¹⁵ Macuch 1993, 699, with further references.

¹⁶ Following persons are called *yōhē pasčāēta* in the Law-book: 1. the *pādxšāy* son and daughter (MHD 22.8-9), 2. a man's son and daughter (MHD 22.3), 3. men who are installed as proxies (*stūr*) (MHD 47.7-10; 69.3-7), 4. a woman who is installed as a proxy (*stūr*) (MHD 47.10-13). See Macuch 1985, 189 f., with further references.

(*ayōkēn/ayōgēn/ayūgēn*, see below)¹⁷ and were only entitled to a certain portion of the father's inheritance (*bahr i duxtīh*).¹⁸ This was either handed out on the occasion of a marriage outside the descent group as a dowry (*pēšīgān-wāspuhragān*)¹⁹ or remained an undivided "ideal" share (*a-baxt*)²⁰ of the total estate (*abarmānd*)²¹ left by the deceased if the daughter remained in her natal lineage by concluding an endogam marriage.²² The legitimate sons, on the other hand, stood in the direct successorship of the father and were not only inheritors of his property (*xwāstagdār*),²³ but also of his name (*nām-burdār*)²⁴ and place in the descent group (*paywand*, *tohmag*),²⁵ his standing in the community and his rank (*gāh*) in the social estate (*pēšag*). In short, the legitimate sons replaced the father totally and assumed all his rights and duties, including the responsibility for his debts (*tōzišn i pidarān*)²⁶ and guardianship (*sālārīh*)²⁷ over the women and minors in the family, as well as the important religious obligation to perform the required rituals for the soul of the deceased (*ruwān yazišn*)²⁸ and to keep the cult of the souls of the ancestors (*nām-gānīh*)²⁹.

These two last mentioned religious obligations must have been regarded as extremely important, since a considerable amount of a man's property was expressly set aside for these purposes, as we may deduce from a passage describing the total estate (*abarmānd*) of a deceased *paterfamilias*. It consisted of three major parts: 1. the portion that was conveyed 'to the ownership' (*pad xwēšīh*) of the heirs, denoting the hereditary shares of the wives, children (and other possible inheritors) mentioned above, 2. property 'for the soul' (*pad ruwān*), denoting certain possessions and pious endowments, founded for the cult of a dead man's soul, the profit of which was spent for the performance of the required rituals, and 3. property 'for the (institution of) substitute succession' (*pad stūrīh*), which designated that part of the estate set apart for the purpose of ensuring the continuation of the name and lineage of the master of the house by installing a proxy (*stūr*) who would produce an heir and legal suc-

¹⁷ For the different readings and explanations of this technical term see Macuch 1981, 104 (n.) f., and 1985, 189 f. with further references. In the following the transcription used for the word is based on the etymology by Klingenschmitt 2000, 225 f., who explains it from Av. **aīiaoyaēnī-* or **aīiūyaēnī-* and combines it with OInd. *ayogū-*, *VS ayugū-* 'ein Mädchen, welches das einzige Kind einer Mutter ist, geschwisterloses Mädchen' both from **a-iaugā-* or **a-iug-* 'ohne Verbindung (das heißt "ohne Geschwister")'.

¹⁸ Macuch 1993, 694, with further references.

¹⁹ Macuch 1981, 85 f. (n. 17).

²⁰ Macuch 1993, 685, with further references.

²¹ Macuch 1993, 686, with further references.

²² This describes the normal case, but exceptions were possible. The daughter could inherit the 'total estate' (*abarmānd*) of a deceased if he had no other relatives (*pad rāh i a-kasīh* 'owing to the lack of relations'), see *MHD* 62.10-12. This seems also to be the case in *MHD* 89.17-90.1.

²³ Macuch 1993, 714, with further references.

²⁴ *Kārnāmāg i Ardaxšēr i Pābagān* I, 6.

²⁵ Macuch 1993, 726 and 734, with further references.

²⁶ Macuch 1993, 734, with further references.

²⁷ Macuch 1993, 730, with further references.

²⁸ Macuch 1993, 729, with further references.

²⁹ On this term designating the ritual of the cult of the ancestors see Klingenschmitt 1971, 145-150.

cessor for the deceased.³⁰ The person engaged as *stūr*, or proxy, for another person could be a man, who could put his reproductive capacity in the service of several different men, or a woman, who could be *stūr* only for one man in correspondence with the marriage laws that allowed a woman a single “marriage with full matrimonial rights” at a time in order to insure the position of the children as legitimate successors of their pater or legal father. We should bear in mind that one of the three major portions of the total estate of a deceased was reserved for activities in connection with the religious obligations towards a man’s soul (*pad ruwān*), and another portion for his *stūrīh*, which was combined with the ritual for the cult of the ancestors, called *nāmgānīh*, thus fixing an inseparable bond between the legal and religious obligations of the members of a descent group.

The structure of a family was only seldom as simple as in the “ideal” case stated above due to different reasons. First of all, Sasanian law did not know the legal concept of primogeniture (there was no *primus agnatus* as in Roman law), therefore all the legitimate children of the deceased from a *pādxšāy*-marriage were entitled to receive a certain portion of his inheritance, which varied according to their gender (daughters received half the portion of a son). In order to keep the property together (the most important part of which was real estate) the sons often entered into a partnership (*hambāyīh*)³¹ of co-inheritors or co-holders (*brād i hambāy*)³² which could also include the daughters under certain circumstances (when they had to function as *ayōgēn* for their natal lineage, as will be seen below) after the death of the father. A joint partnership was one of the best possibilities to avoid the division (*baxtīgīh kardan*)³³ of the property, especially if it was real estate, into small units. In a Zoroastrian community the siblings also had the additional option of concluding *xwēdōdah*-marriages in order to avoid splitting the inheritance, since the patrimonium of the daughter would remain within the family. But although next-of-kin marriages between father and daughter as well as between brother and sister were regarded as completely normal and are mentioned almost in passing in the Law-book,³⁴ they were neither the only possible solution to the problem, nor do they seem to have been given first priority in this context. Interestingly, the technical term *xwēdōdah* does not occur in the cases of incestuous marriages in the Law-book, which seems to point to the fact, that the expression was far too ambiguous and unclear to be used in a legal context. According to the *Dēnkard* it could designate different grades of endogam marriages with the following persons: 1. with relations (*abāg nabānazdištān*), 2. within the kinship group with the members of the family (*andar nabānazdištān ō abāg nazdpaywandān*), 3. with the members of the nuclear family (*nazdpaywandtar*), which are precisely named: father and daughter (*pid ud duxt*), mother and son (*pus ud burdār*), brother and sister (*brad ud xwāh*).³⁵ The definition given

³⁰ *MHDA* 20.15-21.5 (Macuch 1981, 167); compare Macuch 1995, 155 f. On the *abarmānd i pad stūrīh* and *abarmānd i pad xwēšīh* see also *MHD* 21.15-22.1 (Macuch 1993, 176).

³¹ Macuch 1993, 709 f., with further references.

³² Macuch 1993, 696, with further references.

³³ Macuch 1993, 694, with further references.

³⁴ *MHD* 44.8-14 (Macuch 1993, 319 f.); 104.9-11 (*ibid.* 626); 105.5-10 (*ibid.* 647); *MHDA* 18.7-12 (Macuch 1981, 165).

³⁵ *DkM* 73.9-11; see also Macuch 1991b, 143.

in this source demonstrates clearly that *xwēdōdah* was used for all kinds of endogam alliances, including the bond between members of the nuclear family. Legal terminology, on the other hand, had to be precise, and since endogamy was practised on a large scale anyway, there was no use for a term which could obviously be used in such an ambiguous sense.³⁶ The cases of incest in the Law-book leave the impression that these marriages were completely integrated into the legal system and that there was no need to handle them differently or to develop a special legal terminology in this context, which is actually exactly what we would expect in a society confessing Zoroastrianism.³⁷

As I have argued elsewhere, incest must have been originally an integral part of the Zoroastrian fertility cult practised by the magi, since *xwēdōdah* is in fact mentioned in numerous sources together with other ritualistic acts, such as the sacrificial offering (*myazd*) and the festival of the five epact days at the end of the year (*gāhānbār*), which were all meant to support life and fertility and to destroy the demons.³⁸ The transition of incest from an originally ritualistic act in support of fertility to legally sanctioned marriage is probably the result of the well known “ritualistic” and “legalistic” approach of this “professional priesthood”³⁹ to almost all matters of religion in an effort to combine religious and legal obligations in the Zoroastrian community. It seems that the first legally accepted incestuous alliances between members of the nuclear family were established as temporary marriages, which were automatically dissolved after the arranged period expired. Even though there are no sources from this early period, we do in fact have later evidence that these marriages were concluded on a temporary basis, and that they were not entered into without reservations, so that the priests had to find different strategies in order to make

³⁶The attestations of the expression *xwēdōdah/xwēdōdād* in the late Middle Persian texts of the 9th to 10th century (especially in the *Rivāyat i Ēmēd i Ašāwahištān*, the *Dādestān i dēnīg* and the *Rivāyat* accompanying it among others, see Macuch 1991b with further references) are, of course, well known, but we have to take the completely different nature of these late texts into consideration. These texts were written for the Zoroastrian community in a more or less hostile Muslim environment, aiming to preserve age-old Zoroastrian traditions which were in danger of being eradicated for ever. Endogam marriages and incest had to be defended against critical voices. The Sasanian Law-book, on the other hand, was compiled by a jurist during late Sasanian rule and written for jurists who were – at this period in any case – not interested in theological speculation of any kind and also used a completely different terminology. Seen from this perspective, it is not surprising that the sources present a completely different approach to the question of incest: pragmatical in the Law-book with no apology whatsoever on the one hand, and vehemently enthusiastic, receiving the highest religious sanction in the *Rivāyats* on the other hand.

³⁷*MHD* 44.13–14 is concerned with the share a daughter inherits from her father when she is at the same time his wife. The opinion of one of the jurists is quoted, that she should only receive the hereditary portion of the wife (*bahr i zanīh*) not that of the daughter (see Macuch 1993, 320; the hereditary portion of the *pādxšāy*-wife is twice as large as that of the daughter and corresponds, according to later sources, to the share of the son, see Macuch 1981, 74 f.). In another case (*MHD* 104.9–11) a man stipulates gifts of gold and silver for his wife and his daughter respectively. If he marries his daughter, then she is only entitled to the gift of gold stipulated for the wife (Macuch 1993, 626). *MHD* 105.5–10 and *MHDA* 18.7–12 are both concerned with the implications of a father's will, when his son and daughter enter an incestuous marriage (see Macuch 1993, 647, and 1981, 164 f. respectively).

³⁸Macuch 1991b, 151 ff. with further references.

³⁹Gershevitch 1964, 25.

them palatable to the members of the Zoroastrian community, one of these ruses being marriage for a limited period.⁴⁰ But no matter on which scale “real” incestuous marriages were concluded, the general acceptance and support of incestuous alliances within the nuclear family was decisive for the development of the elaborate system of intermediary succession and substitute succession (*ayōgēn(ih)* and *stūrīh*), in which fictive incestuous ties and presumed consanguinity played an important part.

These institutions regulating secondary inheritance were probably originally created according to the rule that no man should die without leaving at least one legal successor, but they developed in the course of Sasanian history into the two most important methods of securing the continuity of a man’s lineage and hereby influencing the structure of descent groups and of society on the whole. Towards the end of the Sasanian period every *paterfamilias* with a certain amount of property at his disposal was legally obliged to establish a *stūrīh*, no matter whether he had sons or not, in order not to risk remaining ‘without name’ (*abē-nām*) if the existing offspring was to die.⁴¹ The Law-book distinguishes between *ayōgēn(ih)* and *stūrīh*, which are confused to a certain extent in later sources of the post-Sasanian period. Although both institutions were developed for the same reason, that is to procure offspring, the different terminology and the details given in the Law-book seem to indicate that they were originally separate strategies of ensuring the lineage. The term *ayōgēn* is used in all sources (including those of the post-Sasanian period) exclusively of women, as I have already pointed out elsewhere.⁴² It is applied with regard to the following three groups of women who were obliged to act as intermediary successors to a deceased *paterfamilias*:

1. the wives: specifically the *pādxšāy*-wife,⁴³ the *čagar*-wife,⁴⁴ the wife in a temporary marriage;⁴⁵
2. the daughters: specifically the unmarried daughter,⁴⁶ the daughter who had been placed under the guardianship of a fellow-citizen,⁴⁷ the daughter from an exogam marriage, called *dux̌t i bayaspān*,⁴⁸ the daughter from a marriage of the *čagar* type;⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Macuch 1991b, 153 f.; on temporary marriages in Sasanian law and their impact on Shiite jurisprudence see Macuch 1985.

⁴¹ Macuch 1995, 155.

⁴² Macuch 1985, 189 f.

⁴³ *Dd.* 55.8; *Paymānag i kadag-xwadāyih* 142.2 (see below).

⁴⁴ *MHD* 49.2-3.

⁴⁵ *MHD* 87.2-3.

⁴⁶ *MHD* 23.1-4; 89.17-90.1; *Dd.* 53.13; 57.3; *REA* 18.18; 23.7 ff.; 31.8; 44.2-3.

⁴⁷ *MHD* 22.10-12.

⁴⁸ *MHD* 21.8-10. On the different spellings, readings and etymology of the word see Sundermann 1998. On the technical meaning ‘woman who marries outside her natal lineage, who enters an exogam marriage’ see Macuch 1993, 182 f. (n. 3). I cannot follow Carlsen’s explanation of the term as a ‘girl who marries for the first time’ (Carlsen 1984, 120).

⁴⁹ *REA* 23.19-24.

3. the sisters:⁵⁰ specifically the sister who is in a joint partnership (*andar hambāyīh*) with an unmarried brother who has no issue,⁵¹ the sister who is under the guardianship (*sālārīh*) of a brother.⁵²

In all these cases the women acted as intermediary successors, that is, they were obliged to put their reproductive capacities into the service of their *pādxšāy*-husbands, or their brothers or their fathers, by entering a *čagar*-marriage with another man.⁵³ This completely different type of matrimony was concluded as an “auxiliary marriage” in order to procure children for a man who had no offspring. The woman remained legally the wife of her husband in the *pādxšāy*-marriage when she entered into *čagar*-wedlock, consequently the children from this second marriage were not counted as the legitimate offspring of their genitor, but of their pater or legal father. The *ayōgēn*-women were at the same time categorized as *stūr i būdag*⁵⁴ ‘natural proxy’ and inherited the portion of the estate expressly reserved for the *stūrīh*, which entitled them not to the property itself, but to using its profit or interest for their expenses. Only the sons of the *ayōgēn* were finally regarded as the direct legal successors and heirs of the deceased *paterfamilias*, even though they could be separated from him by several generations. A comparison of the two institutions of *ayōgēn(īh)* and *stūrīh* would lead us too far astray, but it seems that the former was far older than the latter. The *ayōgēnīh* contains elements of cognatic descent⁵⁵ which were combined with the patrilineal system of succession to the advantage of the lineage. Since it was possible to arrange real and fictive incestuous bonds in a Zoroastrian community, the

⁵⁰ MHD 22.9-12; 22.13-23.1; REA 1.3, 31.9.

⁵¹ MHD 23.4-7.

⁵² MHD 23.6-10.

⁵³ On the *čagar*-marriage see Macuch 1981, 100 (n. 2) to 113, with further references. None of the regulations regarding the *pādxšāy*-marriage were in force in this type of marriage: the wife was not under the guardianship of the husband, her children were not his legitimate progeny and she had no claims whatsoever on the inheritance of the husband.

⁵⁴ Macuch 1981, 116.

⁵⁵ See Hjerrild 1993, 85. Since the natal family of a woman had the right to engage her as an *ayōgēn*, Hjerrild comes to the conclusion that a daughter's obligation to her family was her essential function and that family structure was, therefore, cognatic, not agnatic. Although she is certainly right in assuming strong cognatic elements in the Sasanian kinship system, the question of its classification according to anthropological criteria cannot be answered so easily. Almost no system can be forced rigidly into an “ideal” pattern, since certain individual divergences may be discerned everywhere and all the rights and obligations and their distribution must be taken into consideration. Secondly, kinship ties can be interpreted from different angles: from the perspective of the kin-groups composing the society (so-called *ancestor-focus*) and from the angle of the individual and his kin (*ego-focus*, see Fox 1967, 164). From the perspective of succession, inheritance and obligations towards the ancestors (from the ancestor-focus) Sasanian kinship was obviously patrilineally determined, since only a male was accepted as the legal successor and ‘name bearer’ (*nāmburdār*) of the deceased and as his heir (*xwāstādār*), although females had certain rights stated above. The acceptance of females as intermediary successors, however, gives Sasanian kinship a cognatic tinge, which could have even influenced the Shiite law of inheritance, as Hjerrild sees quite correctly. The principle of patrilineal succession could have easily been maintained in a descent group accepting real and fictive incest, since the cognatic tie of a woman (daughter or sister) to her natal lineage would at the same time be a marital bond between husband and wife.

women in an Iranian descent group were not “useless” to their own group (as is the case in a patrilineage keeping the ban on incest because the men are not allowed to wed their own daughters and sisters but have to “give them away” to another group).

In correspondence with the obligation of ensuring the continuity of a lineage, a woman was immediately committed to accepting the intermediary succession of her husband, his *ayōgēnīh*, on entering a *pādixšāy*-marriage with all its implications if the marriage had no offspring. According to the text of the model marriage contract (*paymānag i kadag-xwadāyīh*) the following interesting clause was agreed upon on concluding a *pādixšāy*-marriage:

u-š ēdōn mad ēstēd pad sālārīh i wāhmān pid čiyōn ka-š zanīh duxtagānīh pad rāh (i) stūrīh (ud) ayōgēnīh/ayōgānīh⁵⁶ i kas padīš nē mad ēstēd

And she (= the bride) entered into the guardianship (*sālārīh*) of the father of so-and-so (= the bridegroom) in this (manner) that marriage (*zanīh*) (and) daughterhood (*duxtagānīh*) did not come to her because of (practising) somebody (else's) substitute succession (*stūrīh*) (or) intermediary succession (*ayōgēnīh*).⁵⁷

The clause can only be understood correctly if the implications of the legal terminology involved are all taken into consideration. It says, first of all, that a *pādixšāy*-bride leaves her natal lineage and enters the lineage of the bridegroom's father and his guardianship (*sālārīh*). This is done in a manner that excludes all the claims other male members of her natal lineage may have on the woman's reproductive capacity as a *stūr* or an *ayōgēn*, that is, she is released from the obligation of entering a marriage (*zanīh*, of the *čagar* type, as we may add) in her capacity as proxy (*stūr*) for a member of her original lineage or of acting as an intermediary successor, as an *ayōgēn* in the ‘daughterhood’ of her father (*duxtagānīh*).

Although the quoted source is from the post-Sasanian period,⁵⁸ it corresponds more or less to the scattered details given on the *ayōgēn* in the Law-book. Especially chapter 11 on succession (*MHD* 21.4-24.10)⁵⁹ gives ample evidence to the fact that the daughter and sister were obliged to act as intermediary successors for their father and brother, especially if there was no other male successor. Taken together with the evidence of the quoted passage, we may conclude that a *pādixšāy*-marriage outside the descent group of the woman was only contracted if the bride was not obliged to act as an *ayōgēn* or *stūr* within her natal family.⁶⁰ The reason for this regulation is not difficult to discern, since it is vitally

⁵⁶ Written 'ywk'nyh.

⁵⁷ Jamasp-Asana 1897-1913, 141, 9-11. MacKenzie 1969, 105, has a completely different translation of the passage.

⁵⁸ Jamasp-Asana 1897-1913, 141-143. According to MacKenzie 1969, 104, n. 1, the text is dated 15. XII. 647 of the era of Yazdgird, that is 16th November 1278 AD, but the model contract is probably far older than the date given in the preserved text.

⁵⁹ Macuch 1993, 170-191.

⁶⁰ In this respect I agree with Hjerrild 1993, but she is certainly wrong in concluding that a wife's “husband could not be sure that she remained his wife” (p. 85) because of a woman's obligations towards her natal family. The marriage contract, on the contrary, demonstrates that this important matter was regulated very carefully.

important in every patrilineal system of descent to make sure that a man's legal rights over the wife and children are clearly defined, thus the *pādxšāy*-marriage contract contains, as we have seen, exact details on the question of guardianship (*sālārīh*) and intermediary succession (*ayōgēnīh*).

Sasanian law knew, however, different strategies of marriage which enabled a woman to act as *ayōgēn* for different men in separate phases of her life. This is demonstrated very clearly in the passages on temporary marriage in the Law-book:

MHD 87.2-3: ka gowēd kū{-m tā 10 sāl} tan pad zanīh ō tō dād ēg-iš andar 10 sāl ayōgēn abar ō mānēd

If she (= the bride) declares: “{For ten years} I am given to you in marriage”, then within the ten years (the task) of intermediary successor (*ayōgēn*) passes (to her).⁶¹

MHD 23.1-4: ka duxt pad dastwarīh i pid andar kas kunēd kū tā 10 sāl zan i tō hom ud pid pēš az 10 sāl mūrēd pid tā 10 sāl stūr {yufsišn?} ud ka 10 sāl uzīd ud duxt zanīh i kas nēst ayōgēn i pid

If the daughter arranges with the authorization of (her) father with somebody: “I will be your wife for ten years”, and the father dies before ten years (expire), (then) the *stūr* for the father should be {changed} for ten years. And when the ten years have expired and the daughter is no longer the person's wife, (then) she (is) the intermediary successor (*ayōgēn*) of the father.⁶²

We may deduce from these passages that a woman could be engaged as an *ayōgēn* for her husband in a temporary marriage for an exactly limited period of time and could act as an intermediary successor for her father in her natal lineage after the temporary marriage expired. These flexible regulations allowing a woman to be *ayōgēn* for different men actually confirm the fact that the marriage contract stating the obligations of the wife had to be exact.

The following affirmation of the bride was also recorded in the marriage contract:

... *wāhmān ēn-iz padīrēd kū zīndag dra(h)nāy az zanīh ud ayōgēnīh/ayōgānīh⁶³ ud framānburdārīh ud tarsāgāh warzīdārīh andar im wāhmān az ērīh ud weh-dēnīh be nē wardom.*

... So-and-so (= the bride) accepts also this: “As long as I live I will not deviate from the marriage (with the bridegroom) and (his) intermediary succession (*ayōgēnīh*) and (from) submissiveness and obedience towards so-and-so (= the bridegroom) and (from) honourable conduct and (practise of) the Good Religion”.⁶⁴

This part of the contract clearly states that the wife was obliged to accept the intermediary succession (*ayōgēnīh*) of her husband. This is confirmed in the *Dādestān i dēnīg*, in which the *kadag-bānūg* is designated as ‘the *pādxšāy*-wife who is the family's mistress of the house and is the intermediary successor (and) proxy (*ayōgēn-stūr*)’ (*zan [i] pādxšāyīhā kē dūdag kadag-bānūg [ud] ayōgēn-stūr*).⁶⁵

⁶¹ Macuch 1985, 194 f. and 1993, 563.

⁶² Macuch 1981, 188, and 1993, 177; see also the commentary p. 187, n. 12.

⁶³ Written *ywk'nyh*.

⁶⁴ Jamasp-Asana 1897-1913, 142, 1-4; MacKenzie 1969, 106, has a different translation.

⁶⁵ *Dd.* 55.8 (K 35, fol. 174 v, 5 ff.).

The same legal construction is to be expected, when a daughter was engaged as intermediary successor for her father, or a sister for her brother: as an *ayōgēn* she entered a fictive *pādixšāy*-marriage with the father or brother, was held either in the guardianship of the fictive husband (if the father or brother was still alive) or in that of another male member of the lineage.⁶⁶ Since a woman could only enter one “marriage with full matrimonial rights” according to the important position of marriage in a society with patrilineal descent, the *ayōgēn* was in fact legally considered as the *pādixšāy*-wife of her father or brother, even though this marriage was probably (at least in the most cases) never consummated. Only the *pādixšāy*-marriage in combination with the right of guardianship (*sālārīh*) over the wife within the lineage guaranteed the legal assignment of the children the *ayōgēn* might conceive in a second marriage of the *čagar*-type to their legal father. Seen from this perspective it was not even necessary for members of the nuclear family to conclude “real” incestuous marriages in order to keep the property together and ensure the continuity of a man’s name, if the same effect could be achieved by committing the women of the primary group to the task of producing legal successors for the men in fictive alliances. This was, however, only possible in a society that completely accepted incestuous bonds, whether real or fictive, as an integral part of kinship structure. The *ayōgēn*-daughter and sister were in fact nothing else but legal constructions of fictive *xwēdōdah*-marriages based on the religious and social acceptance of incest.

Because of all these complex regulations kinship structure had become extremely complicated by the end of the Sasanian period. A man could marry several wives of the *pādixšāy* type in order to ensure his progeny which would complicate matters, since the offspring from these different wives would all be his legitimate children, the relationship between the siblings being denoted as that of ‘brother according to the law’ (*dādestān-brād*) and ‘sister according to the law’ (*dādestān-xwāh*).⁶⁷ The offspring of a *paterfamilias* could furthermore include children who were his natural issue (*frazand i tanīg/zād*),⁶⁸ but belonged legally to another man, since they were produced by the former as *stūr* in a *čagar*-marriage. The issue of a *paterfamilias* could therefore consist of different categories of children which comprised, according to the Syriac version of Jesubocht, children *b-nāmusā* ‘according to the law’ (which corresponds exactly to the technical terms *dādestān-pus* and *dādestān-duxt*); *b-kyānā* ‘according to nature’ (corresponding to *frazand* or *pus i tanīg-zād*) and *b-qūbālā* ‘through adoption’ (that is, the *pus* and *duxt i padīristag* of the legal sources).⁶⁹ In order to understand the terminology correctly we should, however, bear in mind that the technical expression for children of the first category ‘according to the law’, *dādestān-pus* and *dādestān-duxt*, did not simply designate a man’s legitimate children from a *pādixšāy*-marriage, but could also denote the

⁶⁶ Simple reflections as these are unfortunately not noted in the Law-book which is dedicated to the most difficult legal questions, but the concept of fictive marriage is confirmed in a late source, the *Rivāyat i Ēmēd i Ašāwahištān*, *pursišn* 1.

⁶⁷ Macuch 1993, 698 f., with further references.

⁶⁸ *REA* 8.3.

⁶⁹ See Macuch 1993, 339 (n. 10).

children born for him in a *čagar*-marriage of his wife (who could at the same time be his daughter or sister). In fact, the categorization of children was far more complex than these three types named by Jesubocht may convey at first sight (especially since this jurist had, as already mentioned above, the rather simple system of the Iranian Christians in mind which distinguished mainly between a man's "legitimate" and "illegitimate" children). It is possible to differentiate between four separate categories of children in a family, which could be, using Sasanian legal terminology:

1. both *dādestān-pus/duxt* and *frazand i tanīg-zād*, i.e. the natural and legal offspring of a *paterfamilias* from a *pādxšāy*-marriage (regarded as his legitimate issue, legal successors and heirs, *yōhē pasčāēta*);
2. only *dādestān-pus/duxt*, i.e. legal offspring from an *ayōgēn* or any other person engaged as *stūr* for the *paterfamilias*, produced in a *čagar*-marriage (also regarded as the legal successors and legitimate heirs, *yōhē pasčāēta*, of the *paterfamilias*, but not as his natural children);
3. only *frazand i tanīg-zād*, i.e. the natural offspring from a *čagar*-marriage of the *paterfamilias*, acting as *stūr* for another person, not regarded as his legitimate offspring;
4. *pus/duxt i padīrftag*, the adopted son or daughter, regarded as the legitimate offspring of the *paterfamilias*. Children belonging to this category could also belong to the third group mentioned above, since a man had the possibility to adopt his "natural" *čagar*-issue under certain conditions, hereby changing their status to that of legitimate children.

The second category of children with its fictive classification was clearly a product of the institutions of substitute and intermediary succession. The progeny produced in one of these two institutions of *stūrīh* and *ayōgēnīh* was also called *andar dūdag zād*⁷⁰ 'born in the family' or – if they were the product of the *ayōgēn*-daughter – *duxt-dād*⁷¹ 'born of the daughter'. Both expressions underline the fact that these children were not necessarily the natural issue of a *paterfamilias*, but belonged *legally* to his family and descent group and were therefore his rightful successors and heirs according to the rules of inheritance described above.

Almost none of these complex institutions determining the structure of kinship in Sasanian Iran would have been possible in a society confessing Manichaeism or Christianity – to mention only two of the most important spiritual challenges to Zoroastrianism in the Sasanian period. The Zoroastrian concept of life and fertility, its encouragement of endogam alliances and especially incest, was the ideological foundation on which the elaborate laws of succession and inheritance were built. These corresponded perfectly, as we may assume, to the economic interests of the land-owning social estates, the nobility and clergy, since they supported a system of kinship full of fictive consanguineous bonds, fit to prevent the undesired division and fragmentation of property. We have reason to assume that the Zoroastrian church had managed to establish itself as an important political

⁷⁰ See Macuch 1993, 338 f. (n. 10).

⁷¹ See Macuch 1993, 330 f. (n. 2).

force towards the end of Sasanian rule with its roots deeply implanted in the structure of descent groups, based on Zoroastrian principles. The system had in fact become so complex, that it must have been impossible to change any part of it from within – as king Kawād had unsuccessfully attempted to – without creating havoc. The Zoroastrian church could in fact have remained one of the most powerful religious and worldly authorities in Iran for a long time, if it had not been swept away by the inevitable forces of change, brought to Iran in the garb of Islam.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

- Back, M., 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Acta Iranica 18, Leiden).
- Boyce, M., 1968. *The letter of Tansar* (Serie orientale Roma 38, Roma).
- Carlsen, B. H., 1984. Who is the *bayāspān* daughter?, in W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (ed.), *Middle Iranian studies. Proceedings of the international symposium . . . , Leuven, from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982* (Leuven), 115-121.
- Dd* = *Dādestān i denīg*.
- DkM* = D. M. Madan, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard* (Bombay 1911).
- Fox, R., 1967. *Kinship and marriage. An anthropological perspective* (Middlesex, Great Britain).
- Gershevitch, I., 1964. Zoroaster's own contribution, *JNES* 23, 12-38.
- Gnoli, G., 1989. *The idea of Iran. An essay on its origin* (Serie orientale Roma 62, Roma).
- Henning, W. B., 1942. Mani's last journey, *BSOAS* 10, 941-953 (repr. in W. B. Henning, *Selected papers*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 15, Leiden 1977), 81-93).
- Hjerrild, B., 1993. *Ayōkēn*: woman between father and husband in the Sasanian Era, in W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (ed.), *Medioiranica. Proceedings of the international colloquium . . . , Leuven, from the 21st to the 23rd of May 1990* (Leuven), 79-86.
- Jamasp-Asana, J. M., 1897-1913. *Pahlavi texts* (Bombay), 2 vols.
- Klingenschmitt, G., 1971. Neue Avesta-Fragmente (FrA.), *MSS* 29, 111-174.
- Klingenschmitt, G., 2000. Mittelpersisch, in B. Forssman, R. Plath (ed.), *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2.-5.10.1997 in Erlangen* (Wiesbaden), 191-229.
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1969. The model marriage contract in Pahlavi, in K. R. Cama *Oriental Institute golden jubilee volume* (Bombay).
- Macuch, M., 1981. *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch "Mātakdān i hazār dātistān" (Teil II)* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 45.1 Wiesbaden).
- Macuch, M., 1985. Die Zeitehe im sasanidischen Recht – ein Vorläufer der šī'itischen *mu'ā*-Ehe in Iran?, *AMI* 18, 187-203.
- Macuch, M., 1991a. Charitable foundations in the Sasanian period, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5 (Costa Mesa), 380-382.
- Macuch, M., 1991b. Inzest im vorislamischen Iran, *AMI* 24, 141-154.
- Macuch, M., 1993. *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran: Die Rechtssammlung des Farroḫmard i Wahrāmān* (Iranica 1, Wiesbaden).
- Macuch, M., 1994. Die sasanidische Stiftung "für die Seele" – Vorbild für den islamischen *waqf*?, in P. Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European studies. Memorial volume of Otakar Klíma* (Praha), 163-180.
- Macuch, M., 1995. Herrschaftskonsolidierung und sasanidisches Familienrecht: zum Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat unter den Sasaniden, in Ch. Reck und P. Zieme (ed.), *Iran und Turfan. Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Iranica 2, Wiesbaden), 149-167.
- Macuch, M., forthcoming. The Talmudic expression "Servant of the Fire" in the light of Pahlavi legal sources, in Y. Friedmann (ed.), *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam, Volume in honour of Shaul Shaked*.
- MHD* = J. J. Modi, *Mādigān-i-Hazār Dādistān. A photozincographed facsimile of a Ms. belonging to the Mānockji Limji Hoshang Hātariā Library in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Ātashbehārām* (Poona 1901).

MHDA = T. D. Anklesaria, *The social code of the Parsis in Sassanian times or Mādigān i Hazār Dādīstān. Pt. II* (Bombay 1912).

REA = *Rivāyat i Ēmēd i Ašāwahištān*.

Sachau, E., 1914. *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, vol. 3, *Corpus juris des persischen Erzbischofs Jesubocht* (Berlin).

Sundermann, W., 1998. On a Middle Persian legal term and its forgotten origin, in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, pt. 1, *Old and Middle Iranian studies* (Wiesbaden).

Mauro Maggi

I had the opportunity to present the first results of my research on the Late Khotanese Buddhist work currently known under the conventional title of *Book of Vimalakīrti* (*Vim*) on the occasion of a seminar organised by Gherardo Gnoli at La Sapienza University, Rome, in November 2000. Then I interpreted the initial verses of the work (vv. 1-8), which are devoted to the ten *bhūmis*, the ten stages of the bodhisattva path, and one of the quotations of Mahāyāna sūtras contained in *Vim*. Subsequently, I dealt with the other quotations at a conference of Buddhist studies and translated in particular the quotations from the *Candrapradīpasūtra* (vv. 21-22), the *Vajramāṇḍanāmadhāraṇīsūtra* (v. 34),¹ the *Karmāvāraṇa-viśuddhisūtra* (v. 35) and the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra* (vv. 55-64).² I offer here a metrically arranged re-edition, based on a fresh reading of photographs of the manuscript, a translation and a short commentary of vv. 9-33. Attention has not been drawn to differences in Harold W. Bailey's edition (*KBT* 104-113) or in Prods O. Skjærvø's new edition with provisional translation (*SDTV* 6.489-499).³ The verses under consideration, which are preserved only in the carelessly written manuscript Ch 00266 (*Vim* C), deal with the three bodies of the Buddha (*trikāya*), with the Buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*), the identity of all Buddhas with the Body of the Law (*dharmakāya*) and with the importance of concentration (*samādhi*) for the bodhisattva. An interesting comparison between the physician who is unable to cure himself with his medicines and the bodhisattva who is unable to practise concentration is contained in vv. 28-29: the simile has a close parallel in the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (see the commentary below). I am glad to present the interpretation of these verses to Gherardo Gnoli as a token of my esteem and affection.

Vim does not seem to have direct relationships with the well-known Mahāyāna text called *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (Sūtra on the teaching of Vimalakīrti). As has been pointed out by Ronald E. Emmerick, the passages where Vimalakīrti's name occurs in *Vim* do not resemble the text of the sūtra, and the *bhūmis*, that are dealt with in *Vim* 1-8, do not appear in the sūtra as an early Mahāyāna text (*Guide* 36). It may be added that *Vim* 9-13 is devoted to the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha, whereas "[l]a bouddhologie du Vimalakīrti est très simple et ignore pratiquement les spéculations relatives au Triple corps du Buddha".⁴ On the other hand, the Buddha-fields, that are the subject of *Vim* 14-17, are also dealt with in *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* I.11-20 and X.8-12.⁵

¹ The quotation has not yet been located in the Tibetan and Chinese versions.

² See M. Maggi, *L'bhūmi nel Libro di Vimalakīrti coterano*, in *Orientalia Romana* 7. *Iranian studies* (Roma, forthcoming); and M. Maggi, *Canonical quotations in the Khotanese Book of Vimalakīrti*, in G. Verardi, S. Vita (ed.), *Buddhist Asia*, vol. 1 (Kyoto, forthcoming).

³ In a few instances I have abandoned my previous translation in accordance with Skjærvø's more convincing interpretation.

⁴ É. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)* (Louvain 1962; repr. 1987), 138 n. 29.

⁵ Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, 111-125, 340-344. On the Buddha-fields see Lamotte, *op.*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION⁶

- [9] urmaysdai bāya va[233]māna nai hva hva sa śo bvāña
 ttaradara ba'ysā draya sūbāvu ttu paḍi śau
The sun, (its) rays (and its) palace (vimāna) (are) not to be known separately, but as one (thing). Likewise the three bodies of the Buddha (buddhakāya) (are) one by nature.
- [10] dharma-kāya [234] hauvai jsa ttyā pa vasve sābaugī ba'ysa
 sābauga-kāyūna pharāka nārāmīda nairmya ba'[235]ysa
From the power of the Body of the Law (dharmakāya) a pure enjoyment Buddha (emanates) in front of those (bodhisattvas and), from a (Buddha) having an enjoyment body (sambhogakāya), do many Buddhas of magical creation (nirmāṇabuddha) emanate.
- [11] cada sābaugī ba'ysa baiśvā drau-mvajsvā bāya
 dada ysārai kūla tta p<ā>tca⁷ bā'yau [236] jsa nairmya ba'ysa
As many rays (issue) from all the pores of an enjoyment Buddha thus, from (those) rays, then so many thousand crores of Buddhas of magical creation
- [12] *mvaśtai⁸ anū<au>me kaiṇa baiśa l<au>vadāva dyāre
 cai vā śai kvāysna [237] ysaiya cu vāṣṭa ba'ysūṣṭa butte
appear in the whole world-system (lokadhātu) on account of (his) conformity (anuloma) to compassion (karuṇā): one is even born from the side (of a woman), one realises enlightenment (bodhi),
- [13] cu vāṣṭa māra tcabe'je haṣkīma śāśa' yāva
 [238] cai vā parainairvyē⁹ daittai baiśa nairmāṇya ba'ysa
one routs Māra until he establishes (his) teaching (śāsana), one appears to have attained complete extinction (parinirvṛta). All (of them are) Buddhas of magical creation (nairmāṇika).
- [14] tta pyūṣṭā paraiśu\dha/ña kṣettra varai śa hama [239] dyāma ba'ysā
 tta vā <ā>yauṣṭaṇa kṣettra vara ba'ysa dyāma p<ā>tca

cit., 395-404, and *Hōbōgin*, vol. 3, 198b-203b s.v. *butsudo*.

⁶ In the edition, the following conventions are used: *italics* = letters not clearly visible; \ / = addition below the line brought into line in the edition in connection with a MS caret (the absence of a caret is pointed out in footnotes); < > = editorial supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna; [[]] = deletion by the copyist; { } = editorial deletion; an asterisk * precedes emendations that are not otherwise indicated (the manuscript readings are given in footnotes). Manuscript lines are numbered by small bracketed numbers in the body of the verses. As the text is acéphalous, the first preserved verse is not really v. 1. In the translation, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Buddhist technical terms are given in parentheses.

⁷ Emended by Bailey for MS *patca*.

⁸ Emended for MS *mvaśvai*'.

⁹ A cross below the line between *parainairvyē* and *daittai* (or above line 239 over the first *vā*?).

Thus it has been heard: in a pure (parisuddha) (Buddha-)field (buddhakṣetra), the appearance of a Buddha (tathāgataprādurbhāva) occurs there, and yet, in a defiled (aparisuddha) (Buddha-)field, the appearance of a Buddha (occurs) there as well.

- [15] kā vā ṣai' kṣettra vasve ā[240]yauṣṭa ṣai' vā khu bvāṇa
khu vā vara dyāma ba'ysa uysdiśa vā ttu artha hvīdai ttā
Which (is) the pure field, (and which) the defiled one? How (is) that to be known? How (is it that) the appearance of a Buddha (occurs) there? Explain the meaning! It is said:

- [16] paraiśu[241]dhaṇa kṣettrā ṣai' bvāṇa ṣai' cu vasve aysmva prrara
kū ṣṭa ysauttai kāma saṇe vara ba'ysa [242] āstai akhaṣṭa
He (is) to be known (to be) in a pure (Buddha-)field, whose thought (citta) (is) pure (prabhāsvara) in nature (prakṛti). Where false assumptions (parikalpa) and false notions (saṃjñā) have disappeared, there a Buddha sits unperturbed (avikopita).

- [17] ṣai aysmva¹⁰ {t}cu ne ra vasūṣṭa kāmyau jsa nūṣṭai bastā¹¹
āyauṣṭa [[ttra]] kṣettra ṣai' [243] bvāṇa prrarasta āstā ba'ysa
He, who does not yet become pure in (his) thought (but) is overcome and fettered by false assumptions, (is) to be known (to be) in a defiled (Buddha-)field. A normal (prakṛtistha-) Buddha sits (there) for them.

- [18] ba'ysa vā ttī khu vajaiṣṭe dasau diśai' sāmvaḥa pana
[244] ttu artha vā vaiṇa ṇvāya mvaśja' anū<au>me kaiṇa hvīdai <ttā>
And then, how does (one) perceive the Buddhas risen visibly in the ten directions? Explain us the meaning now on account of (your) conformity to compassion! It is said:

- [19] baiśa ba'ysa sa śau ba'[245]ysa hamaga harbaiśa prrara
baiśa dharma-<kā>ya-svabhāva¹² agunai lakṣaṇa tṭyāṇā
All Buddhas are only one Buddha, all equal in nature, all have the nature (svabhāva) of the Body of the Law (dharmakāya), their mark (is) markless.

- [20] cī¹³ dharma-kā[246]ya payseda harbaiśa ba'ysā śau hamye
kṣaṇa ttī ttaiṇa be'ḍa ba'ysa baiśa sāmvaḥa [247] detta
When, (as for) the Body of the Law (dharmakāya), (one) understands: "It was one for all Buddhas", then in a moment (one) sees all Buddhas face to face at that time.

- [21] sūtra vī cadrraprayepa¹⁴ vara ṣai ba'ys<ū>ṇa rahāsa
vālamāttra śe drau nauhya [248] daidaira pharai ba'ysa ttai pyaṣṭa

¹⁰ A raised dash between *aysmva* and *{t}cu*.

¹¹ A cross below the line between the akṣaras *ba* and *stā*.

¹² Supplemented by Bailey.

¹³ A cross above the line and a vertical stroke between *cī* and *dharma*^o.

¹⁴ The akṣaras *ye* and *pa* are joined together on the line without the usual blank space in between.

In the Candrapradīpasūtra, (there is) this Buddha mystery there: "In the hair's breadth on the tip of one hair (there are) so many Buddhas so set (?) upon it

- [22] khu jai gaga grruicyau sye baiśa budha-kṣettrau hatsa
 ʃai' manai [249] tti artha kha bvāña kha baijsyāda še dr<au> nauhya hvīdai ttā
just as the grains of sand of the Ganges, all (of them) together with (their) Buddha-fields". Then, how (is) the meaning to be known really? How have they assembled on the tip of one hair? It is said:
- [23] samāhā khu vaiṣṭa akhauṣṭa [250] drau nauhna khu hā bijisyādā :
 daṃdā še drau nauha thāña tte samā<hā>¹⁵ vi ba'ysa
When the concentration (samādhi) remains unmoved in respect of a hair's tip, when they have assembled, so many Buddhas (are) in the room of a tip of one hair during that concentration
- [24] khu jai ga[251]ga grruicyau sya baiśa budha-kṣettryau hattsa
 dharma-kāya prrarai jsa baiśa aguna lakṣa<ṇa> [252] nūaiya
"just as the grains of sand of the Ganges, all (of them) together with (their) Buddha-fields". By nature, the Body of the Law (is) completely markless according to (its) mark.
- [25] tta tta dharma-dh<ā>tta aṇastya ba'ysyau jsa habaḍa baiśa
 drau-masā ja naiśta [253] ʃai' thā kū ʃ<ṭ>a¹⁶ jasta ba'ysa nai ā'ra
Thus, the sphere of the Law (dharmadhātu) (is) endless, completely filled with Buddhas. There exists no room having the measure of a hair, where no Lord Buddhas sit.
- [26] vasva dāvīnai *tcema¹⁷ tcana daitta harbaiśa ba'ysa
 [254] baiśa baudha-kṣettryau hattsa samāhā hauva jsa byode
The clear eye of the Law (dharmacakṣus), by which (one) sees all Buddhas, all (of them) with (their) Buddha-fields, is obtained by the power of concentration (samādhi).
- [27] raidha-pahālye maista [[ba]] anūvyajane [255] lakṣaṇa
 bāya ba'ysūña bvāma maista baiśa samāhā vī ṣṭāna
 au vā pyūṣṭā [256] utca *kanā¹⁸ tta ra nai naiśai'me
(There are) great magic performances (ṛddhiprātihārya), the (eighty) minor marks (anuvyañjana) (of Buddhas and bodhisattvas), the (thirty-two) characteristic marks (lakṣaṇa) (of great men [mahāpuruṣa]), the rays (of the halo [prabhā] of the Buddhas),

¹⁵Supplemented by Bailey.

¹⁶Supplemented by Bailey.

¹⁷Emended for MS *tcena*, whose -na is presumably due to the influence of the immediately following *tcana*.

¹⁸Tacitly emended for MS *karā* by Bailey in both editions of KBT.

the great Buddha-knowledge (buddhajñāna), while (one is) completely (absorbed) in concentration. Or a drop of water (is) heard and, thus, (there is) no tranquillisation.

- [28] vīja ya śākhī daṣṭa tte baida āchai na'sta
 ʃai' tti sve bai[257]da usthīye habaḍa arvyau jsa barā
There was a physician, versed in the branches (of medical knowledge and) skilful. A disease settled upon him. Then he lifted (his) bag full of medicines on (his) shoulder.
- [29] {t}c<ā>ṣṭa¹⁹ tsī nū-v-i biḍa tvā arrva nai ja ha[258]ḍa khaṣṭe
 nai ja vā āchai jasta vīnau kṛre paral<au>ka tsve
Where(ver) he may go, he takes (it) with him. But he did not drink the medicine and the disease was not healed: without treatment, he went to the other world.
- [30] tta tta ʃai' baudhasatva cu sa [259] salāvya ba'ysūṣṭa kūṣe'
 khvai samāhāṇa haharka nai ī tte ba'ysūṣṭa hāysa
Thus, (as for) the bodhisattva who seeks enlightenment only by means of words so that he does not (pay) attention to concentration, enlightenment is remote in front of him.
- [31] ʃa' cu anā[260]bauga²⁰ carye²¹ jsa *haspisca²² yadai nai kaitta
 tte samāhā kiḍa rraṣṭa ba'ysūṣṭī na[261]ys<d>aka²³ būāṇa
For him, who strives with effortless practice (and) does not think, concentration (is) quite straightforward (and) enlightenment (is) to be known as close (at hand) for him.
- [32] khu ra pastā sarvaṇa sūtra majuṣu<rī>paravartta vīra
 ttathāgatta[262]jñāna {sa}mvadrā sūtra vīra u hastagachai :
And as the All-knowing proclaimed in the sūtra Mañjuśrīparivarta, in the Tathāgatajñānamudrāsūtra and in the Hastikakṣya(sūtra),
- [33] cu baiṣa *hira²⁴ ahamya bvāde ttyā [263] hajvattā kiḍai maista
 samāhā beḍa akhaṣṭa tte ba'ysa \na/²⁵ bvāṇa ttu bāḍa
when they perceive all things (dharma) as unoriginated, their wisdom (is) very great: at the time of the unmoved concentration, the Buddhas (are) not to be known at that time.

¹⁹ Emended by Bailey to *tc<ā>ṣṭa* [?].

²⁰ A scrawl in the margin before *bauga* (pen trial?).

²¹ A vertical stroke between *ca* and *rye*.

²² Implicitly emended for MS *haspāsva* by A. Degener, *Khotanische Suffixe* (Stuttgart 1989), 207-208 s.v. *haspāscā*.

²³ Supplemented by Bailey.

²⁴ For MS *hāra*.

²⁵ *na* under *jsa* without caret.

COMMENTARY

[9] On the *vimānas* of sun and moon see *PED* 631b s.v. *vimāna*¹ no. 7.

On the three bodies of the Buddha see É. Lamotte, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga (Mahāyānasamgraha)*, vol. 2, *Traduction et commentaire* (Louvain 1938; repr. 1973), 266-345; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, vol. 3 ([Colombo] 1971), 423b-426a s.v. *buddha-kāya*; *Hôbôgirin*, vol. 2, 174b-195a s.v. *bussšin*.

[12] *baśa l<au>vadāva* is adverbial accusative, see R. E. Emmerick, *Syntax of the cases in Khotanese*, *BSOAS* 28 (1965), 26.

[12-13] Cf. *Mahāyānasamgraha* X.1.3 'Le corps apparitionnel (*nirmānakāya*) s'appuie également sur le Dharmakāya et manifeste (*pradarśayati*) les [actes suivants: ...]; 4. Naissance (*janma*); ... [9. Victoire sur le Malin (*māradharṣana*)]; 10. Arrivée à l'illumination (*abhisambodhi*); 11. Motion de la roue de la loi (*dharmacakrapravartana*); 12. Grand Parinirvāṇa (*mahāparinirvāṇa*)' (Lamotte, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule*, vol. 2, 267-268).

[16] Cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* I.14 'C'est pourquoi, fils de famille, le Bodhisattva qui veut purifier son buddhakṣetra doit d'abord s'efforcer d'orner (*alaṃkartum*) habilement sa propre pensée (*svacitta*). Pourquoi? Parce que c'est dans la mesure où la pensée du Bodhisattva est pure que son buddhakṣetra est purifié' (Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, 119), and *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā* 50.11-12 *yā ca cittasya prakṛti-prabhāsvaratā prakṛtipariśuddhatā, tatra na kācic cittasyotpattiḥ* 'In the transparent lucidity of the original nature of thought, in the perfect purity of its original nature, no genesis of a thought takes places' (ed. P. L. Vaidya, *Mahāyāna-sūtra-samgraha*, vol. 1 (Darbhanga 1961); trans. E. Conze, *The short Prajñāpāramitā texts* (London 1974), 53). Cf. also, for a different perspective, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10.750 *prakṛtiprabhāsvaram cittam garbham tāthāgataṃ śubham | upādānam hi sattvasya* 'The Mind primarily pure is the Tathagata's Garbha which is good but is attached to [as an ego-soul] by sentient beings' (ed. B. Nanjio, *The Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (Kyoto 1923; repr. 1956), 358; trans. T. D. Suzuki, *The Lankavatara sutra: a Mahayana text* (London 1932; repr. Taipei 1991), 282; reference from Claudio Cicuzza).

[16-17] Skt. *avikopita*- 'unperturbed, undisturbed, unmoved' (*BHSD* 77b) occurs immediately before *prakṛtistha*- 'in normal condition, in good standing' (cf. *BHSD* 356b s.v. *prakṛtisthaka*) in the section devoted to 'Various expression extracted from the Vinaya' in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (nos. 9326-9327). Since LKh. *prārasta*, which qualifies the Buddha in 17d, is a loanword from Skt. *prakṛtistha*- (cf. Degener, *Suffixe*, 318 s.v. *pratārasta*-), it is not unlikely that Kh. *akhaṣṭa* 'unmoved, unperturbed' corresponds to the semantically equivalent Skt. *avikopita*-.

[17] *āyauṣṭa* [/[tra]/] *kṣetra* 'in a defiled field' might reflect an **āyauṣṭaṇa kṣetra* of the source manuscript with the loc. sg. ending *-aṇa* of the adjective, cf. 16a *paraiśudhaṇa kṣetra* 'in a pure field'.

I take *āstā* to contain the Late Khotanese 3 pl. enclitic personal pronoun *-ā(m)* 'for them'. The change from the impersonal third singular to the impersonal third plural is not unusual.

[27] That six-pāda verses are possible is shown by the verse numbering of P 2026.1-60, which contains the final part of the preserved portion of *Vim* and offers at least six instances of six-pāda verses. In the case of v. 27, however, it cannot be ruled out that two pādas have been lost and that we originally had here two verses, or that, alternatively, padas 27ef are an interpolation.

For *ba 'ysūṇa bvāma* 'Buddha-knowledge', Skt. *buddhajñāna-*, see R. E. Emmerick, *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (London 1970), 79.

[28-30] The pāda *vīja ya śākhī daṣṭa* recalls the almost identical pāda *Rāmāyaṇa* 66 KT 3.68 *raṣa 'yā ye śāstrī daṣṭā* 'there was a seer, learned and skilful'. The adjective *śākhī* is an -ia- derivative from the Sanskrit loanword *śākhā-* 'branch' that occurs in *Siddhasāra* 26.1 (145r2 KT 1.86) *śākhā ṣi' pa 'jsā mista ya* 'that branch (of medical knowledge) was very large' (Emmerick's translation). The figurative use of *śākhā-* as 'Wissenszweig, Fach' is already found in Sanskrit medical literature (see *pw* 6.219).

The interpretation of vv. 28-29 offered in *Dict.* 137b s.v. *tcaṣṭa*, 271a s.v. *barā* and 146-147 s.v. *tsīnū* is unacceptable, as it depends largely on etymological speculations concerning the two supposed hapax legomena 29a *tcaṣṭa* and *tsīnū* (in fact two ghostwords), on the interpretation of *bīda* as 3 sg. passive, and on an erroneous division of words. Harold W. Bailey's earlier suggestion in both editions of *KBT* to emend *tcaṣṭa* to *tc<ā>ṣṭa* is worth following. But *tc<ā>ṣṭa* is otherwise unknown. Because *tc-* instead of *c-* is found also in the relative pronoun 17a *{t}cu*, a plausible reading is *{t}c<ā>ṣṭa*, i.e. the directional adverb *cāṣṭa* 'where' (see Degener, *Suffixe*, 108 s.v. *cālsto*), which in several cases is followed immediately by the verb *tsū-* 'to go' (three examples are provided by Degener, *loc. cit.*) as in the present passage: *{t}c<ā>ṣṭa tsi* 'where(ver) he may go'. This interpretation is confirmed by the close parallel to the physician simile that I have traced in § 129 of the Sanskrit *Kāśyapaparivarta* (f. 64v3-65r3):²⁶

tadyathāpi nāma kāśyapa vaidyo o[_{v4}]śadhabhāraṃ gṛhītvā anu○vicaret* tasya kaścīd eva
vyādhi utpadyeta na ca taṃ vyādhi śaknuvā cikitsitum . evam eva kā[_{v5}]śyapa bahuśrutasya
kleśavyādhi draṣṭavyā yas tena śrūtena na śaknoti ātmanah kleśavyādhi cikitsitum .
nirarthakaṃ tasya tac *chru[_{r1}]*taṃ bhaviṣyati . tatredam ucyate 3 ¶

[Die Lage ist] nämlich, Kāśyapa, gerade [so.] wie [wenn] ein Arzt mit einer Last Heilkräuter
einherzüge, er irgend einer Krankheit verfele, und er die Krankheit nicht heilen könnte.
Genau ebenso, Kāśyapa, ist die Krankheit der Laster eines Vielgelehrten anzusehen, der

²⁶Ed. M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *The Kāśyapaparivarta: romanized text and facsimiles*, in collaboration with S. Karashima and N. Kudo (Tokyo 2002), 45 (the text has been arranged metrically and the edition has been adapted to the conventions used in this article; in addition, (') = avagraha, * at word end = virāma, ¶ = complex double daṇḍa, ○ = blank for the string hole); trans. F. Weller, *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, vol. 2, *Verdeutschung des sanskrit-tibetischen Textes* (ASAW 57.3, 1965), 137. I have not been able to consult Bikkhu Pāsādika's English translation (cf. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *Kāśyapaparivarta*, xii). Cf. also the English translation of the Chinese version (*Taishō* no. 310.43) in C. C. Chang (ed.), *A treasury of Mahāyāna sūtras: selections from the Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (New York 1983; repr. Delhi 1991), 403: "For example, a physician who always carries a medicine pouch may be unable to cure his own illness. The same is true of a learned person afflicted with the illness of defilements; although he has much learning, he cannot benefit himself unless he puts an end to his defilements".

durch das, was er studierte, seine eigene Krankheit der Laster nicht zu heilen vermag. Nutzlos wird ihm seine Gelehrtheit sein. Mit Bezug darauf heißt es:

yath(°) eva vaidy(°) auṣadha{r}bhrastrasamsthe
paribhrameta nikilamhi loke .

*Gerade wie wenn ein Arzt, der einen Beutel Heilkräuter besitzt,
In der ganzen Welt umherwanderte,*

utpanna vyādhin na nivartaye ca
nī{r2}rarthakam tasya bhaveta tam hi ○ .

*Und er eine Krankheit, von der er befallen wurde, nicht abwenden könnte,
Für den die Arznei [“Dies Wort steht nur im Tibetischen”] doch nutzlos wäre,*

bhikṣus tathā śīlaguṇer upetaḥ
śrūtena yukto pi na caś cikīṭset*

*So [steht es mit] einem Mönche, [der,] obschon er mit den Vorzügen der Moralgebote ausge-
rüstet ist,
Gelehrtheit besitzt, nicht heilen könnte*

ayoniśa kleśasamutthitā {r3} ruḍā
vṛthāśramas tasya ○ śrūtābhiyogaḥ ||

*Schmerz, der aus den Lastern entsteht, weil er oberflächlich ist.
Umsonst ist seine Bemühung, die sich der Gelehrtheit befleißigt.*

For *bara-* ‘bag’ cf. *Dict.* 271a s.v. *barā* ‘carrying thing’, and Degener, *Suffixe*, 194 s.v. *baraka-* ‘Behälter, Träger’. The new bilingual evidence makes it possible to determine more precisely the meaning of the word. Although the Sanskrit has *bhāra-* ‘load’ in the prose section (64v4) and *bhrastra-* (*sic*) ‘bag’ in the verses (65r1), the probable meaning of LKh. *barā* is ‘bag’, since the specification *habaḍa arvyau jsa* ‘full of medicines’ can hardly refer to a ‘load’. Moreover, not only both the Tibetan and Chinese versions have a word for ‘bag’ (cf. Weller, *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, 137 n. 1 ‘Beutel’, and Chang, *Treasure*, 403 ‘pouch’), but also the variant manuscript H 143 SB 38 r2 has *bhrastrā* in the prose section (see Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja, *Kāśyapaparivarta*, 45 n. 298 and 60).

[31] *nai kaitta* ‘does not think’, cf. e.g. *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* 31 ‘Pour dompter la pensée (*cittadamanārtham*), il [= le bodhisattva en *Śūraṅgamasamādhi*] ne s’écartera jamais de l’extase (*dhyānād na vicalati*)’ (É. Lamotte, *La concentration de la marche héroïque* (*Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*) (Bruxelles 1965), 145); SCE II. 293-296 *rṭy xwnx mrtxm’k ZKZY šy’xw wnxr’sk’βwt ZKwh šβ’r’L’ γβty’PZY γβy šm’r’k βwt rty ZKw pδkh’PZY’pw pδkh L’ γβty rty c’wn xr’’zwn s’r’’γ’k βwt* ‘[And t]he man whose voice is high and who knows no shame and thinks much and does not know right from wrong comes from the existence of a donkey’; and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 8.4 [*āphīrāmata u mañāmata itātā dva u ku ne āphīrā*] *mata amañāmata akā’mate jsa āste śūtā bodhisattvā advayā [dhātā śāma ttrāmāmata]* ‘[Distraction and thinking, those are two. Where (there is) no distrac]tion (and) absence of thinking, he sits in absence of reflexion. This (is) the Bodhisattva’s [en- trance into the mouth of the Law (*dharmamukha*)] of non-duality’ (P. O. Skjærvo, Khotanese fragments of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, in *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam: essays in honour of Nils Simonsson*, ed. E. Kahrs (Oslo 1986), 244-245).

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHSD* = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, vol. 2, *Dictionary* (New Haven 1953; repr. Delhi 1985).
- Dict.* = H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge 1979).
- Guide* = R. E. Emmerick, *A guide to the literature of Khotan*, 2nd ed. rev. and enlarged (Tokyo 1992).
- Hôbôgirin* = *Hôbôgirin: dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* (Tokyo 1929-).
- KBT* = H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist texts* (London 1951; 2nd ed., Cambridge 1981).
- KT* 1-7 = H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts* (Cambridge: vol. 1, 1945; vol. 2, 1954; vol. 3, 1956 [vols. 1-3, 2nd ed. in one volume, 1969; repr. 1980]; vol. 4, 1961 [repr. 1979]; vol. 5, 1963 [repr. 1980]; vol. 6, 1967; vol. 7, 1985).
- Mahāvvyutpatti* = *Mahāvvyutpatti. Hon'yaku meigi taishū*, ed. R. Sakaki (Kyoto 1912).
- PED* = T. W. Rhys Davids, W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English dictionary* (Oxford 1921-1925; repr. 1992).
- pw* = O. Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung* (St. Petersburg 1879-1889; repr. Graz 1959).
- SCE* = D. N. MacKenzie, *The "Sūtra of the causes and effects of actions" in Sogdian* (London 1970).
- SDTV* 6 = P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: a complete catalogue with texts and translations*, with contributions by U. Sims-Williams (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 2.5, Texts 6, London 2002).
- Taishō* = J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe (ed.), *The Tripitaka in Chinese* (Tokyo 1924-1935).

PRAISED AND BLESSED ART THOU
(Plate 5)

Enrico Morano

A section of the Parthian hymn-cycle *Wuzurgān Āfrīwan*¹ contains hymns to the Father of Greatness, in which he is addressed with the formula 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd 'yy tw 'praised and blessed art thou'. Several manuscripts from the Berlin Turfan collection² contain parts of these hymns in the (original?) Parthian language and some hand down also fragments of a Sogdian version. A full scrutiny of these texts has not yet been carried out, and the planned edition of the Psalms,³ of which this hymn-cycle seems to be a part, by M. Boyce never came to light. The fragments to be edited here, most of which are hitherto unpublished, contain a part of this section of the hymn-cycle in Parthian, along with the corresponding Sogdian version.

It is a pleasure to offer this small contribution to Professor Gherardo Gnoli, true Father of Greatness of Iranian Studies in Italy. 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd 'yy tw, Gherardo.

The *incipit* of this section of hymns may be seen perhaps in an as yet not fully understood Sogdian text of Paris, P 25:⁴

P25 I (see facsimile in Benveniste 1940a, pl. 25A)

/1/ nm'cβr'm ZY 'βr<yn'm> pr 'wswγty p'z-n ZY pr rštw zβ'k ZKn βγ'nw xšyδ RBkw ky ZY ('B)Yw

/2/ ny'k xcy s't rxwš(')nt βγyšty ky ZY {rest of the line left blank}

P25 II (see facsimile in Benveniste 1940a, pl. 25B)

/1/ nm(')cβr'm ZY 'βryn-'m pr 'wswγty p'z-n ZY pr rštw

¹ On this hymn-cycle see Waldschmidt-Lentz 1926, 71, Henning *apud* Tsui Chi 1943, 217 and Morano, forthcoming.

² I wish to thank the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz for their kind permission to consult and edit these texts, and the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung in Berlin, its former director, Prof. W. Sundermann, its present director, Prof. P. Zieme, for the wonderful hospitality they always offer me when I work there. I would like to express my profound gratitude also to Dr. S. Raschmann and Dr. Ch. Reck, of the same Institute, for their help and constructive guidance they gave me *in Turfanicis*. To Dr. Reck I am particularly grateful for having put at my disposal the results of her work on the catalogue of the Iranian fragments in Sogdian script.

³ See Boyce 1960, XXVIII n. 1.

⁴ This text was first edited and translated by Benveniste in his edition of the Paris texts (Benveniste 1940b, 159, commentary on p. 236). He did not recognise, however, that the text belongs to the *Wuzurgān Āfrīwan* cycle. Henning, in his review of Benveniste's book (Henning 1946, 713 with fn. 6 and 714 with fn. 1), not only clearly stated that the text is Manichaean and that it belongs to the hymn-cycle, but also made important improvements to the readings and to the understanding of the text.

- /2/ [z]β'k ZK<n> βγ'n xšyδ RBkw z-rw'βγγ ky ZY
 /3/ (B)Yw ZY ny<>k x'cy s't rwxšnt βγγšty γwβty ZY "βryty 'yš
 /4/ tγw δnn RBkw rwxš(n)<> βc'npδ ZKh 'w'kt "βryty<t> {'yš}

- /1/ We pay obeisance and give blessings with pure mind and with righteous
 /2/ tongue to the King of Gods, the great God Zurwān, who
 /3/ is the Father and Ancestor of all the Light Gods. Praised and blessed art
 /4/ thou, together with the great Luminous World (and) the Blessed Aeons

This text, written on the verso of a Chinese scroll containing the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, appears to be, according to Benveniste (1940b, 236), "un exercice de rédaction ou de traduction, commencé en petits caractères d'un côté du rouleau, abandonné, puis repris en grande écriture à l'autre extrémité". The spelling of some words is sometimes defective, and the reading of some letters is doubtful. I substantially follow Henning's readings and emendations, as proposed in his quoted review of Benveniste's book. In l. /4/ Henning considers the final "βryty 'yš a mistake for "βrytyt and translates 'together with the great Light World, (and) the Blessed Aions' (Henning 1946, 714 n. 1), having probably in mind a text he was to publish some years later (Henning 1948, 307-308), where R/3-4 'frytyt 'w'kt kyy 'tyšn s'k 'ty ptšm'r 'the Blessed Places (=Aeons) without count and number' (= *beata et gloriosa saecula neque numero neque prolixitate aestimanda* of the *Epistula Fundamenti*) are quoted.⁵

The beginning of the Parthian version of this text is to be found in M 7352, a top corner of a sheet which has on its recto (the verso is Chinese) part of three lines, written in a very large handwriting:⁶

M 7352 (see pl. 5a)

Recto

- /1/ nm'c br'm '[w't 'fryn'm pt m'ng]
 /2/ pw'g 'w't pt (')[zb'n r'st 15-16]
 /3/ [5-6](g)[20-21]

The part of the hymn I would like to publish here, of which we have, as said above, both the Parthian and the Sogdian, is found in two manuscripts in Manichaean script, M 80 and M 40/R⁷ (Parthian version), and one in Sogdian script, Mainz 412 (Sogdian version). The continuation of the hymn, in the Parthian version alone, is found in M 79, so far unpublished, and in M 40/V. For the sake of clarity, a reconstructed text of the Parthian

⁵ Henning himself had already quoted this expression in his *BBB* (Henning 1936, 70 on 566).

⁶ See Boyce 1960, 131.

⁷ The published information about this fragment is somewhat confusing. The verso was published by Müller 1904, 48, and this is duly stated in Boyce 1960, 4. Boyce herself republished the text contained in the verso only in her *Reader* (Boyce 1975, 91 text *af*) as M 40 R. The mistake is repeated in Klimkeit 1993, 397, but corrected in Sundermann 1996, 15, where a photo of both sides of the fragment is published, pl. 45 a-b. In Weber 2000, 13 the fragment is ambiguously given as entirely published. M 40 recto is in fact edited here for the first time.

hymn-section based on the material which appears in the three manuscripts⁸ will be given, beside the Sogdian version, at the end of the article.

M 80 (see pl. 5b-c)

Recto

- | | |
|---|--|
| /1/ rwšnystw m ○ 's{'t'w'd | /1/ lightest. Praised |
| /2/ 'wd 'fryd 'yy tw pydr | /2/ and blessed art thou, Living |
| /3/ jywndg hrwyn wyl'st'n | /3/ Father, of all wonders |
| /4/ wyl'stystwm ○ 'wd dydn | /4/ greatest wonder. And Light |
| /5/ rwšn ○ cy hrwyn dydn ○ | /5/ manifestation, (brightest) of all mani-
festations. |
| /6/ 'st'w'd 'wd ('fr)y d | /6/ Praised and blessed |
| /7/ 'yy tw pydr ○ jywndg [hrwyn] | /7/ art thou, Living Father, of [all] gods |
| /8/ bg'n bgystw(m)[○ 'wd] | /8/ most godlike. And |
| /9/ wysp š(h)[rd'r'n šhrd'rystwm (?) ○] | /9/ of all ki[ngs most kinglike.] |
| /10/ 'st'[w'd 'wd 'fryd] | /10/ Prai[sed and blessed] |
| /11/ 'yy tw (p)[ydr jywndg] | /11/ art thou, [Living] F[ather,] |
| /12/ pydr (c)[y hrwyn pydr'n ○] | /12/ Father [of all fathers (?). Praised] |
- lines missing*

Verso

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| /1/ 'wd 'fryd ○ tw"n | /1/ and blessed thy |
| /2/ mnwhmyd wygr'dq | /2/ watchful Mind, |
| /3/ 'c kw hrwyn ○ mnwhmyd | /3/ whence all watchful Minds |
| /4/ wygr'dg'n bwd 'hynd ○ | /4/ have been. |
| /5/ 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd ○ | /5/ Praised and blessed |
| /6/ tw(n) 'wš jywndg ○ | /6/ thy living Consciousness, |
| /7/ [wzy](š)t 'wd 'rg'w ○ 'c | /7/ [zeal]ous and noble, |
| /8/ [kw hrw](y)n ○ 'wš jywndg'n | /8/ [when]ce [all noble] and |
| /9/ ['rg'w'n](u) wzyšt | /9/ zealous living Consciousnesses |
| /10/ [bwd 'hynd ○ '](s)t'w'd | /10/ [have been.] Praised |
| /11/ ['wd 'fryd ○ tw']('n | /11/ [and blessed th]y |
| /12/ ['ndyšyšn kyrbg]'wd | /12/ [Intelligence, beneficent] and |
- lines missing*

In this hymn the poet addresses the Father of Light with laudatory invocations. In the Realm of Light everything is noble and perfect, and all the beings of Light are endowed with a perfect form. The Father of Light himself, not described anywhere, is the origin and source of all divine beings endowed with perfect form. This is stressed throughout in the text by means of daring superlative forms, such as *wyl'st'n wyl'stystwm*, *bg'n bgystwm*, *šhrd'r'n *šhrd'rystwm*, or phrases, e.g. 'praised and blessed (is) thy X, whence all Xs have been'.

⁸ Although I made a partial use of the text contained in M 79, a full edition of this manuscript will be postponed to another occasion.

/R/11-12/ 'yy tw (p)[ydr jywndg] pydr (c)[y hrwyn pydr'n o]: the text is restored on the strength of the corresponding Sogdian translation yš tγw z-rw' βγ' 'z-w'nt' wy' s'th 'ptry' 'ptry given in Mainz 412/R/6-8, see below. Since M 40/R (see below) has the same text of M 80/V, the missing lines of the recto can be restored as follows: [st'w'd 'wd 'fryd 'yy tw pydr o 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd o tw'n b'm rwšn o 'c kw hrwyn o b'm rwšn'n bwd 'hynd o 'st'w'd]. The restoration is moreover confirmed by the corresponding Sogdian: γwβty ZY (')fryty '(y)š (t)γw z-rw' βγ' o γwβty (')xw t(w') rwxšny prn o (ck)n'ch ZY x' (s)'t rwxšnt'h [prnt 'kt'nt o] (γw)[βty (Mainz 412/R/8-V/1).

/V/1-12/ All the text of this section of the hymn is based on the formula 'Praised and blessed (is or be) thy Reason/Mind/Consciousness/Intelligence/[Thought], whence all Reasons/Minds/Consciousnesses/Intelligences/[Thoughts] have been'. Reason, Mind, Consciousness, Intelligence and Thought are the five limbs of the Soul,⁹ and the concept is again that the Father of Greatness is the origin and source of all the beings of Light. Thus "the poet can understand himself as belonging to 'the Family of Light', for the five 'limbs' of his soul correspond to the five 'limbs' of the Father, from whom he has issued".¹⁰ A similar formula is found in a fragmentary hymn from the cycle *Qašudagān Āfrīwan*: [k'dwš k'dwš k'dwš] 'w tw 'ndyšyšn wzrg o 'c / kw hrwyn o 'ndyšyšn kyrbg b[wd] / '(h)[ynd] (M 75/V/1-3, Müller 1904, 70; Boyce 1975, 92, text *ag*, 5).

M40/R (photograph in Sundermann 1996, pl. 45a)

/H/ {blue} jm'n 'whbyh

- /1/ (tw'n b'm) rwšn o 'c kw
- /2/ (hrwyn) o (b'm) rwšn'n bwd
- /3/ ('hynd) o ('st'w'd 'w)d 'fryd o
- /4/ (tw'n mnwhmyd wygr'dg) o 'c
- /5/ (kw hrwyn mnwhmyd wygr'dg'n
- /6/ (bwd 'hynd o 'st'w'd 'wd)
- /7/ 'fryd o tw'n ('wš jywndg) o
- /8/ wzyšt ('wd 'rg'w o 'c kw)
- /9/ [hrwyn] (o 'wš jywndg'n)
- /10/ ['rg'w'n] ('wd wzyšt bwd 'hynd o)
- /11/ ['st'w'd 'wd] ('fryd o tw'n)

lines missing

This manuscript contains partly the same text of M 80/V, adding some lines (R/1-3). The headline¹¹ possibly refers to the title of the preceding section, or to a conclusive formula *wysp jm'n 'whbyh 'may it be so forever'.

⁹ See Waldschmidt-Lentz 1926, 42, where the Parthian, Sogdian, Turkish, Chinese, Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin equivalents of the five limbs of the Soul are given in a convenient table.

¹⁰ Klimkeit 1993, 30.

¹¹ A comprehensive survey of the headlines of the *Wuzurgān Āfrīwan* manuscripts is given in Morano, forthcoming.

Mainz 412 (see pl. 5d-e)

Recto

/1/ [γwβt](y Z)[Y ʔfryty ʔš tγw]
 /2/ (z-r)wʔ βγʔ (◊ ʔ)[z-wʔntʔ wyʔ]
 /3/ sʔt ʔz-wʔnty-ty ʔpt(r)[y]
 /4/ ʔxšʔywnʔ pr wy-spw
 /5/ ʔxšʔywny-t ◊ γwβty ZY ʔpry-
 /6/ ty ʔš tγw z-rwʔ βγʔ
 /7/ ʔz-wʔntʔ wyʔ sʔth
 /8/ ʔptrtyʔ ʔpty ◊ γwβty ZY
 /9/ (ʔ)fryty ʔ(y)š (t)γw z-rwʔ
 /10/ βγʔ ◊ γwβty (ʔ)xw t(wʔ)
 /11/ rwxšny prn ◊ (ck)nʔch
 /12/ ZY xʔ (sʔ)t rwxšntʔh

/1/ [Praised and blessed art thou]
 /2/ God Zurwān. [Living]
 /3/ Father of all the living ones (?),
 /4/ king of all
 /5/ kings. Praised and blessed
 /6/ art thou, God Zurwān,
 /7/ living Father in all
 /8/ fathers (?). Praised and
 /9/ blessed art thou, God Zurwān.
 /10/ Praised thy
 /11/ Light Reason, whence
 /12/ all Light

Verso

/1/ [prnt ʔktʔnt ◊] (γw)[βty ZY]
 /2/ [ʔfryty x](w) twʔ wγʔt[y]
 /3/ [ʔ](z-n)ʔ ◊ cknʔch ZY xʔ sʔt
 /4/ wγʔty ʔz-nʔ ʔktʔnt ◊
 /5/ γwβty ZY ʔfryty xw twʔ
 /6/ ʔz-wʔnty mʔnw nyxw
 /7/ ʔxšnky ◊ cknʔch ZY xʔ
 /8/ (sʔ)t ʔz-wʔnty nyxt γwβty
 /9/ mʔnt ʔk(tʔnt ◊) γwβty (ZY)
 /10/ ʔfryty ʔxw twʔ šyrʔkw
 /11/ rwx(š)[n]y ʔšmʔr cknʔc
 /12/ ZY xʔ sʔt šyrʔkw ʔy

/1/ [Reasons have been.] Prai[sed and]
 /2/ [blessed] thy watchful
 /3/ Mind, whence all
 /4/ watchful Minds have been.
 /5/ Praised and blessed thy
 /6/ living Consciousness, profound
 /7/ (and) splendid, whence
 /8/ all profound (and) praised living
 /9/ consciousnesses have been. Praised
 and
 /10/ blessed thy beneficent
 /11/ Light Intelligence, whence
 /12/ all beneficent and

The fragment contains 12 almost complete lines, of which only the first one is torn off. The writing is very clear; β is distinguished from γ by a suprascript dot.

/2-3/ (ʔ)[z-wʔntʔ wyʔ] sʔt ʔz-wʔnty-ty ʔpt(r)[y] ‘living Father of all the living ones’: the restorations are conjectural. The corresponding Parthian text *jywndg [hrwyn] bgʔn bgystw(m)* appears here to be translated *ad sensum*.

Reconstructed text

Parthian (M 80 + M40 + M79)

Sogdian (Mainz 412)

[. . .] {M 80/R} rwšnystw ◊ ʔstʔwʔd
 ʔwd ʔfryd ʔyy tw pydr
 jywndg hrwyn wylʔstʔn
 wylʔstystw ◊ ʔwd dydn
 rwšn ◊ cy hrwyn dydn ◊◊

'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd
 'yy tw pydr ○ jywndg [hrwyn]
 bg'n bgystwm ○ 'wd
wysp šhr[d'r'n šhrd'rystwm (?) ○]
 'st'[w'd 'wd 'fryd]
 'yy tw p[ydr jywndg]
 pydr c[y hrwyn pydr'n ○ 'st'w'd 'wd
 'fryd 'yy tw pydr ○ 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd]
 {*M 40/R*} tw'n **b'm** rwšn ○ 'c kw
 hrwyn ○ b'm rwšn'n bwd
 'hynd ○ 'st'w'd
 {*M 80/V*} 'wd 'fryd ○ tw'n
mnwhmyd wygr'dq
 'c kw hrwyn ○ mnwhmyd
 wygr'dg'n bwd 'hynd ○
 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd ○
 tw'n **'wš jywndg** ○
 wzyšt 'wd 'rg'w ○ 'c
 kw hrwyn ○ 'wš jywndg'n
 'rg'w'n u wzyšt
 bwd 'hynd ○ 'st'w'd
 'wd 'fryd ○ tw'n
'ndyšyšn kyrbg 'wd
 [. . . 'c kw hrwyn 'ndyšyšn kyrbg
 'wd . . . bwd 'hynd ○]
 {*M 79/R*} 'st'w'd 'wd 'fryd
 tw'n **frm'ng** 'frydg u
 wzyšt ○ 'c kw hrwyn
 prn'ng 'frydg u wzyšt ○
 z'd 'wd pyd'g bwd 'hynd
 'st'w'd bw'h (tw'n)
 dydn 'rg'wyft (.)[5-6]
 hwcyhryft ○ u p(')[4-5]
 'sf(w'd)[w'd 'fryd 'yy] {*M 40/V*} wysp dydn
 'brdw(m) ○ 'st'w'd 'wd
 'fryd 'yy tw pydr ○ jywndg
 hsyng ○ ky nxwyn 'brdr ○ rwšn
 q'w ○ šwj'n wzyšt ○ 'wd
 zwrmd 'st ○ tw 'yy pyd ○ cy
 'ymyn ○ {*M 79/V*} hrwyn qryšn ○ rdnyn
 z'wr'n rwšn'n ○ u hynz'wryft
 cy w'xt bwd ○ 'c tw z'd
 'c tw wyspryxt ○ 'c tw

[γwβt](y Z)[Y "fryty 'yš tγw]
 (z-r)w' βγ' (○ '')[z-w'nt' wy']
 s't 'z-w'nty-ty 'pt(r)[y]
'xš'ywn' pr wy-spw
'xš'ywny-t ○ γwβty ZY "pry-
 ty 'yš tγw z-rw' βγ'
 'z-w'nt' wy' s'th
 'ptrty' 'ptry ○ γwβty ZY
 ('')fryty '(y)š (t)γw z-rw'
 βγ' ○ γwβty ('')xw t(w')
 rwxšny **prn** ○ (ck)n'ch
 ZY x' (s)'t rwxšnt'h
 [prnt 'kt'nt ○] (γw)[βty ZY]
 ["fryty x](w) tw' wγr't[y]
 ['](**z-n**)' ○ ckn'ch ZY x' s't
 wγr'ty 'z-nt' 'kt'nt ○
 γwβty ZY "fryty xw tw'
'z-w'nty m'nw nyxw
 'xšnky ○ ckn'ch ZY x'
 (s)'t 'z-w'nty nyxt γwβty
 m'nt 'k(t'nt ○) γwβty (ZY)
 "fryty 'xw tw' šyr'kw
 rwx(š)[n]y **'šm'r** ckn'c
 ZY x' s't šyr'kw 'ty

‘zgd ɔ ‘c tw pyd’g bwd ‘c
tw zwrnmd bwynd ɔ pd tw . . .

REFERENCES

- Benveniste, É., 1940a. *Codices Sogdiani. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot) reproduits en fac-similé avec une introduction* (Copenhagen).
- Benveniste, É., 1940b. *Textes sogdiens. Édités, traduits et commentés* (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale. Série in-quarto 3, Paris).
- Boyce, M., 1960. *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin).
- Boyce, M., 1975. *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica, Téhéran-Liège).
- Henning, W. B., 1936. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (APAW 10, Berlin).
- Henning, W. B., 1946. The Sogdian texts of Paris, *BSOAS* 11, 713-740.
- Henning, W. B., 1948. A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony, *BSOAS* 12, 306-318.
- Klimkeit, H.-J., 1993. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic texts from Central Asia* (New York).
- Morano, E., forthcoming. A Manichaean *Oratio Dominica*, to appear in the *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Manichaean Studies, Naples, 3-6 September 2001*.
- Müller, F. W. K. 1904. *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan, II* (APAW, Anhang).
- Sundermann, W. (ed.), 1996. *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in early publications (1904-1934). Photo edition* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Supplementary series 3, London).
- Tsui Chi, 1943. Mo ni chia hsia pu tsan: ‘The lower (second?) section of the Manichaean hymns’, *BSOAS* 11, 174-219.
- Waldschmidt, E., Lentz, W., 1926. *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (APAW 4).
- Weber, D. (ed.), 2000. *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934. Photo Edition* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Supplementary series 4, London).

THE *BAĪĀN* OF THE FRATARAKAS: GODS OR ‘DIVINE’ KINGS?

Antonio Panaino

The coinage of the early ‘governors’ of Pārs after the Achaemenid kingdom and the *direct* Seleucid domination, the so-called Fratarakas,¹ has attracted the attention of many scholars in close connection with two kinds of problems: on the one hand the interpretation of the iconography of these coins starting with the issues of Baydād (or Bayadād, but generally read Baydād) and continuing under some of his successors, and on the other hand the reading of their legends: *prtrk’ ZY ’LHY’* [*Frataraka ī bayān*]. The problem actually raised by the identification of these *’LHY’*² (i.e. *bayān* or *bayān*,³ which I prefer) de-

¹ On this reading, supported by the testimony of the title *prtrk* attested in some Aramaic papyri from Egypt referring to an Achaemenid officer with a lower position than satrap, but nevertheless very important, see now the detailed discussion by Wiesehöfer 1994, 105-108 (cf. also Wiesehöfer 1991a). See also Bresciani 1958, 138-139, 156; Verger 1965, 69-70; Naster 1968; Henning 1968; Hinz 1975, 98-99; Ito 1976; Boyce-Grenet 1991, 111-112; Briant 1996, 354, 488, 764-765. The meaning of the word *frataraka* should be ‘foremost, superior’, thus approximately ‘Governor’, ‘Prefect’ (see Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964, 119), when the title is represented on these coins. This interpretation has been freshly questioned by Skjærvø (1997, 102). About the orthography of this very word, it has to be noted that the reading *pltlk’* (as attested on coins) with a final aleph cannot correspond to *fratarakā*, i.e., to an (early) Middle Persian word spelt with a real long vowel in *Auslaut*. The final aleph actually corresponds to the Aramaic *status emphaticus*, and cannot really represent a true Iranian long vowel, because of the collapse of the Old Persian endings. I wonder if we should read *frataraka* or *fratarak*. It is for this reason that I simply write *Frataraka* or *Fratarakas* without any final long *ā*. It could be reasonable to assume, following Ito (1976, 47-48, 52-54), that the present legend was written in a kind of “Alt-Mittelpersisch” with the use of heterographic Aramaic; on the other hand I would like to call the reader’s attention to the prudent remarks made by Skjærvø (1997, 102) who notes that these legends can be “most safely classified as Irano-Aramaic, rather than early Middle Persian”. See also Wiesehöfer 1994, 107 n. 43.

² The reading of the heterogram *’LHY’* (or *ALHYA*) needs a brief discussion; notwithstanding some attempts at reading it as *yazadān* (or *yazdān*; see, e.g., Koch 1988, 85, 88, who proposes a completely different interpretation of the legend [*B GDH W dt KR’ ZY ’LHY’ = andar xwarrah ud dād harw ī yazdān* ‘unter (mit) dem Xvarənah und dem Gesetz (Recht) eines jeden der Götter (= aller Götter)'], which has been discussed and criticized by Wiesehöfer 1994, 114-115), the current reading *bayān* (or *bayān*) seems to be supported by that of *bay = ORHYA*, *bayān = ORHYAn* (in MPI) and of *bay = ALH* and *bayān = ALHYN* in the Parthian version of the Sasanian inscriptions (see Gignoux 1972, 19, 45; cf. Back 1978, 14). As far as I know only M.-L. Chaumont (1958, 157) read *’LX’* (*sic*) = *bag* ‘dieu’ on the coins of the Fratarakas. I do not understand why M. Boyce and F. Grenet (1991, 111 n. 229a) criticize Humbach’s (1988, 102-103 and n. 33) reading *’lhy’* (*elāhayyā*, better *ālāhayyā*, see Ito 1976, 52) considering it a mistake and instead preferring *’lhy*. On the coins of Bagdād and of Wādfraḏād we find only *’LHY’*, while, according to Ito (1976, 47), on those of Wabbarz and of Ardašīr *’LH* is attested. In its turn *’LHY’* appears as a plural form (the sg. should have been *’LH’*), while the other forms seem to represent the result of an abbreviated orthography as suggested by Ito (1976, 53); see now Alram 1986, 165-169 who gives only forms with a complete script. See also Bailey 1989, 403; Wiesehöfer 1994, 104. Skjærvø (1997, 102) remarks that here “Aramaic *hē* has already been replaced by *hēth* internally in *’lhy’* (with *hēth*) for *’lhy’* (with *hē*; see Skjærvø 1993, 186)”.

³ If, as I assume, the intervocalic velar stop [-g-] had not yet evolved to -y- about the 3rd/2nd century B.C. but simply to -γ-.

serves fresh treatment. It in fact presents us with a number of historico-religious questions, still open at the moment, with profound implication for one of the main research interests of my dear master, Professor Gherardo Gnoli, in whose honour I offer the present contribution as a modest expression of my sincere admiration and devoted recognition.

Briefly tracing a history of the problem,⁴ it was Humbach (1988, 101-103) who assumed that *bayān* on this kind of coinage had to be explained as a *pluralis maiestatis* (used in the place of *bay* 'god')⁵ with reference to the Parthian king to whom the Fratarakas were subject (and consequently *prtrk' ZY 'LHY'* would mean "'Statthalter der Götter' im Sinne von 'Statthalter Gottes'").⁶ Wiesehöfer (1994, 136) prudently suggested to the contrary that the present use of *bayān* could possibly have been based on the pattern of the royal title *θεός* assumed by Antiochus III (223-187).⁷ Thus the Fratarakas would strictly follow a Hellenistic pattern⁸ by accepting a sort of (nominal) subordination to the Seleucid kings with reference to their very title of *bayān* = *θεοί* in order to legitimize their own local power. The impact of the Hellenistic model has been expressly assumed by M. Boyce and F. Grenet (1991, 110-111) who state: "the honorific which these dynasts gave themselves there, 'of the gods' (Aramaic *zy 'l'hy*), may have been directly inspired by the Seleucid cult of deified kings". On the other hand, Wiesehöfer did not fail to point out a number of difficulties for such an interpretation: the use of an administrative and political title like 'governor' is never attested in the Seleucid standard formulae in close connection with a divine royal cult, while on the contrary *prtrk' ZY 'LHY'* is written also on the issues of Wādfraḏād I (the last of the four (?) dynasts calling themselves Fratarakas) even if he should have already been an independent king.⁹ In addition to all these remarks the hypothesis of Wiesehöfer does not elude some of the pertinent objections raised by Callieri (1998) in a fresh and stimulating article, where the Italian archaeologist remarks that the independent minting of coins presenting a conservative and archaizing iconography – with a kind of

⁴ I do not discuss in depth the interpretation of M.-L. Chaumont (1958, 170), who considers the mention of the *bayān* on the coins of the Fratarakas as a self-reference, because it seems based on an insufficient interpretation of the monetary legend.

⁵ As noted by Skjærvø (1997, 102), this expression refers only to the king in Sasanian inscriptions but never to the gods (and also it generally occurs with the heterogram for 'lord' preceded by the personal pronoun); the *pluralis maiestatis* is attested not only in the Sasanian inscriptions (see Nyberg 1974, 42), but perhaps also in the Sogdian Ancient Letters; see Henning 1936, 197-198 who compares Sogd. *βγ'ny BRy* 'son of the gods' (cf. Reichelt 1931, 22, 23) with *θεοπάτωρ*; see also Skjærvø 1983, 58-59; cf. Sims-Williams 1989, 404.

⁶ See Humbach 1988, 102.

⁷ It is true that Antiochus II (Bevan 1902, I 174-176; Bikerman 1938, 247; Will 1982, I 241; cf. Humbach 1988, 96) was already hailed by the city of Miletus as *θεός*, but, as Boyce-Grenet remark (1991, 27), "there is no evidence for a general imperial cult of the living ruler . . . before the reign of Antiochus III". See also Bikerman 1938, 237, 242.

⁸ See Humbach 1988, 95-101.

⁹ Wiesehöfer (1994, 136) rightly remarks that Wādfraḏād's descendants did not use the title of *Frataraka ī bayān* any more (see again Wiesehöfer 1994, 110-2 with bibliography; cf. Boyce-Grenet 1991, 114-115): they have assumed a title of *MLK' (šāh)*. The representation of the standing Nike crowning Wādfraḏād on an issue of his coins should be underlined too.

(funerary?) monument and the royal standard clearly evoking the Achaemenid tradition –, cannot be explained in a context of patent subordination to another dynasty. Contrariwise these *insigna* seem to be a demonstration (or, at least, a first attempt at a pretension) of independence.¹⁰ Callieri then assumes that by the mention of *bayān* the Fratarakas were explicitly referring to a dynastic cult of the *dead Achaemenid kings*, who – if we accept *in toto* such a solution – were deified (at least) at that time. But now it is necessary to recall the interpretation suggested by Ito (1976, 54-56) who assumed (p. 55) that the Achaemenid kings were regarded as, if not claiming to be, descended from the gods, concluding that (p. 56) "When we read the Sasanian king's protocol . . . we cannot escape the impression that during the course of time from the Achaemenids via Bagadāt-Fratarakids down to the Sasanid empire, deification of the king remained intact".

The explanation referring to a cult of the *dead kings* is strictly based on the interpretation of the building represented on the Fratarakas' coins, which Callieri (1998, 35-36; 2001, 104-105), following a work of Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983, 149-150), assumes to be a funerary place connected with an Achaemenid ritual of the royal investiture and legitimacy briefly described by Plutarch.¹¹ On the other hand, and apart from any consideration strictly concerning the interpretation of the ritual function of such monuments represented on the coinage of the early Fratarakas (for which I prefer the definition of "initiativ" building and not that of "funerary", see below), the identification of these *bayān* with the dead Achaemenid kings raises in any event some difficulties.

Firstly, with reference to Ito's theory,¹² we may remark that the Old Persian kings had never been called *baga-*, nor had they assumed divine prerogatives, at least in the Iranian context (their institutional role as Pharaohs in Egypt cannot be claimed as a testimony for a

¹⁰We have to tackle the problem of the chronology of this coinage. If traditionally the Fratarakas' coins were placed between 300 and 250 B.C. with a preference towards 280 B.C. (see Sellwood 1983, 299), the current tendency (see Alam 1986, 163; Wiesehöfer 1994, 115-129; 1996, 109-110 = 1998, 155-156; Callieri 1998; 2001, 102-103) is to postpone their dating by about one century, i.e. around 200-180 B.C. In this case the presence of an independent minting activity in Pārs would apparently find a more reasonable explanation without resorting to the hypothesis that the Fratarakas were given a sort of formal authorization from the Seleucids who maintained only a nominal power on this area. On this problem see also Frye 1984, 161, who remarks that "the coins of the first series, using the title *frataraka*, imply the subordination of a dynast to a higher sovereign, and whether this first happened after Seleucus I or Antiochus III is at present unknown. The second series of these coins show a change in title to MLK 'king', and old Achaemenid names such as Darius (*d'ryw*) and Artaxerxes (*'rtxštr*) appear on the coins, while the final series takes on the characteristics of Parthian coins". Wiesehöfer (1996, 109-110 = 1998, 155-156) also assumes that the emphasis given by the Fratarakas to their close connection with the Achaemenids is not sufficient to assume a real independence from the Seleucids. Their loyalty to the Seleucids was given up only after the disintegration of Macedonian rule in Mesopotamia but "they returned to their side when the too powerful Parthian appeared in Mesopotamia". Under the Parthians, they remained "in their functions as partially autonomous 'kings'. They found this all the more feasible since the Persian dynasts had shown no supra-regional pretensions". See again on the problem the detailed discussion offered by Wiesehöfer (1994, 115-136). Cf. also Boyce-Grenet, 1991, 26, 60, 116. The late chronology (between 187 and 140 B.C.) suggested by R. Stiehl (1959, 379) has not been accepted.

¹¹Plutarch, ed. Perrin 1926, 130-133; Plutarque, ed. Flacelière-Chambry 1979, 17-18.

¹²But see also Humbach 1988, 91-94.

generalization of such a divine pattern in the whole Empire). In addition, following Calmeyer,¹³ we may note that the name of the king in the Babylonian version of the Achaemenid inscriptions was not written with the Akkadian determinative for the gods (*ilu*) which, however, was regularly used in the case of Ahuramazdā, Miθra and Anāhitā (e.g. *ilu A-hu-ru-mu-uz-du*, *ilu Mi-it-ri* and *ilu A-na-aḥ-i-tu-*'),¹⁴ nor did their caps bear horns representing – as is well known – a divine attribute. As Frankfort stressed earlier (1948, 337-338), the Median and the Persian peoples brought with them (together with other nomadic peoples like the Jews) a special kind of (primitive) kingship, which was not based on a conception of man in the universe but on the simple reason of consanguinity and of descent. Such a pattern differs considerably from the Egyptian one (where the Pharaoh is the incarnated god) and from the standard Mesopotamian one (where the king is a servant of the gods).¹⁵ Neither the fact that the Achaemenid kings were chosen (*mām avarnavatā*) and helped by Ahuramazdā, or received the power from him (*xšaçaṃ frābara*), implies a process of deification, nor the circumstance that the highest God 'created' the king (*mām adā*) or made him 'king' (*mām Xšyam akunauš*), as, e.g., in DSf 8-17, signifies that the king was considered as a direct son of God. The Old Testament declaration that Cyrus was the 'Lord's anointed' (*Deutero-Isaiah* 41, 3) with reference to the king's alliance with Yahweh,¹⁶ for instance, reveals the same conception of the king as the best person elected according to God's will, but does not compel us to assume any divine origin for him. From our knowledge of the Achaemenid religion, we may affirm that not only the very concept of the deification of the king did not belong to the Old Persian background,¹⁷ but also that with his death the king, notwithstanding his highest prerogatives and privileges, probably entered a state of "rightness" as any other person following Arta and the Mazdean law, according to a representation of the afterlife which is alluded to briefly in XPh 46-56:

*tuva kā haya apara yadimaniyāy šiyāta ahaniy jīva utā marta artāvā ahaniy avanā dātā parīdiy taya a^huramazdā niyaštāya a^huramazdām yadaišā artācā brazmaniy(a) martiya haya avanā dātā pariyaita taya a^huramazdā ništāya utā a^huramazdām yadataiy artācā brazmaniy(a) hauv utā jīva šiyāta bavatiy utā marta artāvā bavatiy*¹⁸ 'You who (shall be) hereafter, if you shall think: "Happy may I be when living, and when dead may I be righteous", have respect for that law which Ahuramazdā has established, worship Ahuramazdā according to Arta (the Order/Truth) on the sacrificial twigs.¹⁹ The man who has respect for that law which Ahuramazdā has established, and worships Ahuramazdā according to Arta (the Order/Truth)

¹³Ito 1981, 55 and nn. 3, 4 and 5 with additional bibliography.

¹⁴See, e.g., Weissbach 1911, 123, 135.

¹⁵See also Gnoli 1999, 86-87.

¹⁶See Briant 1996, 56-58.

¹⁷Calmeyer 1981; Humbach 1988, 91-94; Wiesehöfer 1994, 31; Briant 1996, 253; Gnoli 1998, 137. On the Mesopotamian and Egyptian phenomena concerning the deification of the kings see Frankfort 1948, 295-312.

¹⁸See Kent 1953, 151-152; Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964, 88-89.

¹⁹The interpretation of the expression *artācā brazmaniy(a)*, attested only in this inscription presents a number of problems which do not actually see any agreement in scholarly debate. See a summary of the discussion in Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964, 111; for earlier literature see also Kent 1953, 170 and 201. More recent discussions can be found in Skjærvø 1987, 696; Herrenschildt 1993; Piras 1994-1995, 92-93.

on the sacrificial twigs, he both becomes happy (while) alive and becomes righteous (when) dead'.

In my opinion the dead kings should simply have become *artāvans*²⁰ and we do not find any reasons in favour of the supposition that *post mortem* they were considered as *bagas*.²¹ If the sources we possess support, for instance, the interpretation of the two towerlike structures of Pasargadae and Naqš-i Rostam (which both seem to be expressly evoked or imitated on the Fratarakas' coins) as special buildings for an initiatic ritual of royal investiture, the βασιλικὴ τελετή, i.e. the 'royal initiation' (see Plutarch, *Vita Artaxerxis* III, 1-2),²² perhaps implying a sort of mystic union with the royal ancestors and an initiatic death of the royal prince as a common man and his rebirth as a king, this does not compel us to assume that the vision or the ritual meeting with the souls of the ancestors needed a funerary building. Likewise there is no overwhelming evidence that the importance of the dead kings in the ritual of power transmission implied that the deceased kings would become gods or were strictly deified. Calmeyer (1981, 60 and *passim*) rightly focused on some scattered Old Greek references which only *prima facie* seem to introduce a divine conception of the Persian king (a conception which to the contrary seems to be over-emphasized by Humbach 1988, 91-94); contrariwise they show that the divine protection and illumination received by the living king from the gods was associated and "translated" by means of the different concept of δαίμων, while his apparent deification (see, e.g. Aischylos in the "Persians") was more precisely identified with the category of the heroes. However, because of their unique position in society the Persian kings were considered – as the χιλιάρχος Artabanos declares in Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles*, XXVIII, 3²³ – ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ 'like an image of god' to whom a special devotion (the proskynesis, etc.) was due.²⁴ On the other hand, according to the Mazdean conception of afterlife, we should expect that the late kings were considered *artāvans*, as we have seen, and that their *fravašis* (if we can assume some data from the parallel and partly contemporary Avestan literature, with the support also of the Western Iranian onomatology)²⁵ were still living and acting for the protection of the Aryan peoples and countries. Thus I do not see any compelling reason to assume a strictly funerary value for these buildings (and their symbolic value on the Fratarakas' coins), because the

²⁰ See again Piras 1994-1995; cf. Gnoli 1979, *passim*. On the soteriological and eschatological, but also political meanings of the Sasanian expressions like *bōxt-ruwān* 'having the soul saved' and *anōšag-ruwān* 'having an immortal soul' see Gnoli 1995.

²¹ If we turn to the Sasanian and post-Sasanian religious sources, i.e., in a context where the kings were considered *bayān*, we do not find any elements compelling us to assume that their destinies and treatment in the afterlife were so different from those of any other person.

²² See also Briant 1980, 72; 1991, 6-9; Wiesehöfer 1994, 37; cf. M.-L. Chaumont 1958, 160-161 who in addition (pp. 167-168) remarks that according to Agathias (*Historiae* II, 26; see the edition by Keydell 1967, 75) the king Ardašir was also initiated to religious mysteries.

²³ Plutarch 1961, 132-133; see Calmeyer 1981, 56.

²⁴ And this could explain, according to Calmeyer (1981, 58), the representation on the winged sun of a man with a horned "polos", which perhaps represents the deceased king.

²⁵ See O.P. names like *Fravarti-*, Φραόρτης, etc. (Kent 1953, 198; Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964, 120; Mayrhofer 1973, 282 n. 65; Hinz 1976, 99). Cf. also Justi 1895, 105-106, *passim*; Mayrhofer 1979, II 20 no. 31.

initiatric context *per se* is sufficient also to explain the obscure and funerary aspects of the ritual, which in any case finally resulted in a rebirth (or epiphany)²⁶ of the new king and not in a funerary lamentation for the dead members of the family. I suggest that a strictly “funerary” building would have been very inauspicious as a place dedicated to the ritual of the “elevation” of a new king.²⁷ I believe that in the stimulating and seminal interpretation given by Sancisi-Weerdenburg and followed also by Callieri there is a slight overlapping between the concept of *rite of passage*²⁸ implying the death of the candidate (and his possible meeting with his ancestors) and a real funerary ritual.²⁹ A ritual death is needed in order to introduce “the candidate to initiation” – the τελούμενος as Plutarch calls him – to a higher status in life (but probably also in order to prepare him to face his actual death), while the latter was a *viaticum*, ritually necessary to open the way to the final abode of the soul of the dead. Thus, although the ritual presence of death is strong in both cases, their conditions are absolutely different, particularly in the framework of the Mazdean perception of the funerary places, at least in a Zoroastrian context, as polluted and very dangerous locations.

We return now to the problem of the interpretation of the *bayān* as referred to the Achaemenid deified kings. In order to admit that such a non-posthumous deification came as a result of a radical innovation introduced by the Fratarakas themselves, we are compelled to assume the impact of a foreign royal model, probably Hellenistic in origin.³⁰ This pattern is anticipated in a number of scattered references in sources concerning Alexander the Great and Seleucos I, but a real dynastic cult appears consistently as an ideological model only under Antiochus III.³¹ At this point in the discussion it is worthwhile quoting *in extenso* some very important arguments recently advanced by Skjærvø (1997, 102) which directly concern the present problem. According to Skjærvø:

²⁶“We can imagine the king, after the ritual, appearing in full regalia at the top of the stairs; an epiphany in a sense” (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 147).

²⁷And this notwithstanding the strong difference in the funeral conceptions and rituals between the O.P. tradition and the Avestan ones. See Grenet 1984, 31-45. On the other hand, I would like to draw attention to the fact that a sort of cosmic and solar ritual of the king’s elevation is attributed by al-Birūnī (Sachau 1879, 200) to the period of king Jamšid; L’Orange has tried to compare this tradition (which he connects with the Achaemenid past) with the Byzantine elevation of the Emperor (1953, 87, 88-89).

²⁸See in general A. Van Gennep 1960.

²⁹A character which is probably not wanting also in the Yasna liturgy and in the Achaemenid ritual as in the Vedic one, according to an interesting analysis proposed by Pirart (1996) under the influence of Ch. Malamoud (1989, 60-61) and concerning a special Vedic rite, called *dīkṣā* by which the ‘sacrificer’ (*yajamāna*-) becomes in his turn “sacred”, or in other words he is “sacrificed” in order to be allowed to have access to the celestial world. On this problem see also Panaino (*Quatre leçons au Collège de France*, forthcoming), who has analysed the theme of self-sacrifice in Avestan ritual and speculation.

³⁰On the other hand we cannot forget Bikerman’s prudent remarks (1938, 257) at the conclusion of his masterly book on the Seleucid institutions: “En effet, le monarque régnait, nous l’avons vu, non en sa qualité divine, mais en vertu de la victoire et du droit héréditaire. Sa divinisation fut, d’après l’avis unanime des anciens, qui en furent peut-être informés aussi bien que les historiens d’aujourd’hui, un honneur (τιμή), rendu comme récompense de ses bienfaits et de ses exploits. On peut s’étonner au sujet de cette estimation des qualificatifs divins, mais on ne doit pas changer ce qui n’était qu’une conséquence de la puissance royale dans son fondement”.

³¹See Humbach 1988, 94-101.

The meaning of *prtrk' zy' lhy'* may therefore be: 'ahead of/outstanding among gods > those of divine descent > kings' or, conceivably, 'the one (set) ahead (of others) of = by the gods,' which would be reminiscent of Darius' claim that 'Ahuramazdā made me king, one king of (= among, over?) many.' This means that *fratarakā* is not exactly the title of the dynasty, but an epithet stating the priority of the king among others of divine descent. Formally the title looks like a hybrid of the Achaemenid 'king of kings' and the Seleucid and Arsacid titles in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.E. connecting the king with divinity . . .

I fully agree with the idea that this particular legend is strongly reminiscent of the Achaemenian past (therefore I do not see any difficulties in accepting a translation such as 'the one (set) ahead (of others) of = by the gods'); additionally Skjærvø is absolutely right when he states that "the expressions *br prs*, if read correctly, can only mean 'son of a Persian' and obviously recalls Darius' formula: 'a Persian, son of a Persian' (DNa 13-14)". I think, however, that we do not have compelling evidence to state that these Persian rulers, after the collapse of the Persian empire, dared to claim a sort of divine descent when, at the same time, they did not declare themselves to be direct descendants of the Achaemenids, nor did they assume the title of kings (*MLKA*).³²

Skjærvø's analysis imposes a wider reflection on the deification process in the light of the Hellenistic cultural impact on the Iranian world. If on the one hand this influence has not to be ruled out a priori and without any discussion, on the other hand we may emphasize that there are several objections against three different types of assumption: 1) that these *bayān* could be identified with the Seleucid kings (Wiesehöfer, Boyce-Grenet); 2) or alternatively with the Parthian kings (Humbach) or 3) with the dead Achaemenid kings (Callieri).

In the first case (*bayān* = the Seleucid kings), and in addition to the prudent doubts raised by Wiesehöfer himself, we do not find any good reasons for assuming that the Governors of Pārs would simply have translated a Greek terminology (with its ideological background) by naming non-Mazdean kings *bayān*, a decision which – we could well imagine – would have sounded blasphemous to a conservative Mazdean clan. In addition, it is not clear why the Fratarakas would have made reference to the ruling Seleucid king by using a plural (*bayān*) and not simply *baγ* (= θεός) as a *pluralis maiestatis*. It is, however, possible to assume that also Antiochus' ancestors were meant thus according to a sort of "Dynastiekult",³³ but it seems to me rather far-fetched to presume such a complete ideological subordination by the Fratarakas. We should note nevertheless that if the approximate synchronism between the coins of the early Fratarakas and the kingdom of Antiochus III is accepted (as reasonably suggested by Wiesehöfer 1994, 126-129 in the framework of different scenarios), it is quite difficult to admit that the 'Governors' of Pārs were so zealous to follow immediately the use of the divine title of θεός, just assumed by Antiochus III at the time, and to reflect it in Iranian translation on

³²The interpretation of *prtrk'* as a title or not is a minor problem, but I am reluctant to accept the presence of a simple epithet because the same term is known as a title referring to an important Achaemenid officer in some Aramaic documents; in addition it is placed after the name of the kinglet, in the very place where we will later find *MLKA*.

³³See in particular Wiesehöfer 1994, 136 n. 250.

their coins.³⁴ In fact these coins paradoxically attest to a patent desire, at least symbolically, of political autonomy and independence. Too many suppositions and data seem to fall into sharp contradiction.

In the second hypothesis (*bayān* = the Parthian kings), apart from some chronological difficulties rightly stressed by M. Boyce and F. Grenet (1991, 111 n. 229a), we may also emphasize that the Parthian kings apparently never called themselves *bay* in the Parthian language; further we have to point out that, as underlined by M. Boyce (1981, 63), at least according to the Manichaean sources in Parthian, *bay* was a current word for 'god'. The patent deification of the king (named, of course in the genitive, ΘΕΟΥ)³⁵ is attested, as already noted by Bartholomae, only on some Greek legends of Parthian coins, but it is apparently restricted to the issues of Phraates III (70-57 B.C.) and to those of Mithridates III (57-54),³⁶ while the appellative θεοπάτωρ 'whose father is a God' (in general in the genitive, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, on the coins)³⁷ was only slightly more common throughout the rule of the Parthian royal family. It is in fact attested in the issues of Mithridates I (171-139/138), Phraates II (139/138-128), Artabanus I (128-124/23), Gotarzes I (91/90-81/80), Sinatruces (c. 78/77-71/70), and on the coins of a certain Darius (70 B.C.).³⁸ Probably its diffusion shows how this new royal family progressively endorsed for propagandistic reasons some Hellenistic (more precisely Seleucid) patterns together with the model of an absolute monarchy, at least starting from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. onwards.³⁹ I think it is worth recalling that the title θεοπάτωρ represented an innovation in the Seleucid royal patterns; actually it seems to have been introduced in due course by the usurper Alexander Balas (150-145), who claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes (a king who in fact named himself θεὸς ἐπιφανής) against Demetrios I. In this sense the invention of such a title represents a clear attempt at legitimization. Thus the presence of the title θεοπάτωρ on some coins of Mithridates I could be related to a pattern introduced by Alexander Balas,⁴⁰ a king who was officially recognized by the Romans, Attalos, Ariarathes V and Ptolemy VI⁴¹ and who endorsed remarkable pro-Jewish

³⁴ See Will 1982, II 112-114; Welles 1934, no. 36; Boyce-Grenet 1991, 30-31.

³⁵ See, e.g., Sellwood 1983, 289.

³⁶ See again Bartholomae 1920, 8 (par. 6a) with no reference to any particular issue; cf. Sellwood 1993, 289; Head 1911, 819-820; note that Simonetta (1968, 32-33) attributed these coins to Mithridates I.

³⁷ See also Liddell-Scott 1940, 790; cf. Humbach 1988, 99-101.

³⁸ See Sellwood 1971, 10 n. 14; Wroth 1903, 5 n. 30; different list of kings in Head 1911, 819-822: Phriapatius (ca. 191-176), Phraates I (176-171), Phraates II (139/138-128), Artabanus I (128-124/123), Phraates III [?] (71-70-58/57), and on the coins of an unknown king.

³⁹ Cf. Wolski 1993, 76-77, *passim*.

⁴⁰ For the Parthian coinage see Maricq (1958, 380-381) and Simonetta (1968, 42-43) but with reference to Phraates II and not to Mithridates I; in fact the attribution of some coins with this legend has been transferred more recently to the issues of Mithridates I by Sellwood; the same problem occurs in the case of the legend θεός, which for Simonetta (1968, 32-33) was typical of Mithridates I, while it has been later attributed to Phraates II. It is interesting to mention Simonetta's hypothesis that this title was the result of an imitation of Antimachus I of Bactria (ca. 175-170 B.C.).

⁴¹ Will 1982, 375. See Bickerman 1938, 253-254.

policies. We have also to consider another important fact explaining the probable influence of Balas' coins on the issues of Mithridates I who actually gained a real advantage in his conquest of western Iran thanks to Balas' usurpation: in fact it seems that a mint in Ecbatana, working till ca. 148/147 (i.e. till the conquest of Mithridates I), could be attributed to Alexander Balas' authority.⁴² The absence (until now) of any attested evidence of a process of deification of the king on the Parthian (i.e. Aramaic) coin legends, and the chronologically very brief use of the title θεός as much as that of θεοπάτωρ (only in the second and the first half of the 1st century B.C.) deserves close attention. In fact we cannot exclude the possibility that the title (rare, as we have seen) of θεός and the rather more common title of θεοπάτωρ 'whose father (is) a god', then 'son of god' (which in any case seems to be in some way different from that of θεός, because it refers to a deification of the king's father or to a divine origin of his family), actually were propagandistic devices targeting the Hellenistic (and/or Hellenized) cities and peoples. We do not have evidence compelling us to assume that these particular titles represented the core of the Parthian royal ideology. If the Kushan title βαγοπουρο or βαγεπορο 'son of god' or 'son of the gods'⁴³ (e.g., attested with reference to Kaniska and comparable with Skt. *devaputra*-) formally corresponds (in the Turfan texts) to Parthian *bagpuhr*, Sogdian βγρwr or βγρš (see also N.P. *faǧpūr*, *faǧfūr*, *baǧbūr*),⁴⁴ it should not necessarily reflect the Parthian title θεοπάτωρ, as stated to the contrary by Maricq (1958, 380) and Humbach (1988, 104-105). In fact a compound **baga-puθra*- can mean 'son of god' or 'son of the gods' but theoretically also 'son of a giver (i.e. of a divine lord)' in the light of the Sasanian use of *bay* (in anteposition) as 'lord'. Then the direct and *formal* equivalence with θεοπάτωρ is not so evident because of the different implications of the semantic areas covered by Gr. θεός and Indo-Ir. **bhaga*-. In the light of the interpretation given by Sims-Williams ('son of the gods') the stem **bhaga*- seems to be related to the sphere of the divinities and not specifically with that of the deified kings. In addition we should find something like a derivation from **bagapitar*- in correspondence with θεοπάτωρ or, on the other hand, θεοπαῖς as a proper equivalent of **baga-puθra*-.⁴⁵ Thus, in a Kushan context, between India and Iran, it is difficult to insist only on the Iranian side either by excluding completely the Indian background,⁴⁶ where the king can be a *deva*- (i.e., as Gonda 1969, 24⁴⁷ suggested, a member "of a class of powerful beings, regarded as possessing supernormal faculties"), or by dismissing the relevance of the Chinese sources stating in

⁴² Will 1982, 403.

⁴³ See now Sims-Williams 1998, 87.

⁴⁴ Henning 1938, 94; Humbach 1988, 105-112.

⁴⁵ But see the reasons of Maricq (1958, 380) against such an objection.

⁴⁶ As in the case of Maricq 1958, 379.

⁴⁷ Note that Gonda (*ibidem*, nn. 174 and 175) refers to an old article by Kuhn (1912, 217 ff.), where the royal title *devaputra*- in the Mathurā inscriptions was considered as a translation of a Parthian title but also of the Chinese title *t'ien-tzu* 'son of heaven'. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the idea of 'heaven' has been interpreted, in an Iranian context, with the word for *baga*-; see Bailey 1989, 403; but cf. Maricq 1958, 379-380 and Humbach 1988, 105-114.

the 3rd century A.D. that the king of the Yüeh Chih was named 'son of heaven' (i.e. a title corresponding to that of the Chinese emperor).⁴⁸

Thus, specifically returning to the coins of the first Frataraka governors it is unlikely that, apart from any chronological problem, they refer to the Parthian kings giving them the title of *bayān*, a title that the Parthians themselves did not use on their own coins until the 1st century B.C. and then only in Greek. It would also be unlikely to refer to the chronologically later Kushan tradition, where the Bagas are the gods (cf. the compound βαγεποο/ρακ[α]νε 'scion of the race of the gods')⁴⁹ and, with direct reference to the king, βαγο is probably the 'lord', as Sims-Williams (1989, 404) suggested for the phrase *i bago šao Kanēški* 'the lord king Kanishka'.

In the third case (*bayān* = the deceased Achaemenid kings) we note that the mention of *bayān* alone or only of *bay* as *strictly* and clearly allusive to a deified "dead" king (e.g., as in Lat. *divus*) remained unknown in Sasanian Iran too.⁵⁰ In addition, till the rise of the Sasanians, who – as is well known – were individually called *bay* in their inscriptions, we do not possess any compelling evidence for such an interpretation. Here it is true that *bay* occurs before the king's name followed by the official royal title of *šāh*, but it never appears alone in the sentences: where we find a human *bay*, we find the explicit mention that he was a *šāh*. The only interesting piece of evidence we have at our disposal, for instance, when reading the great trilingual inscription of Šābuhr I at the Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ), is represented by the Sasanian official protocol where both Šābuhr and his father Ardašīr were at the same time **māzdēsn bay* 'Mazdean divine Lord', and *kē čīhr az yazadān* 'whose origin (or semen [comes]) from the gods'.⁵² On the contrary Šāh Pābag was only a *bay* and the eponymous ancestor of the dynasty, Sāsān, simply a *xwadāy* (Gr. vers. κύριος).⁵³ This seems to mean that the royal epithet *bay*⁵⁴ for a local *šāh* was already introduced in the Sasanian family before the full ascent of this clan to the dignity of *šāhān šāh*, as the numismatic sources from Pārs actually confirm with the presence of the simple title *bay* starting from the coins of Šābuhr (*bgy šhpwhry MLK*)⁵⁵ the son of the divine Pābag (*BRH bgy p'pky/š'pwhry p'pky*) and of his brother Ardašīr V (*bgy 'rthštry MLK*)⁵⁶ the son of Pābag (*BRH bgy p'pky*) and the future king of kings. These data also convey the strict distinction which was clearly introduced together with the use of a different and larger number of titles: the early *šāh* actually was only a simple *bay*, while the *šāhān šāh* became a **māzdēsn bay kē čīhr az yazadān*, a change which is clearly visible, e.g., on the coins of Ardašīr just be-

⁴⁸ See Humbach 1988, 111 and *passim*.

⁴⁹ See Sims-Williams 1998, 86.

⁵⁰ Apart from Zor. Pahlavi expressions *im bay* 'this lord' and *ōy bay* 'that lord' respectively meaning 'His (present) Majesty' and 'His late Majesty'; see Sims-Williams 1989, 404; cf. also Bailey 1971, 155 n. 2.

⁵¹ On the reading **māzdēsn* see Panaino 1993; cf. Huyse 1999, II 2-4 and in particular n. 12 at p. 4.

⁵² For a history of the syntactical interpretation of this sentence see Sundermann 1988, 338.

⁵³ See ŠKZ, § 36 (Huyse 1999, I 49, II 115).

⁵⁴ Perhaps M.-L. Chaumont (1958, 170) is not wrong in suggesting that "en adoptant ce titre, ils cherchaient . . . à donner à leur dignité et à leur personne un caractère sacré et intangible".

⁵⁵ See Alam 1986, 185.

⁵⁶ See Alam 1986, 186.

fore and after his ascent to the imperial power.⁵⁷ Despite the fact that the Greek version of the Sasanian inscriptions undoubtedly presents us with a *sort* of apparently "divine" status of the king, because *bay* is systematically translated with θεός (or in the genitive with θεοῦ), we need to introduce an additional remark: although no apparent distinction between *bay* and *yazadān* was marked in the Greek text⁵⁸ (both Pahlavi words being invariably translated as θεός [or θεοῦ] and θεῶν),⁵⁹ it is reasonable to suspect that such difference existed and that it was strongly based on the inner terminology of the Sasanian clan and its religious orientation.⁶⁰ We would not otherwise understand the function of such a precise distinction, which could not be the fruit of an improvised and superficial invention. Thus, it remains an open problem – to which we will return – whether the Greek translators were not able to realize or simply to render the subtle nuances of both terms (which, in fact, are never superimposable in the language and in the formulaic style of the Sasanian inscriptions), or if such an apparent Greek levelling had perhaps other reasons. The evident mention of *yazad* in the 3rd century Sasanian inscriptions is in fact very instructive; its use is strictly referred to divine beings and never to human ones while that of *bay* (in the singular) refers either to the divine status of the king (when preceding the king's name) or to a god (only when in postposition) as in the pertinent examples given by M. Boyce (1981, 65–66) in regard to the investiture scene of Ardašīr at Naqš-e Rostam: *paykar ēn ohrmazd-bay* 'this is the representation of Ohrmazd the God' (ANRm-b)⁶¹ and *paykar ēn māzdēšn bay ardašīr šāhān šāh* 'this is the representation of the Mazdean Lord Ardašīr, King of Kings' (ANRm-a).⁶² We should also emphasize that this strict distinction between the syntactic anteposition or postposition of the "divine" epithet⁶³ was regularly respected as a rule in Middle Persian for *bay*, in Parthian for *bay*, and in Sogdian for *βay*,⁶⁴ with very few exceptions.⁶⁵ In the Middle Persian of the Sasanian inscriptions we find that the use of *bayān* is restricted to

⁵⁷ See Alam 1986, 186 and 187. Unfortunately we do not have coins of Pābag for deducing if the title *bay* was already assumed by himself or given to him *post mortem*.

⁵⁸ As Sundermann (1988, 338–339) has stressed, the distinction between *bay* and *yazadān*, which does not appear in the Greek text, confirms an Iranian origin of this formula against the hypothesis of a Hellenistic origin and of a hypothetical translation from a preceding Greek formula.

⁵⁹ With reference to Gershevitch 1954, § 122; see now Huyse 1999, II 4–5.

⁶⁰ See Nöldeke 1879, 452 n. 4.

⁶¹ Back 1978, 282.

⁶² Back 1978, 281.

⁶³ M. Boyce (1981, 65) rightly underlines that "when Kirdēr wishes to make it clear that the title 'Ohrmazd-mowbad' conferred on him by Hormizd I, was in honour of the Creator and not the king, he says that it was *Ohrmazd-bay pad nām* 'in the name of Ohrmazd the Lord'". Note that such a pattern (anteposition and postposition) is followed also in the Greek version of the Sasanian inscriptions.

⁶⁴ See Gharib 1995, 100. Cf. the *incipit* of one of the Ancient Letters (Reichelt 1931, 22, 23): 'R βγw xwt'w βγ'ny BRy znyδ't 'An der Gott-Herr, den Göttersohn Znyδ't'.

⁶⁵ See Boyce 1981, 64–65 (with bibliography) who refers to the occurrence of Bay Zurvān in MMP – while in Buddhist Sogdian we have 'zrw' βγγ–, of bay Narisaf Yazd in a late Man. text and finally of Bago Mitro in a Bactrian legend engraved on a coin of Šābuhr Kušānšāh. On the other hand, the Bactrian sentence *i bago šao Kanēški* (see Sims-Williams 1989, 404) shows a pattern closely comparable with that attested in the Sasanian inscription.

single stereotyped and archaic expressions such as *bayān gāh*, i.e. lit. 'the gods' place', for 'paradise' in Kirdir's inscriptions ('*RHY'n g'sy* in KKZ 3-4; *b/gd'n (g'sy)* in KNRm 9)⁶⁶ instead of the Zoroastrian term *wahišt[aw]* 'the Best Existence', a use which finds parallel in Sogd. *βayestān* (*βγyst'n*),⁶⁷ as already noted by M. Boyce.⁶⁸ On the other hand, if *yazadān* is currently attested in the Middle Persian of the inscriptions,⁶⁹ *bay* still remains widespread for 'god' and *bayān* for 'gods' in Manichaean Middle Persian texts, where both forms were attested together with more usual Zoroastrian terms like *yazadān* and *mahrāspandān*.⁷⁰ From this use we cannot deduce that in Parthian times as well as in early Sasanian times the use of (Parth.) *bay*, (MP) *bay* was already restricted to the semantic sphere of the royal deified power. On the contrary, its understanding as 'god' remained remarkably constant, at least beyond strictly Zoroastrian circles: a number of MMP occurrences like *bay wābarīgān* 'the true God', *bay burzist* 'the loftiest God', *bay ī ba'ān abardom* 'God, the highest of gods' (etc.), listed by M. Boyce,⁷¹ are clear witness to such an assumption. In addition to these remarks, it has to be noted that only under certain well marked conditions *bay* might mean 'lord' with reference to the king (anteposition,⁷² presence of the name of the king and of his royal title). I would like also to point out that the other male members of the royal family did not share this title with the reigning (and with the deceased) king(s); it was an exclusive prerogative of the *Šāh*. The change and evolution of the title with the addition of **māzdēsn* does not imply a bold break with the recent past of the period of Pābag, but no doubt signifies that in the official program of the king the "Mazdean divine quality" of his prerogatives was presented in an official way and with a special meaning, *de facto* subjecting the highest royal power to its Mazdean status. It becomes a political manifesto confirmed by the following formula *kē čīhr az yazadān*, by which the *šāhān šāhs* apparently used to declare their own divine nature (at least according to the Greek interpretation with the words ἐκ γένους θεῶν). The Sasanian terminology reflects however a theologico-political synthesis of three different traditions;⁷³ first, we find the long-term continuity influenced by the Old Persian (but also the Frataraka) western Mazdean cult of the gods under the name of Bagas; second, we have to consider the possible

⁶⁶ See Gignoux 1991, 55, 68; cf. Back 1978, 393.

⁶⁷ Or *βγyst'n*; see Gharib 1995, 103.

⁶⁸ See Boyce 1981, 62; but according to Huyse it is unclear whether *bayān* in *bayān gāh* refers to 'gods' or 'men' (1999, II 5 n. 15, with literature).

⁶⁹ See sentences like *ohrmazd ud yazadān*, *yazadān ud šāhān šāh*, *kirdagān ī šāh*, already remarked by M. Boyce 1981, 63; see also Gignoux 1972, 38 (sub *yzd'n*) and 67 (sub *y'ztn*).

⁷⁰ See again Boyce 1981, 63.

⁷¹ Boyce 1981, 63; cf. also 1975, *passim*.

⁷² About the occurrences in Pahlavi texts see Bartholomae 1920, 9-10.

⁷³ In my opinion M. Boyce's statement (1981, 70) that "there is no evidence to suggest that Zoroastrians ever adapted the un-scriptural word *baga* to bear the majestic significance of 'God'" is too extreme, first, because *baya-* is in any case attested in the Avestan texts (and for instance in Y. 10, 10 *bayō* is translated in Pahlavi as *bay*, and not as *yazad*; see Josephson 1997, 91-92), second, because we have to imagine a fusion of trends and traditions under the Sasanian dynasty, as in the case of the language of their inscriptions.

(but in my opinion slight) impact of the Parthian tradition⁷⁴ and that of the Hellenistic conception of the divine king,⁷⁵ particularly in the case of the title θεοπάτωρ 'son of God' (which was no longer attested after Mithridates III, 57-54 B.C., and thus could not have exerted an enormous impact on the Sasanians); third, we can probably see the later imposition of the Avestan tradition, where the presence of the term *bayā-* proves to be of minor importance, actually restricted⁷⁶ to Ahura Mazdā (*Y.* 10, 10; 71, 1) and Māh 'the Moon' (*Yt.* 7, 5 = *Ny.* 3, 7)⁷⁷ in very limited occurrences, while in *Yt.* 10, 141 we learn that Miθra 'has by far the greatest insight among the dispenser (divinities)' (*bayānəm asti xraθbastəmō*);⁷⁸ in addition, after the fresh analysis of Kellens (1994, 24-25) it is clear that L.Av. *bayā-* is not employed as a general title for a divine category. We should actually reflect on the fact that the importance assumed by the *yazatas* in the Later Avesta was increasing, and although Kellens (1976, 121-126; 1994, 22-23) rightly notes that some of the Avestan divine beings were never called *yazatas*, the Middle Persian use of the terms *yazad* and *yazadān* (frequently referring also to Ohrmazd himself as in the standard formula *pad nam ī yazad* or *yazadān*)⁷⁹ shows the final effects of an actual generalization of such a divine category. Thus, if the Sasanian kings never dared to declare themselves *yazad(ān)*, this was due to a precise theological assumption, based on a distinction between *yazad* and *bay* (but also on that between *bay* and **māzdēsn bay*) which does not necessarily represent an extraneous conception of royalty clashing with the Mazdean tradition.⁸⁰ In particular, presumption that the bold distinction in the meaning of M.P. *bay* – 'lord' (only) in anteposition and 'god' in postposition, but both sometimes rendered with the heterogram ORHYA – was probable, in my opinion, because among the Sasanians a trend prevailed which was more closely linked to the Avestan background. In the Avestan context *bayā-* still preserved a more original meaning equivalent to that of '(divine) distributor' and not strictly and exclusively that of 'god'.⁸¹ Starting from this original meaning it was possible to enforce its pure divine implications, as happened in Old Persian, or to de-

⁷⁴ As on the contrary assumed by Bartholomae (1920, 8) and Gnoli (1998, 136-137).

⁷⁵ Nöldeke (1879, 452), for instance, suggested that the designation of the king as 'god' was introduced by Alexander from Egypt and that its model was followed also by Ardašīr.

⁷⁶ See Zimmer 1984, 190-193; Kellens 1976, 126; 1994; Boyce 1981, 62; cf. von Wesendonk 1933, 106 (who also compares the O.P. syntagma *maθišta- bagānām* with the L.Av. *mazištō yazatanəm* in *Yt.* 16, 16; cf. also p. 317 n. 505); Gnoli 1989, 96; 2000, 32.

⁷⁷ Note that in the *Anthology of Zādsparam* 30, 5, the moon is still called *bay* in the sequence . . . *māh bay* . . .; cf. Gignoux-Tafazzoli 1993, 98-99.

⁷⁸ Cf. Gershevitch 1959, 144-145.

⁷⁹ See the chapter dedicated to the Zoroastrian lists of 101 names of Ohrmazd in Panaino 2002, 119-130).

⁸⁰ As on the contrary suggested by Gnoli (1998, 137) who, following Bartholomae, emphasizes the Parthian role in the transmission of the Hellenistic concept of the deified king.

⁸¹ We may recall that Sims-Williams (1989, 404) has already noted that "It is not likely that OIr. *baga-* derives from a word meaning 'god' in IE., despite the occurrence of *bogu* 'god' in the Slavonic languages (probably as a result of Iranian influence) . . . In the later Avestan texts *bayā-* occurs occasionally as a title of divinities . . . but it is debatable whether it should be understood in the earlier sense of 'dispenser' (cf. OInd. *bhāga-*) or already as 'god'.

velop a common value of 'lord' (meaning 'a generous authority'), whether human or divine. In addition we should stress that the Sasanian kings were *kē čīhr az yazadān*, but never true *yazad(ān)*, i.e. 'gods',⁸² *stricto sensu*, and, on the ideological level, it is not certain that such an expression was directly opposed to the Parthian title θεοπάτωρ 'son of God'.⁸³

At this point it is useful to recall that in the letter sent in 590 by Xusraw II Parwēz to Wahrām Čōbīn (and quoted – probably from the *History* of Johannes of Epiphaneia⁸⁴ – by Theophylact Simocatta IV, 8),⁸⁵ the *šāhān šāh* declares himself to be, among many other epithets, ἐν θεοῖς μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς καὶ αἰώνιος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεὸς ἐπιφανέστατος . . . ἡλίῳ συνανατέλλων καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ χαριζόμενος ὄμματα 'among the gods a righteous and eternal man, among men a god most remarkable . . . rising together with the sun and bestowing eyes on the night'. The distinction between the royal and divine dimension is subtle but clear: with respect to the gods, the king emerges as a superhuman being, like an immortal (αἰώνιος); as royal entity, he looks like a splendid god on earth (θεὸς ἐπιφανέστατος).⁸⁶ Doubtless, according to these titles, the Persian kings did not consider themselves as gods in the sense of a real *yazad*, but as human beings sharing divine prerogatives with respect to the other men. It is worthwhile noting that in another letter,

⁸²The point of view of the Christians was of course different because they refused *in toto* such a title and considered it blasphemous; as Nöldeke noted (1879, 452 n. 4), according to a Syriac martyrology, Šābuhr II declares: 'I am of the semen of the gods', which seems to be a translation of the Gr. construction ἐκ γένους θεῶν; see for more detailed references and for other Syriac sources Sundermann (1988, 339-340). On the other hand, Nöldeke pointed out that the assumption of names like *Ohrmazd* etc. by the Sasanian kings did not represent a "Verkörperung" of such a god, but only an act by means of which the king placed himself under the protection of the chosen divinity.

⁸³This influence cannot be excluded because we know that the Parthian coins still circulated during Sasanian times, but, on the other hand, it is improbable that it was very significant.

⁸⁴See M. and M. Whitby in the introduction to the English translation of Theophylact Simocatta 1986, xxi-xxii.

⁸⁵See the text edited in Theophylact Simocatta 1834, 175 and the revision of the edition of C. De Boor by P. Wirth in Theophylact Simocatta 1972, 164; cf. also the translation by M. and M. Whitby (Theophylact Simocatta 1986, 114).

⁸⁶In this case I would like to underline the direct continuity with the Hellenistic and Parthian royal title (in particular on the coins) of ἐπιφανής. About the political meaning of the sentence attributed to Xusraw II in his letter to the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (in 590), in particular the mention of the two luminaries (in reference to the Roman and the Persian Empires: Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae* 4, 11 δύο τισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν κόσμον καταλάμπεσθαι πάντα ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ θεῖον ἐπραγματεύσατο, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῇ δυνατωτάτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφρονεστάτοις σκῆπτροις τῆς Περσῶν πολιτείας 'the divinity provided that the whole world should be enlightened from the highness and the beginning by two eyes, namely by the most powerful empire of the Romans and the most prudent sceptre of the state of the Persians'), see Carile 1994, 53-54; Dujčev 1966, 276-277. See also the English translation by M. and M. Whitby (Theophylact Simocatta 1986, 117, and in particular fn. 40 with reference to Peter the Patrician, fr. 13 and his image of the twin eyes of the world in the context of Roman-Persian negotiations in 290 and to Malalas 449, 19-20 for the salutation form in a letter sent from the *šāhān šāh*, the eastern sun, to the Roman Emperor, the western moon); cf. also Theophylact Simocatta 1985, 298-299.

sent by Xusraw I to Justinian (and quoted by Menander)⁸⁷ in order to sanction the fifty-years' peace treaty established in 562, the first title of the Sasanian king curiously is not θεός, but θεῖος 'divine', evocative of the Lat. *divus* or *divinus* with reference to the imperial power (see below).⁸⁸ In addition, the fact that Xusraw is mentioned as ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαράκτρῳ ἔσται 'who is made in the image of the gods', does not simply confirm the continuity of the Sasanian formula *kē čīhr az yazadān* (which disappears from the inscriptions and coins at the time of Wahrām, 420-438),⁸⁹ but also reflects in my opinion a different interpretation of Pahl. *čīhr* (in particular with respect to that of γένος as given in the early Sasanian inscriptions), a term, which, as is well known, can also mean 'visible form'.⁹⁰ Here we have a (perhaps)⁹¹ different (with respect to the early Sasanian Greek version: ἐκ γένους θεῶν) but also literal translation/interpretation of the standard Pahlavi expression *kē čīhr az yazadān*, which in Menander's quotation seems to be rendered word for word, and where the idea of *čīhr* corresponds to that of Gr. χαράκτρ 'stamp (on coins)'⁹² and not simply to that of 'nature'.⁹³ Consequently, if that was the very meaning of the Pahlavi title given to the Sasanian kings, the intrinsic meaning of the other titles assumed by Šābuhr II in his epistle to the Emperor Constance now becomes clearer: *Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* . . . 'I Sapor, King of Kings, partner of the Stars, brother of the Sun and of the Moon',⁹⁴ which indeed has to be connected with Petrus Chrysologus' (5th century) description of the Sasanian kings:

neue sumus ut persarum reges, qui subiecta nunc pedibus suis sphaera ut polum se calcare dei uices mentiuntur? nunc radiato capite, ne sint homines, solis resident in figura; nunc inpositis sibi cornibus, quasi uiros se doleant, effeminantur in lunam; nunc varias velut siderum

⁸⁷ See in fact Menander (1829, 353). Cf. Christensen 1945, 260; Oikonomides 1971, 274-276.

⁸⁸ See Liddell-Scott 1940, 788; on the other hand, we have to note that θεῖος is also used for heroes; cf. Humbach 1988, 98; with regard to Lat. *divus* see Schwering 1914-1915.

⁸⁹ See Sundermann 1988, 340.

⁹⁰ See MacKenzie 1971, 22 (sub *čīhr* and *čīhr(ag)*); Nyberg 1974, 55. Cf. Av. *ciθra-*, adj. 'manifestus', but also 'vision' (as n. stem), related with Ved. *citṛá-* (see Mayrhofer 1956, 387) but we have also *ciθra-*, n. 'Same, Ursprung' which Bartholomae considers of a different origin and etymologically unrelated to the first stem (1904, 586-587), but I am unconvinced by such a conclusion.

⁹¹ In fact, the ambiguity of *čīhr* concerns also the semantic value of Gr. γένος which, as Sundermann rightly remarks (1988, 339-340), can mean 'der Aspekt der "Wesensart" . . .', although he underlines the importance of the Syriac sources, where the interpretation of *čīhr* as 'nature, seed, semen' is clearly attested. On the other hand, Sundermann (*ibid.*) pointed out that the Zoroastrian theology of the Sasanian period does not attest any deification of the king, while his representation as the 'Ebenbild' of the god was quite probable.

⁹² Χαράκτρωζω and χαράκτρωζω have in fact the technical meaning of 'minting, engraving, inscribing' (also on coins) (see Liddell-Scott 1940, 1977).

⁹³ The opposite interpretation has been suggested by Sundermann (1988, 340).

⁹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 5, 3 (cf. ed. and transl. Rolfe 1982, 332-333). See Christensen 1945, 237, 260. I think that it would be too bold to assume that such an expression clashed with Zoroastrian orthodoxy, like the use of *bay* as a title for the king, as assumed by Widengren (1965, 319); see differently Gnoli 1998, 135. I would like to note that the comparison with the two luminaries is also attested in the letter of Xusraw II to Wahrām quoted above, where the technical term 'rising together (*consurgens*) with the sun' is used for the king, and in the following letter of the Sasanian King to the emperor Maurice.

sumunt formas, ut hominis perdant figuras 'And are we not like the Persian kings, who lie by saying that, having subjected the sphere under their feet they trample (on it) as on a pivot in the place of the gods? Now with a beaming head, they sit in the image of the sun, as though they were not humans; now, with horns imposed on themselves, they become like women in the moon, as if they were regretting to be men; now they assume various forms like (those) of the stars in order to lose their human shape'.⁹⁵

The *čīhr* is in fact strictly connected with the visible form of the astral beings, and in this conception of the king as a man made in the image of the gods, but playing the role of a 'cosmocrator' on the earth and on his throne at the centre of a cosmic hall,⁹⁶ it is quite reasonable that reference was made to the brightest divine beings visible in the sky, the Stars and the two Luminaries⁹⁷ which maintain their Ahuric prerogatives also in the Zoroastrian cosmology of the Sasanian period. In this sense the semantic contrast between ²*čīhr* 'semen, origin' and ¹*čīhr* 'visible form' (MacKenzie 1971, 22) seems to be practically obscured, because the supreme role of the image of the king was related to an extraordinary and semi-divine (or astral) nature. I would like to point out that in some later Pahlavi texts the "positive" astral beings can be also called *bayān* in opposition to the demoniac planets,⁹⁸ and that, for instance, the moon⁹⁹ was considered 'intangible' (*agrīfār*) but 'visible' (*wēnāg*), i.e. it took part in the two states of the creation, the *mēnōg* and the *gētīg*. The same idea is suggested also in the third book of the *Dēnkard*, chap. 51,¹⁰⁰ where the sun, the moon and the stars are listed among the immortal beings which are visible and endowed with an inseparable covering of light, while the human beings have only an immortal essence but a mortal covering. Moreover, we may note that in addition to the royal *xwarrah* distinguishing the *šāhān šāh* from other human beings, in the investiture scenes of the rock reliefs the Sasanian king was given the same *čīhr* as the gods; in other words, according to the formal patterns of this official iconography, the king and Ohrmazd, e.g., were distinguished from one another only by some special devices (the crown for instance or the *barsom*), but their size, physical aspect, dress, horses, etc. were exact mirror images of each other.¹⁰¹ Thus, because the kings' *čīhr* was established by the gods – i.e. by the Yazad(ān) – as many other positive things created and protected by Ohrmazd and by the other divinities, we may deduce that the kings also assumed, as masters of the State and of the Church, the status of extraordinary beings on earth, i.e. that of the *bay* in the more re-

⁹⁵ *Sermo* 120, *Patrol. Lat.* (Migne 52), 527; see now Petrus Chrysologus 1997, 390-391; cf. L'Orange 1953, 41-42.

⁹⁶ See L'Orange 1953, 18-27, 37-47, 64-79 with textual sources and bibliography.

⁹⁷ See again L'Orange 1953, 37-46 and *passim*. It would be necessary to discuss also the problem of the iconographic references to the Sun and the Moon in Sasanian royal art and their role and meaning, a subject which I shall deal with in another article, dedicated to the Sasanian royal titles in the Byzantine epistolography.

⁹⁸ See, e.g., *Dēnkard* III, chap. 192; chap. 263 (tr. de Menasce 1973, 199, 267); *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār* IV, 28-38 (tr. de Menasce 1945, 52-53).

⁹⁹ See Panaino 2000, 470-471 with texts, references and bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ See de Menasce 1973, 61.

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, the investiture scene of Ardašir at Naqš-e Rostam, but these patterns are quite common in the investiture scenes in the Sasanian rock reliefs.

stricted sense of 'divine lords',¹⁰² and that they assumed on earth an image similar to that of the gods, but, in my opinion, without any complete (con)fusion of the two different dimensions and roles. In other words the Sasanian kings never considered themselves to be exactly like Ohrmazd or the other *yazadān*, and their careful and contrastive use of *bay* and *yazad* represents compelling evidence of this statement. Their acceptance of a divine title, starting before Ardašīr's *prise de pouvoir*, undoubtedly reflects a Hellenistic influence, but not an uncritical imitation of foreign customs, because – as I have just suggested – in the case of *bay* (in anteposition) the semantic evolution to the meaning of 'lord' could have been partly infected by a meaning similar to that of 'distributor' and not strictly by that of 'god'.¹⁰³ I suggest, moreover, that the early translation ἐκ γένους θεῶν, through the apparent Greek "indifference" by rendering both *bay* (in syntactical anteposition) and *yazad(ān)* with the same word, θεός, could reflect not only or simply a sort of incapability of the translator(s) of the Sasanian court protocol in distinguishing these theological differences, but also the fruit of a deliberate political choice. Thus, in the Greek version of the Sasanian royal inscriptions, the Hellenistic, and in general Western, patterns of the deified king were directly preferred and evoked, because they were already current and more comprehensible to the local peoples and to the Roman (and Greek) enemies of the Persian empire. In addition we may deduce that in the Eastern areas of the Roman empire the simple correspondence¹⁰⁴ *divus* = θεός was actually possible, although the semantic and political implications of both words were not at all identical. In short, the Sasanian ideological propaganda was partly simplified and deliberately translated and adapted according to the Roman and Hellenistic political language of royal power, although this process did not proceed without inconsistencies. Indeed it is well known that the use of *bay* (as referred to living kings) did not correspond to that of *divus* among the Romans (as referred to deceased kings), but the continuity of the Hellenistic tradition made possible the (different and asymmetric) use of θεός for *divus*, so that θεός became the best "political" translation of *bay*. We can simply state that θεός comes midway between *bay* and *divus*, but does not precisely correspond to either. From a strictly religious point of view, we need also to consider that the rigid antagonism between Ohrmazd and Ahreman, and the basic radical dualism of the Sasanian theology had nothing to do with a standard polytheistic faith. The final aim of Ohrmazd was the total destruction of Ahreman, and the minor divinities were not considered independent gods as in the traditional Greek and Roman religions, but as kinds of champions in the battlefield against the evil forces. Paradoxically, as Pettazzoni re-

¹⁰² A different problem concerns the derivation of the Turkish title *bäg*, later *bey*, from an Iranian language (and an Iranian model), which would show the progressive adaptation of such a term; there are, however, some doubts about this derivation; see Doerfer 1965, 402-6; Sims-Williams 1989, 404.

¹⁰³ I would like to stress that in Sanskrit and Pali *deva* is used also for a king, in this case usually in vocative (see Rhys Davids–Stede 1992, 329b); this usage does not reflect any kind of divinization of the king (which, in a Buddhist context would have a limited significance), but simply a sort of honorific denomination; a different solution is suggested by Humbach 1988, 94-6, who emphasizes the Hellenistic background of such a divine royal title in India.

¹⁰⁴ See Liddell–Scott 1940, 791, e.g., with reference to *Mon.Anc.Gr.* 10, 4.

marked (1920, 96 n. 109), the dualism did not prevent the Zoroastrian religion from being inserted in the typology of monotheism: actually it is polytheism which is incompatible with dualism but not with monotheism which involves some dualistic features (as for instance the presence of the devil). In addition, Zoroastrian dualism has only one god and creator-organizer of the cosmos, who is Ohrmazd; Ahreman is only the opponent, who will be extinguished at the end of the war between the two principles, and is not a true “coeternal” god, but the arch-demon or the *dēw-šāh* ‘the king of the demons’.¹⁰⁵ We need also to stress the fact that Sasanian Zoroastrianism had a developed (and in certain aspects systematic) theology; thus it was markedly different from other religious systems purely based on a blend of orthopractic and ritualistic rules¹⁰⁶ (although these were very important in Iran too). According to such a general scheme, the king also represented a champion of the religious order and his role in society gave him extra-human powers and functions. In this sense, he was thus in a position to share a number of prerogatives with the highest god and his “minor” (in the sense of “subordinate”) divinities, like Mihr, Anāhīd, the Sun, the Moon, etc., the *yazad(ān)* (who are in fact represented on the Sasanian investiture scenes and on the coins). On the other hand he lives during the mixed state, the *gumēzišn*, the earthly and physical condition of the *gētīg* dimension where he has to lead the front line fight against the evil forces. This condition makes him a *bay*, gives him the *čīhr* of the *yazadān*, but does not “transubstantiate” him into a real *yazad* like Ohrmazd and the other divinities. Royalty corresponds to the *dēn*,¹⁰⁷ the religion, according to many passages of the third book of the *Dēnkard*,¹⁰⁸ and only its subordination to Ohrmazd confers legitimacy on the royal power. It is clear that such theological nuances would have seemed very peculiar and probably incomprehensible beyond the narrow context of Sasanian royal ideology, and very inconsistent on the Western borderlands. For these reasons, I suggest that the Greek versions of the Sasanian inscriptions present us with a simplified language, which was more understandable and which possibly made a more direct impact, thanks to the echoes of Hellenistic ideology concerning the deification of the kings and to some extent the Parthian precedents, which in their turn emphasized, but only in the Greek language, the image of the deified king. In particular, I would like to indicate the pronounced difference between Parthian and Sasanian religious traditions on the one hand, and, on the other, the Hellenistic and Roman ideologies concerning the phenomenon of the “humanising of the gods”, which took place under Alexander and his followers, and that with the works of Hecateus and Callimachus made a strong impact on the Roman imperial culture,

¹⁰⁵ See the *Anthology of Zādsparam* 34, 30; cf. Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1993, 120–121.

¹⁰⁶ See Nock 1961.

¹⁰⁷ According to the Pāzand text of the *Škand-gumānīg Wizār* X, 62–74 (see de Menasce 1945, 118–119) ‘the royal Bagān, of the race of the Kayanids’ (**baγaṇa xvadāēq i Kai tuhmaga*) have received the *dēn*, which was given to the priest Adūrbād i Mahraspandān, during the reign of *Bay Šāhpūr i šāha šāh i Hormezdaq* ‘of the Lord Šābuhr, the king of kings, the son of Hormizd’. It is clear that here reference is made to Hormizd II, father of Šābuhr II, and not to the highest god.

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., chap. 58 and 273 (de Menasce 1973, 65, 274–275); a useful list of chapters concerning the royalty is given by de Menasce in the index at p. 440.

as shown by Bosworth (1999, 9-11). We do not find compelling reasons for assuming that Iranian peoples knew of some euhemeristic process through which the gods were humanized and contrariwise men, and in particular kings, were deified.

After all these general considerations I propose that it would be more prudent to assume that in the expression *Frataraka ī bayān* 'the governor (for the sake/for the account = in the name) of the Gods' (if this is the "echtpersisch" underlying "legend") only the ancient gods of Pārs were meant and referred to. The Fratarakas, who did not yet feel or dare to declare themselves 'kings' (*MLK*' = *šāh*) as they did only after Wādfraḏād I, preferred to derive their own authority from the divine powers of their land. These divine powers were the same gods worshipped by the Achaemenids, whose memories through their monuments and symbols (directly evoked in their coins) were still alive in their culture. Thus, by mentioning the *Bayān*, the Fratarakas established legitimacy for their power, which paradoxically was not of royal derivation (because they were not descended from the Achaemenid line and perhaps out of traditional respect for these royal prerogatives, they did not claim descent from them), but was placed under divine protection and authority. In fact they exercised their power in the name of the same gods,¹⁰⁹ Ahuramazdā, Miθra, Anāhitā (and the other existing gods)¹¹⁰ who protected the Persian empire, and who chose and legitimized the Achaemenid dynasty and its empire. What is very remarkable is that this very legend was an important act of political and religious propaganda, because after the collapse of the

¹⁰⁹ Although M. Boyce insists on the fact that in the inscription of Artaxerxes III (A³Pa, 23-24; see Kent 1953, 156), the formula *a^huramazdā utā miθra бага* has to be understood as referred to three different divinities: Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and (the god named) Baga, I would prudently like to remark that if she is right in noting that "when Mithra is invoked alone, or in the triad *Ahuramazda Anahit^a uta Mithra*, no *Baga/baga* appears" (in Boyce-Grenet 1991, 112 n. 235; cf. Boyce 1981, 72; 1982, 15, 139), it is also true that we should expect a sequence like **a^huramazdā miθra utā бага*, while the actual disposition of the conjunction does not support the direct comparison with a sentence like the one mentioning Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā and Miθra (which appears with Artaxerxes II); see in particular Klein 1988, 389. The argument put forward by M. Boyce (1981, 72) stating that after this sequence we should find a verb in a dual and not in a plural form like the one actually attested (*pātuv*) if the gods here meant were only two, may be correct in an O.P. text of the period of Darius I, while at the time of Artaxerxes III the status of the Old Persian endings was clearly collapsing, in particular in case of the declensions and verbal systems; we stress however that the category of the dual was one of the first to collapse in the Old Iranian languages and in particular in the imperative, whose dual forms are unknown either in Avestan (Kellens 1984, 314) or in Old Persian (Kent 1953, 77). In addition neither is the existence of a new triad (i.e. Ahura Mazdā, Miθra and Baga) contending for the leading role with an old one (i.e. Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā and Miθra) supported by further evidence, nor is the existence of an individual god named Baga clearly attested in Old Persian or in Avestan. I have the impression that in this late inscription we find a new use of *бага*-, placed after the name of the god, which could be a forerunner of the rule attested in Middle Persian. In the earliest O.P. inscriptions *бага*- occurs before or after the name of Ahuramazdā, but never in direct contact with it: see, e.g., *бага vazarka a^huramazdā* . . . in contrastive comparison with *a^huramazdā vazarka haya maθišta bagānām* . . . See Kent 1952, 199. On the problem of the interpretation of *бага*- in Old Iranian onomatology, see Gignoux 1977a, 120-125; 1977b; 1979, 88-90 and *passim*; but cf. Zimmer 1984, 198-206; 1989; Dietz 1978, 111-114, and Schmitt 1991, 111-114, 118-119.

¹¹⁰ On the sentences *a^huramazdā hadā visaibiš багаibiš* and *a^huramazdā utā aniyāha bagāha tayaīy hantiy* (DB 4, 61, 63) see Gnoli 1983 with bibliography.

Old Persian empire it represented the starting point of an ideological reconstruction of a "self-conscience", if not of a prudent self-esteem, based on the greatness of their past tradition but at the same time built on the awareness of the actual situation. Such a formula also means that the ideological link between the royal power and the gods (i.e. the Bagas) was not only maintained, but that many Achaemenid traditions (as far as alluded either in the iconography of the Fratarakas coins, or in the reminiscence of the Old Persian formula in DNa 13-14 as noted by Skjærvø) still existed in the culture of the nobility which survived the humiliation of the Macedonian conquest. We cannot forget that both the political and the artistic language of the Fratarakas – whose auto-denomination derives, as is well attested, from an administrative title of Achaemenid origin – is based on the Old Persian past and on its lore, and that it is mostly in this context that we need to locate the role of the *bayān* glorified on their coins.

REFERENCES

- Agathia Myrineus, 1967. *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*, recensuit R. Keydell (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 2, Berolini).
- Alam, M., 1986. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Bd. 4, *Nomina propria Iranica in nummis. Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen* (Wien).
- Ammianus Marcellinus, 1982. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with an English translation by J. C. Rolfe, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.–London).
- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).
- Bartholomae, Ch., 1920. *Zur Kenntnis der mittelliranischen Mundarten*, vol 3 (SHAW, Heidelberg).
- Bailey, H. W. 1971. *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, 2nd ed. with a new introduction (Oxford).
- Bailey, H. W., 1989. Baga. i. General, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3, ed. E. Yarshater (London–New York), 403-404.
- Bikerman, E., 1938. *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris).
- Bosworth, B., 1999. Augustus, the *Res Gestae* and Hellenistic theories of apotheosis, *The journal of Roman studies* 89, 1-18.
- Bevan, E. R., 1902. *The house of Seleucus* (London; repr. Chicago 1969), 2 vols.
- Boyce, M., 1975. *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Téhéran–Liège).
- Boyce, M., 1981. Varuna the Baga, in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, vol. 1 (Acta Iranica 21, Leiden), 59-72.
- Boyce, M., 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2, *Under the Achaemenians* (Leiden–Köln).
- Boyce, M., Grenet, F., 1991. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3, *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman rule* (Leiden).
- Brandenstein, W., Mayrhofer, M., 1964. *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden).
- Bresciani, E., 1958. La satrapia d'Egitto, *Studi classici e orientali* 7, 132-188.
- Briant, P., 1980. Conquête territoriale et stratégie idéologique: Alexandre le Grand et l'idéologie monarchique achéménide, in *Actes du colloque international sur l'idéologie monarchique dans l'antiquité. Cracove-Mogilany, du 23 au 26 Octobre 1977* (Cracove), 37-83.
- Briant, P., 1982. *Rois, tributs et paysans* (Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 43, Paris).
- Briant, P., 1991. Le roi est mort: vive le roi!, in J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide. Actes du colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987* (Iranica antiqua, Supplément 5, Gent), 1-11.
- Briant, P., 1996. *Histoire de l'empire Perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris).
- Calmeyer, P., 1981. Zur bedingten Göttlichkeit des Großkönigs, *AMI, N.F.*, 14, 55-60.
- Callieri, P., 1998. A proposito di un'iconografia monetale dei dinasti del Fārs post-achemenide, *Ocnus* 6, 25-38.

- Callieri, P., 2001. L'Iran nel periodo macedone e seleucide, *Antica Persia. I tesori del Museo nazionale di Tehran e la ricerca italiana in Iran. Museo nazionale d'arte orientale*. 29 maggio–22 luglio 2001 (Roma), 101–111.
- Carile, A., 1994. *Materiali di storia bizantina* (Bologna).
- Chaumont, M.-L., 1958. Le culte d'Anāhītā à Staxr et les premiers Sassanides, *RHR* 153, 154–175.
- Chaumont, M.-L., 1959. Pāpak, roi de Staxr, et sa cour, *JA* 242, 175–191.
- Christensen, A., 1942. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen).
- Clemen, C., 1920a. *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (Giessen).
- Clemen, C., 1920b. *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae* (Bonn).
- Dietz, A., 1978. Baga and Miōra in Sogdiana, in *Études mithriaques* (Acta Iranica 17, Téhéran–Liège), 11–114.
- Doerfer, G., 1965. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden).
- Dujčev, I., 1966. Il mondo slavo e la Persia nell'Alto Medioevo, *Atti del convegno sul tema: La Persia e il mondo greco-romano (Roma 11–14 aprile 1965)* (Roma), 243–318.
- Frye, R. N., 1983. *The history of ancient Iran* (München).
- Frankfort, H., 1948. *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago).
- Gershevitch, I., 1954. *A grammar of Manichaean Sogdian* (Oxford).
- Gershevitch, I., 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge; repr. 1967).
- Gharib, B., 1995. *Sogdian dictionary. Sogdian-Persian-English* (Tehran).
- Gignoux, Ph., 1972. *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes* (London).
- Gignoux, Ph., 1977a. Le dieu Baga en Iran, *AAAH* 25, 119–127.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1977b. Les noms propres en moyen-perse épigraphique, in Ph. Gignoux et al. (ed.), *Pad nām i yazdān. Etudes d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'histoire de l'Iran ancien* (Paris), 35–100.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1979. Des structure imaginaires du panthéon pré-zoroastrien à l'existence de Baga, in G. Gnoli, A. Rossi (ed.), *Iranica* (Napoli), 365–373.
- Gignoux, Ph., 1991. *Les quatre inscriptions du Mage Kirdir. Textes et concordances* (Paris).
- Gignoux, Ph., Tafazzoli, A., 1993. *Anthologie de Zādspram. Étude critique du texte pehlevi* (Paris).
- Gnoli, G., 1971. Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto i Sassanidi, in *La Persia nel Medioevo. Atti del convegno (Roma 31 marzo–5 aprile 1970)* (Roma), 225–251.
- Gnoli, G., 1974. Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto gli Achemenidi, in *Gururājamañjarikā. Studi in onore di G. Tucci*, vol. 1 (Napoli), 24–88.
- Gnoli, G., 1979. Ašavan. Contributo allo studio del libro di Ardā Virāz, in G. Gnoli, A. Rossi (ed.), *Iranica* (Napoli), 387–552.
- Gnoli, G., 1983. Ahuramazdā e gli altri dēi nelle iscrizioni achemenidi, *Orientalia Romana: essays and lectures*, vol. 5, *Iranian studies* (Roma) 135–45.
- Gnoli, G., 1989. *The idea of Iran. An essay on its origin* (Rome).
- Gnoli, G., 1995. Cosroe dall'Anima Immortale o della doppia felicità, in *Un ricordo che non si spegne. Scritti di docenti e collaboratori dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli in memoria di A. Bausani* (Napoli), 119–146.
- Gnoli, G., 1998. L'Iran tardoantico e la regalità sassanide, *Mediterraneo antico* 1, 115–139.
- Gnoli, G., 1999. Presentazione della storia e identità nazionale nell'Iran antico, in E. Gabba (ed.), *Presentazione e scrittura della storia: storiografia, epigrafia, monumenti. Atti del convegno di Pontignano (aprile 1996)* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 42, Como), 77–99.
- Gnoli, G., 2000. *Zoroaster in history* (Los Angeles).
- Gonda, J., 1969. *Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view*, repr. from *Numen* 3 and 4 with addenda and index, 2nd, photomechanical repr. (Leiden).
- Grenet, F., 1984. *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris).
- Head, B. V., 1911. *Historia numorum* [sic]. *A manual of Greek numismatics*, n. and enl. ed. (Oxford).
- Henning, W. B., 1936. Soghdisch βγ'ʾn-, *ZDMG* 90, 197–199 (repr. in Henning 1977, I 413–415).
- Henning, W. B., 1968. Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen, in *In memoriam Paul Kahle* (Berlin), 138–145 (repr. in Henning 1977, II 659–666).

- Henning, W. B., 1977. *Selected papers* (Acta Iranica 15, Téhéran-Liège), 2 vols.
- Herrenschmidt, C., 1993. Notes de vieux-perse III, *IIJ* 36, 45-50.
- Hinz, W., 1975. *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden).
- Humbach, H., 1988. Herrscher, Gott und Gottessohn in Iran und angrenzenden Ländern, in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschenwerdung Gottes – Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (Freiburg-Göttingen), 91-144.
- Huyse, Ph., 1999. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 3.1.1, London), 2 vols.
- Ito, G., 1976. *Gathica XIV-XV*, *Orient* 12, 47-66.
- Josephson, J., 1997. *The Pahlavi translation technique as illustrated by Hōm Yašt* (Uppsala).
- Justi, F., 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg).
- Kellens, J., 1976. Trois réflexions sur la religion des Achéménides, *SIJ* 2, 113-132.
- Kellens, J., 1984. *Le verbe avestique* (Wiesbaden).
- Kellens, J., 1994. *Le panthéon de l'Avesta ancien* (Wiesbaden).
- Kent, R. G., 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar texts, lexicon*, 2nd ed. (New Haven).
- Klein, J. S., 1988. Coordinate conjunction in Old Persian, *JAOS* 108, 387-417.
- Koch, H., 1988. Herrscher in der Persis unter Seleukiden und Parthern, *Die Welt des Orients* 19, 85-95.
- Kuhn, E., 1912. Zu den arischen Anschauungen vom Königtum, in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig), 214-221.
- Liddell, H. S., Scott, R., 1940. *Greek-English lexicon* (Oxford).
- L'Orange, H. P., 1953. *Studies on the iconography of cosmic kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo; repr. New Rochelle, New York, 1982).
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1971. *A concise Pahlavi dictionary* (London).
- Malamoud, Ch., 1989. *Cuire le monde. Rite et pensée dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris).
- Maricq, A., 1958. La grande inscription de Kaniška . . ., *JA* 246, 345-446.
- Mayrhofer, M., 1956. *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol.1 (Heidelberg).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1973. *Onomastica Persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Wien).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1973. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Bd. 1, *Die altiranischen Namen* (Wien).
- Menander, 1829. *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri Historiarum quae supersunt, e recensione I. Bekkeri et B. G. Niebuhr C.F. cum versione latina per I. Classenum emendata . . .*, pars I (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Bonnae).
- de Menasce, J., 1945. *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IXe siècle. Škand-gumānik Vičar. La solution décisive des doutes. Texte pazand-pehlevie transcrit et commenté* (Fribourg en Suisse).
- de Menasce, J., 1973. *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart* (Paris).
- Naster, P., 1968. Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside: *fratakara*, *frataraka* ou *fratadarā*? *LA* 8, 74-79.
- Nock, A. D., 1961 *Conversion: The old and the new in religion from Alexander the Great to Augustin of Hippo* (Oxford).
- Nöldeke, Th., 1879. *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen versehen* (Leiden; repr. 1973).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1974. *A manual of Pahlavi*, pt. 2: *Glossary* (Wiesbaden).
- Oikonomides, N., 1971. Correspondence between Heraclius and Kavādh-Šīroo in the Paschal Chronicle (628), *Byzantion* 41, 269-281.
- Panaino, A., 1993. Philologia Avestica III, *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie orientale* 32, 135-173.
- Panaino, A., 2000. Manichaean concepts in the Pahlavi commentary of Māh Nyāyīšn, pr. 4.?, in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme (ed.), *Studia Manichaica. IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997* (Berlin), 464-480.
- Panaino, A., 2002. *The lists of names of Ahura Mazdā (Yašt I) and Vayu (Yašt XV)* (Rome).
- Petrus Chrysologus, 1997. *Petri Chrysologi collectio sermonum. Sermones [LXIII-CXXIV]*, ed. A. Olivar (Mediolani-Romae).
- Pettazzoni, R., 1920. *La religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran* (Bologna).
- Pirart, E., 1996. Le sacrifice humain dans l'Avesta, *JA* 284, 1-36.

- Piras, A., 1994-1995. A proposito di antico-persiano *šiyāti*, *Studi orientali e linguistici* 5, 91-97.
- Plutarch, 1926. *Lives. Aratus, Artaxerxes, Galba, Otho*, with an English trans. by B. Perrin (Cambridge, Mass.-London).
- Plutarch, 1961. Plutarque. *Vies*, t. 2, *Solon-Publicola, Thémistocle-Camille*, texte établi et traduit par R. Flacelière, É. Chambry et M. Juneaux (Paris).
- Plutarch, 1979. Plutarque. *Vies*, t. 16, *Artaxerxès-Aratos, Galba, Othon*, texte établi et traduit par R. Flacelière et É. Chambry (Paris).
- Reichelt, H., 1931. *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2. Teil (Heidelberg).
- Rhys Davids, T. W., Stede, W., 1992. *The Pali Text Society's Pali English dictionary* (Oxford).
- Sachau, C. E., 1879. *The Chronology of ancient nations, an English version of the Arabic text Athâr-ul-Bâ-kiya of AlBirûni or 'Vestiges of the Past'* (London).
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., 1983. The Zendan and the Ka'abah, in H. Koch, D. N. MacKenzie (ed.), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (AMI. Ergänzungsband 10, Berlin), 145-151 (English trans. of De Zendan en de Ka'abah, *Phoenix, Bulletin uitgegeven door het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 24, 1978, 30-38).
- Schmitt, R., 1991. Name und Religion. Anthroponomastisches zur Frage der religiösen Verhältnisse des Achämenidenreiches, in J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide. Actes du colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987* (Iranica antiqua, Supplément 5, Gent), 111-135.
- Schwering, W., 1914-1915. *Deus und divus*. Eine semasiologische Studie als Ergänzung zum Artikel *divus* im Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, *IF* 34, 1-43.
- Sellwood, D., 1971. *An introduction to the coinage of Parthia* (London).
- Sellwood, D., 1983. Numismatics, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3.1, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge), 279-321.
- Simonetta, A. M., 1968. La monetazione partica dal 247 al 122 a.C., *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 16, 11-76.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1989. Baga. ii. In Old and Middle Iranian, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3, ed. E. Yarshater (London-New York), 404-405.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1998. Further notes on the Bactrian inscription of Rabatak, with an appendix on the names of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Taktu in Chinese, in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Iranian Studies*, pt. 1, *Old and Middle Iranian studies* (Wiesbaden), 79-92.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1983. Case in Inscriptional Middle Persian, Inscriptional Parthian and the Pahlavi Psalter, *StIr* 12, 69-94.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1987. Aša (= Arta), in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 2, ed. E. Yarshater (London-New York), 694-696.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1993. The earliest datable inscription on a Sasanian bowl: two silver bowls in the J. Paul Getty Museum, *BAI* 7, 181-192.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1997. The joy of the cup: A pre-Sasanian Middle Persian inscription on a silver bowl, *BAI* 11, 93-104.
- Stiehl, R., 1959. Chronologie der Frätadāra, in F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 1. Bd. (Berlin), 375-379.
- Sundermann, W., 1988. *Kē ěhr az yazdān*. Zur Titulatur der Sasanidenkönige, *Archiv orientální* 56, 338-340.
- Theophylact Simocatta, 1834. *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiarum libri octo*, recognovit I. Bekkerus (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Bonnæ).
- Theophylact Simocatta, 1972. *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, edidit C. De Boor, editionem correctiorem curavit explicationibusque recentioribus adornavit P. Wirth (Stuttgartiae).
- Theophylact Simocatta, 1986. *The Historiae of Theophylact Simocatta*, an English trans. with introduction and notes by Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford; repr. 1997).
- Theophylact Simocatta, 1985. Theophylaktos Simokates. *Geschichte*, übersetzt und erläut. von P. Schreiner (Stuttgart).
- Van Genneep, A., 1960. *The rites of passage* (Chicago).
- Vergier, A., 1965. *Ricerche giuridiche sui papiri aramaici di Elefantina* (Roma).
- Weissbach, F. H., 1911. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig).

- Welles, C. B., 1934. *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period: a study in Greek epigraphy* (New Haven).
- von Wesendonk, O. G., 1933. *Das Weltbild der Iranier* (München).
- Will, E., 1982. *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, 2ème éd. rev. et augmentée (Nancy), 2 vols.
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1991a. *PRTRK, RB ḫYL', SGN und MR'*. Zur Verwaltung Südägyptens in achaimenidischer Zeit, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (ed.), *Achaemenid history VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: old cultures in a new empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Leiden), 305-309.
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1991b. Beobachtungen zu den religiösen Verhältnisse in der Persis in frühhellenistischer Zeit, in J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide. Actes du colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987* (Iranica Antiqua, Supplément 5, Gent), 129-135.
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1994. *Die "dunklen Jahrhunderte" der Persis. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-149 v.Chr.)* (Zetemata 90, München).
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1996. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, trans. A. Azodi (London–New York).
- Wiesehöfer, J., 1998. *Das antike Persien. Von 550 v.Chr. bis 650 n.Chr.*, Neuaufl. (Düsseldorf–Zürich).
- Wolski, J., 1993. *L'empire des Arsacides* (Acta Iranica 32, Leiden).
- Wroth, W., 1903. *British Museum catalogue. Parthia* (London).
- Zimmer, S., 1984. Iran. *baga*- ein Gottesname?, *MSS* 43, 187-215.
- Zimmer, S., 1989. *Baga*. iii. The use of *baga* in names, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 3, ed. E. Yarshater (London–New York), 405-406.

Éric Pirart

Le troisième chapitre (*karde*) du *Hōm Stōm* (Y 11) ‘Éloge de Hauma’ est fait de trois ensembles: une théorie de la malédiction (Y 11.1-3); une autre concernant la part réservée à Hauma de la victime sacrificielle (Y 11.4-7); un dernier ensemble (Y 11.8-10) fait de bric et de broc. Vient enfin une double récitation du *Vahišta* (Y 11.11), qui n’appartient pas au texte, mais sert à le clôturer. Les trois chapitres du *HS* (Y 9-11) comptent ainsi respectivement 32, 21 et 10 paragraphes. Or $32 = (3 \times 11) - 1$; $21 = (2 \times 11) - 1$; $10 = (1 \times 11) - 1$. Comme on verra, cette figure arithmologique n’est pas le fruit du hasard.

Dans la troisième partie du troisième chapitre du *HS*, Zarat-ushtra va prendre la parole, mais deux morceaux insérés, le premier en *nāmō haomāi* (Y 11.8) ‘Hommage à Hauma!’, le second logomachique² (Y 11.9), repoussent ses mots plus avant dans le texte (Y 11.10):

8. Alors Zarat-ushtra dit: [Hommage à Hauma que Mazdā a mis en place! (C’est) le Vahu Hauma que Mazdā a mis en place. Hommage à Hauma!]³

9. [Le seul qui nous. Elles deux pour toi. Pour protéger. De Tura. Pour comprendre. Le lait. Il honore. Pour arriver. Ou le seigneur. Au cours de la cérémonie. Nous qui avons pris place devant vous.]⁴

10. “Ô Hauma, toi que l’harmonie accompagne, toi qui as l’harmonie pour véhicule, je te livre mon corps qui a bel aspect: tu (me le) prépareras, ô Hauma, à l’ivresse, à la meilleure existence et au statut d’harmonieux. Puisses-tu m’accorder, ô Hauma Durausha, toi que l’harmonie accompagne, l’existence excellente, lumineuse, toute faite de bien-être, qui est réservée aux harmonieux!”⁵

¹ Cet article est la révision d’une section de l’Introduction de feu mon *Hōm Stōm* (voir Pirart 2001, n. *).

² Voir Kellens, *VA* 350. C’est ici précisément, entre Y 11.8 et 11.9, que la liturgie longue vient insérer *Vr* 3.1-5. Ce *karde* du *Visprad* n’a par son contenu rien à voir avec le *HS*. L’insertion est dictée par la réalité rituelle extra-textuelle que c’est le moment où le Zautar va consommer le sacrifice de Hauma. Pour que le sacrifice profite à la communauté, il faut qu’elle soit tout entière présente ou soit supposée l’être. C’est pourquoi le Zautar appelle successivement toutes les classes de la société, en commençant par les sept prêtres invisibles qui l’assistent dans la personne du Rāspi et qui viennent à tour de rôle se mettre à la place qui leur est assignée par leurs fonctions (Darmesteter, *ZA* I 452).

³ *daŋ aoxta zaraθuštrō :: nāmō haomāi mazdādātāi :: vanhuš haomō mazdādātō :: nāmō haomāi* ° °.

⁴ Pour le texte et les explications, voir plus bas.

⁵ Pour le texte, voir plus bas. Je corrige *haomāi* en **haoma* voc. et *θbaxšāi* en **θbaxšā* ou en **θbaxšāi* 2ème sg. act. ou moy. subj. prés. de *√θbaxš* ‘préparer (acc.) à dat.’ pour y voir un subjonctif consécutif. Il s’agirait de fautes par anticipation sur la finale des mots qui suivent. Cette analyse, qui suppose qu’il n’y a pas de jointure secondaire due à un collage entre *huraoda* et *θbaxšāi*, m’est suggérée par la traduction pehlevie: d’une part, le rendu de *θbaxšāi* par *kū tā-mān bavād* ‘so that we may have’ (trad. Josephson 1997) invite à y reconnaître un subjonctif consécutif et, d’autre part, l’absence de traduction pour le vocatif *haomāi* s’explique par le fait que ‘(pour que) tu puisses (me le) préparer’ est devenu ‘so that we may have’, c’est-à-dire par la disparition du point d’ancrage. Une autre possibilité est d’admettre une construction en triple datif après *pairi* + *√dā* ‘livrer acc. à dat. pour le préparer (dat.) à dat.’ en faisant de *θbaxšā*- un nom d’action. *ašauua* nominatif est à corriger en **ašāum* vocatif.

11. [= Y 27.14] (2 ×).⁶

Le paragraphe qui contient le *nāmah* (= les phrases en *nāmō haomāi*) est identique à la première moitié du Y 10.17, mais les paroles annoncées par *ātaḥ aoxta zaraθuštrō* 'Alors Zarat-ushttra dit' sont bien à reconnaître dans le Y 11.10 puisque ce paragraphe est à plus d'un titre parallèle au Y 10.14, qui est aussi un discours de Zarat-ushttra. On ne voit pourtant pas bien ici l'utilité de rappeler partiellement les mots du Y 10.14, même si la teneur de ce rappel, certes d'une grande portée religieuse, montre des extensions. Autre anomalie: l'incise d'un *nāmah* et d'une logomachie entre l'annonce des mots de Zarat-ushttra et ces derniers. En réalité, le Y 11.10 est la juxtaposition originale ou secondaire d'une partie du Y 10.14 (*pairi tē haoma ašāum ašauuāzō dadqmi imam tanūm yā mē vaēnaite huraōda*), de deux éléments inconnus par ailleurs (*θbaxšāi haomāi maδāi hauuanḥāi ašauuastāi* : et *pairi mē tūmciṭ daiiā haoma *ašāum dūraōša*) et d'un morceau qui se retrouve en A 1.12 (*vahištām ahūm ašaonqam raocanḥam vīspō.xāθrām*). Il est malaisé de se prononcer sur le degré d'originalité de cette juxtaposition d'une phrase tirée du Y 10.14 et de telles extensions.

Pour comprendre pourquoi le troisième chapitre du *HS* s'achève par ce rappel des mots de Zarat-ushttra et pourquoi, de surcroît, deux morceaux hétérogènes forment des incises entre l'annonce introductrice de ces mots et les mots eux-mêmes, il faut, à mon sens, se pencher sur la place qu'occupe le *HS* dans le *Yasna*. On remarquera que le *HS* y est à la fois précédé et suivi de l'ensemble de formules précatives connu par son incipit *vasasca* (Y 8.5-8; 11.12-14): il est clairement balisé. Si ce n'est pas la seule balise utilisée puisque le *Vahišta* est présent au Y 8.9 et au Y 11.11,12, ce ne sont pas non plus les seules occurrences du *vasasca* dans le *Yasna*: il peut être retrouvé à la fin ou vers la fin des *hād* (av. *hāiti-*) ou sections 52, 60, 68 et 71. Or il se fait que la distribution des *hād* entre les *vasasca* (1-8, 9-11, 12-52, 53-60, 61-68, 69-71, 72) n'est pas quelconque: sept groupements de *hād* dont les quantités sont 8 + 3 + 41 + 8 + 8 + 3 + 1, visiblement un jeu de 8 et de 3 autour du nombre premier 41 et complété de l'unité.⁷ Il s'ensuit que le nombre 3 qui correspond à la quantité de chapitres que compte le *HS* peut avoir dicté cette quantité. Cela signifie que le nombre original de chapitres dans le *HS* n'était peut-être pas 3, que l'on se livrait secondairement à des divisions ou que l'on opérât un collage en vue d'y arriver.

Le schéma 8 + 3 + 41 + 8 + 8 + 3 + 1, s'il a bien été voulu et n'est pas le fruit du hasard, est l'indication que le *HS* n'avait dans l'Avesta probablement aucun contact avec ce qui, dans cette collection d'origine rituelle qu'est le *Yasna*,⁸ le précède et le suit. Cependant, les énumérations préparatrices du sacrifice (Y 1-8)⁹ qui précèdent le *HS* (Y 9-11) sont comparables par leur contenu à celles (Y 14-18) que l'on trouve devant le *Bagān Yašt* (Y 19-21) lui aussi fait de trois *hād*. On sait par le *Dēnkard* que le *Bagān Yašt* formait les trois premiers chapitres du *Bag Nask* qui en comptait 22.¹⁰ Alors que, grâce à ces trois premiers

⁶ Sur le *Vahišta* (Y 27.14), voir Pirart 1987, 212 sq.

⁷ Soit 11 + 41 + 20. Sur le nombre 20, voir Pirart 1995, 65 sqq.

⁸ Voir Kellens 1998, 479 sqq.

⁹ Voir Kellens 1996.

¹⁰ Voir Darmesteter, ZA III xi.

chapitres, trois textes courts et particulièrement vénérés (*Ahuna*, *Vahišta*, *Yejhē hātām*) sont commentés, les commentaires des *Gāthā*, du *Yasna Haptanhāiti* et de l'*Airiāman*, textes tout aussi vénérables, ne sont pas donnés. Le caractère arbitraire du dépeçage de l'Avesta est ainsi assez manifeste: l'arithmétique rituelle a primé sur le contenu, et le *Bagān Yašt* n'a que trois *hād* parce que la préoccupation arithmologique lui a imposé cette quantité. C'est sans nul doute le même souci qui a donné au *HS* sa quantité de trois chapitres.

Cependant, à la différence du *Bagān Yašt* dont le contenu n'évoque en rien le rituel du *Yasna*, le *HS* est lié à cette cérémonie sacrificielle en ce que le Hauma dont il traite en est la matière sacrificielle clé. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le *HS* ne compte jamais que trois *hād*, ce qui, à première vue, est peu quand on sait que ce texte traite d'une matière sacrificielle aussi fondamentale que le Hauma. Cependant, le *HS* finit avec un ensemble hétérogène de paragraphes (*Y* 11.8-10): je crois qu'il n'est pas téméraire d'avancer que, s'il en est ainsi, c'est qu'un diascévaste a cherché à avoir trois chapitres et à donner au dernier une longueur en harmonie avec celles des deux autres: $32 = (3 \times 11) - 1$; $21 = (2 \times 11) - 1$; $10 = (1 \times 11) - 1$. Sans doute le matériel qui était à sa disposition pour constituer le troisième chapitre ne comptait-il donc que sept paragraphes (*Y* 11.1-7) et l'a-t-il augmenté comme il a pu en répétant un paragraphe (*Y* 10.14 > *Y* 11.10) dont il jugeait la teneur d'une grande portée et en y introduisant, d'abord, un *nāmah* (*Y* 10.17 > *Y* 11.8)¹¹ et, ensuite, le produit logomachique de la collecte de quelques mots gāthiques (*Y* 11.9). Il n'est même pas exclu que le *HS* primitif n'ait compté que deux chapitres: un indice en serait qu'un *Hōm Yašt* (*Y* 10.21 = *Yt* 20.2) termine le *Y* 10. D'autre part, le verbe $\sqrt{stu}$ qui doit caractériser les *Stōm* (ou *Stōd*) de la même manière que $\sqrt{yaz}$ est le verbe emblématique des *Yašt*,¹² bien présent dans les deux premiers chapitres du *HS*,¹³ est absent du troisième qui ne mérite donc pas le titre de *Stōm*. Le diascévaste doit avoir rassemblé deux morceaux relatifs au Hauma (*Y* 11.1-3 et *Y* 11.4-7) afin d'augmenter le *HS* d'un chapitre, mais, comme cela ne faisait pas le compte voulu, il y a ajouté la reprise d'une phrase du deuxième chapitre et placé en incise un hommage à Hauma et la fameuse logomachie. Les étapes du collage dont le troisième chapitre du *HS* serait issu pourraient être les suivantes:

I.

"Les trois malédictions" + "La part réservée de la victime" = A.

IIa.

$\bar{a}a\bar{t}$ aoxta zaraθuštrō (= *Y* 10.17a)

+ (*Y* 10.14c + θβaxšāi . . . + pairi mē tūmcit . . . + *A* 1.12b) = B.

IIb.

B + *nāmah* (= *Y* 10.17b) = C (= *Y* 11.8-10).

IIc.

A + C = **HS* 3.

¹¹ Ce n'est pas la seule introduction secondaire d'un *nāmah* dans le *HS*: *Y* 9.16, 10.13, 17. Aux *Y* 9.16 et 10.17, le *nāmah* suit aussi la phrase $\bar{a}a\bar{t}$ aoxta zaraθuštrō.

¹² Voir Pirart 1997, 377 sq.

¹³ Le verbe simple: *Y* 9.2, 10.3, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6; préverbe: *Y* 9.2, 10.2, 2, 7, 17, 19; les noms tirés de cette racine: *Y* 9.2, 10.6, 9, 9, 18.

III.

*HS 3 + le *Vahišta* (2 ×) = HS 3.

L'examen du contenu de la logomachie nous apporte une confirmation de la recherche diascévastique du nombre onze: c'est la succession d'onze courts extraits gâthiques d'un à trois mots qui, par leur sonorité, évoquent les nombres de 1 à 11. En dehors de cela, mis bout à bout, ces mots n'offrent aucun sens:

yō nō aēuuō ^v *aṭ tē uiīē* ^v *θrāīiō.dīīāi* ^v *tūrahe* ^v *maṇdāidīiāi* ^v *xšuuīdēm* ^v *hapti* ^v *āzdiīāi*
^v *nauua* ^v *dasēmē* ^v *yōi vā yaēθma* °°°

Dans cette logomachie de termes gâthiques,¹⁴ plusieurs mots sont donnés selon une graphie récente ou, du moins, distincte de celle à laquelle nous sommes habitués: *yō nō* . . . *uiīē* . . . *tūrahe* . . . *nauua* . . . *yaēθma*. Ceci suppose que les *Gāθā* ont été "éditées" (récitées, transmises) sous plusieurs "orthographe" (selon plusieurs types de dictionnaires ou traditions liturgiques). Étant donné le problème des graphies concurrentes,¹⁵ relever le fait n'est certes pas inutile, mais les données paraissent brouillées puisque la graphie de *nō* dans *yō nō aēuuō* contraste avec celle de *vā* dans *yōi vā yaēθma*.

Chaque morceau évoque un nombre:¹⁶ de 1 à 11. La provenance de ces onze morceaux est vieil-avestique:¹⁷

1. Y 29.8 *yō nō aēuuō* contient *aēuuō* 'seul, unique', c'est-à-dire 'un';¹⁸
2. Y 34.11 *aṭ tē ubē* contient *ubē* 'elles deux';¹⁹
3. Y 34.5 *θrāīiō.dīīāi* évoque *θrāīiō* 'trois';
4. Y 46.12 *tūrahīiā* appartient à *tūra-* 'Quartus' (andronyme);
5. Y 44.8 *maṇdāidīiāi* évoque *pañca* 'cinq';
6. Y 29.7 *xšuuīdēm*²⁰ évoque *xšuuas* 'six';
7. Y 31.22 *hapti* évoque *hapta* 'sept';
8. Y 51.17 *āzdiīāi*²¹ évoque *ašta* 'huit';²²
9. Y 35.6 *nā vā* évoque *nauua* 'neuf';
10. Y 28.9 *dasēmē* évoque *dasēma-* 'dixième';

¹⁴ *maṇdāidīiāi* est, en principe, à corriger en *maṇdāidīiāi*. *θrāīiōdīiāi* est logiquement à corriger en *θrāīiō.dīiāi*. *haptāzdiīāi* est probablement l'univerbation corrompue de *hapti āzdiīāi*: dans *haptiāzdiīāi*, les cinq jambages successifs qui regroupent °iīā° ont dû être mal répartis comme le montre la leçon majoritaire *haptāi* (.)*zdiīāi*. *dasme* peut se corriger en *dasēmē*.

¹⁵ Kellens-Pirart, *TVA* I 51 sqq.

¹⁶ *Neriyosangh dviguṇa-*, *triguṇa-*, etc. (voir Unvala 1924).

¹⁷ Donnés selon Kellens-Pirart, *TVA* sauf indication (°).

¹⁸ Curieusement, les mots *yō nō*, inutiles, ont pourtant été repris.

¹⁹ Curieusement, les mots *aṭ tē*, inutiles, ont pourtant été repris, à moins que, par le biais de la graphie *aṭ tē uiīē*, la citation n'ait évoqué non *ubē*, mais *duīē* 'deux'.

²⁰ La particule enclitique °cā n'a pas été reprise dans la citation.

²¹ Ce mot est probablement l'infinitif aoriste radical en *-dīiāi* de *√¹nas* (Humbach, *Ga* I 64; voir Kellens-Pirart, *TVA* III 262).

²² L'évocation du nombre huit a été repérée par le traducteur pehlevi, mais les exégètes modernes sont curieusement passés à côté. Josephson dit ainsi que "The word for 'eight' is missing in the original but it has been supplied in Phl. as *haštrīn* 'eightfold'".

11. Y 28.9 *yōi vā yōiθāmā* évoque *aēuuāṇdasa-* ‘onzième’.²³

Le *Yasna Haptaṇhāiti* a été ignoré pour manquer de mots utiles,²⁴ mais si l’on se réfère à d’autres collections de mots comme celles qui passent pour des noms d’Ahura Mazdā (*Yt* 1) ou de Vāyu (*Yt* 15) et comme celle qui se déduit des noms de Saushyant et d’autres personnages (*astuuat.ərəta-* < Y 43.16 *astuuat. ašəm*; *vīduš.aša-* < Y 45.8 *vīduš ašā*; *uxšīiat.ərəta-* < ?; *uxšīiat.nəmah-* < ?; *srūta.fədrī-* < Y 30.2 *sraotā* [?]; *vanhu.fədrī-* < v.-av. *vohu-/vanhu-*; *ərədat.fədrī-* < Y 50.11 *arədat*), force est d’envisager qu’il y eut primitivement d’autres textes utiles que les *Gāθā* ou le *Yasna Haptaṇhāiti*. Dès lors, le travail de dresser la liste du Y 11.9 est probablement d’une date plus tardive que celui de ces autres listes, voire de la même époque que la constitution du troisième chapitre du *HS*, c’est-à-dire de celle-là même de l’établissement de la collection du *Yasna*.

Un bon indice de cette époque tardive est que, dans *yōi vā yōiθāmā*, le second *y* et le *θ* correspondent respectivement à *d* et à *s* de *aēuuāṇdasa-*: cela rappelle que les signes pehlevi pour *y* et *d* sont identiques et que *gāθā-* est en pehlevi écrit *g’s*. Le diascévaste, en plaçant pratiquement au terme du *HS* cette logomachie dont il est sans doute l’auteur, a voulu marquer le coup et souligner que ce qui a guidé son travail d’arrangeur du *HS* était une figure arithmologique basée sur le nombre 11. Il est pourtant curieux, vu la datation tardive à donner de la confection du corpus du *Yasna* et de ladite liste – fin des Arsacides ou début des Sassanides –, que le traducteur pehlevi n’ait plus reconnu l’évocation du nombre 11. Il faut nécessairement penser que la tradition sacerdotale a dû perdre le bagage que ladite liste évoquait les nombres jusqu’à 11. De quand date donc la traduction pehlevie?

L’importance du nombre onze²⁵ est bien connue: la diascévase des *Gāθā* y a eu recours²⁶ et les chapitres de plusieurs livres de l’Avesta tel que le *Dēnkard* le décrit étaient au nombre de deux onzaines.²⁷ L’importance accordée à ce nombre se retrouve dans le Veda, où les Deva sont trois onzaines (*RS* 1.34.11, 1.139.11, 8.39.9, 8.59.2, 9.92.4) et où l’on demande aux dieux de placer en l’épouse dix fils et de faire de son mari l’onzième (*RS* 10.85.45). La diascévase des plus vieux *maṇḍala* de la *RS* elle aussi conserve des traces d’un recours au nombre onze: dans le troisième *maṇḍala*, les hymnes 3-8 comptent chacun

²³ Cette dernière évocation n’a été reconnue ni par le traducteur pehlevi ni par les exégètes modernes (voir Unvala 1924, 94 n. a).

²⁴ Les critères du choix des mots gāthiques évocateurs des nombres de un à onze ne sont pas toujours limpides: pour “deux”, Y 34.11 *aī tē ubē* a été préféré à Y 45.1 *daibitīm* ‘le deuxième (état)’; pour “cinq”, Y 44.8 *məṇḍaidiīāi*, à e. g. Y 44.7 *spəntā* ‘grâce à l’(opinion que tu es) informé’; pour “sept”, Y 31.22 *haptī*, à Y 32.3 *haptaiθē* ‘dans le septième (secteur)’; pour “huit”, Y 51.17 *āždiiāi*, à Y 51.12 *aštō* ‘arrivé’; pour “dix”, Y 28.9 *dasəmē*, à Y 44.18 *dasā* ‘dix’. La recherche de formes rares a peut-être guidé certains choix: deux infinitifs en *diīāi*!

²⁵ Le nombre 11 est mentionné quatre fois dans l’Avesta (*V* 1.13; *V* 14.9; *Yt* 1.8; *Yt* 19.2), mais c’est toujours de façon anodine.

²⁶ Kellens–Pirart, *TVA* I 15 sq.

²⁷ Le *Stūḍgar Nask*, le *Varštmānsr Nask*, le *Bag Nask* et le *Vidēvdād Nask*, au moins eux, comptaient chacun 22 chapitres (voir Darmesteter, *ZA* III xi; *ZA* II vii). Le *Hādōxt Nask* commençait par onze chapitres consacrés à l’*Ahuna* (voir Darmesteter, *ZA* II 646 sq.).

onze strophes, mais, pour 5, 6 et 7, c'est, chaque fois, au prix de l'addition d'une seule et même strophe qui fait office de sceau familial;²⁸ la situation est du même type, dans le quatrième *maṇḍala*, pour les hymnes 19-24 qui n'ont chacun onze strophes que grâce à la reprise d'une même strophe finale.²⁹

L'hendécacatropisme diascévastique pourrait donc remonter à l'époque proto-indo-iranienne.

ABRÉVIATIONS ET RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

A = *Āfrinagān* (Avesta).

Darmesteter, *ZA* = J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta. Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique* (Paris 1892, 1892, 1893, repr. 1960), 3 vol.

HS = *Hōm Stōm*.

Humbach, *Ga* = H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (Heidelberg 1959) 2 vol.

Josephson, J., 1997. *The Pahlavi translation technique as illustrated by Hōm Yašt* (Uppsala).

Kellens, *VA* = J. Kellens, *Le verbe avestique* (Wiesbaden 1984).

Kellens, J., 1996. Commentaire sur les premiers chapitres du Yasna, *JA* 284, 37-108.

Kellens, J., 1998. Considérations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta, *JA* 286, 451-519.

Kellens-Pirart, *TVA* = J. Kellens, É. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* (Wiesbaden 1988, 1990, 1991), 3 vol.

Pirart, É., 1987. Deux notes indo-iraniennes, *AION* 47, 209-213.

Pirart, É., 1995. Les noms des Perses, *JA* 283, 57-68.

Pirart, É., 1997. Avestique *yašta*, *JA* 285, 363-379.

Pirart, É., 2000. *Les Nāsatya*, vol. 2, *Traduction commentée des strophes consacrées aux Ašvin dans les maṇḍala II-V de la Ṛgvedasamhitā* (Genève).

Pirart, É., 2001. Avestique §, *JA* 289, 87-146.

RS = *Ṛgvedasamhitā*.

Unvala, J. M., 1924. *Neryosangh's Sanskrit version of the Hōm Yašt (Yasna IX-XI), with the original Avesta and its Pahlavi version. Translated with copious notes and a glossarial index* (Vienna).

V = *Vidēvdād* (Avesta).

Vr = *Visprad* (Avesta).

Y = *Yasna* (Avesta).

Yt = *Yašt* (Avesta).

²⁸ Voir Pirart 2000, 64.

²⁹ Voir Pirart 2000, 103.

Andrea Piras

Agli esordi della attività scientifica di Gherardo Gnoli si possono individuare alcuni temi centrali divenuti poi ricorrenti nella sua ulteriore produzione di studioso, come appunto il simbolismo della luce, testimoniato in un lavoro iniziale e in successive ricerche sullo *x'arənah-*, sul cosiddetto "Aryan mysticism", sulla Daēnā, e sulla geografia mitico-simbolica dello zoroastrismo che costituisce lo spazio e il paesaggio in cui le ierofanie luminose si manifestano. La figura dell'aurora, trattata nel volume sul Sistan e negli studi in memoria di Alessio Bombaci, non è certo sfuggita alle sue capacità di analisi e di cauta suggestione, a cui queste poche pagine intendono dare omaggio.

Quando si esaminano le ricorrenze avestiche dell'Aurora si rimane sorpresi nel constatare quale differenza vi sia tra Ušah e la sua omologa vedica, Uṣas, che vanta una ventina di inni a lei dedicati, più una serie notevole di occorrenze sparse in testi propri di altre divinità: a confronto dell'Uṣas vedica la Ušah avestica appare fortemente indebolita ed evanescente, senza un componimento importante a lei dedicato. In realtà vi sono poi dei testi che per sostituzione rappresentano l'aurora, anche se dissimulata in nomi differenti ma le cui funzioni, attributi e contesti esprimono una tipologia aurorale. Tuttavia, questo lavoro di lettura in filigrana e l'individuazione di passi e descrizioni che alludono ad Ušah sotto mentite spoglie, non cancellano l'esiguità di questa figura, oscurata e sostituita da altre divinità luminose più trionfanti, come Miθra¹ e il suo corteo di alleati celesti (Cistā, Daēnā, Aši) che in alcuni casi possono rivelare dei tratti aurorali.²

Le occorrenze del vocabolo *uṣah-* sono molto limitate e si trovano in sporadici passi avestici (*Y.* 44.5, *Yt.* 14.20, *Yt.* 5.62, *Yt.* 15.55, *Yt.* 8.35, *Vd.* 21.3, *Vd.* 13.1, *Vd.* 18.15, *G.* 5.5, *FrW.* 10.41, *FiO.* 27b) all'interno dei quali il nome dell'aurora non corrisponde sempre alla divinità in sé e per sé, ad una Ušah omologa di Uṣas, ma al momento dell'aurora, in senso cronologico di ora propizia al compiersi di determinate cerimonie, di sezione temporale, detta *uṣahina-*, o di direzione spaziale (*uṣastara-* 'oriente'). Sono ben pochi gli attributi dell'Aurora avestica, se pretendiamo di comprendere questa entità luminosa solo nel suo nome Ušah e se non ci muoviamo nella direzione di suoi sostituti, come Cistā e Daēnā che esprimono quelle fattezze muliebri tipiche della Uṣas vedica, oltre a quelle caratteristiche di guide, di rivelatrici del cammino, che rendono importante la manifestazione aurorale per il suo ruolo di segnalazione di un percorso altrimenti, e precedentemente, oscurato dalle tenebre. Ed è proprio questa oscillazione tra notte e giorno che può costituire un motivo di

¹ Ad esempio, come notava Benveniste, il carro di Uṣas provvisto di ogni ornamento (*višvapiš-* + *ratha-* di *RV* 7.75.6) diviene nell'Avesta il carro (*vāṣa-*) di Miθra in *Yt.* 10.24: è evidente una comune fraseologia indo-iranica, anche se av. *vāṣa-* sostituisce un più antico *raθa-* (= ved. *ratha-*), il che non intacca la simmetria degli epiteti e la loro funzionalità in rapporto a divinità luminose (Benveniste 1968, 76).

² L'aspetto aurorale della Daēnā e il suo legame con Cistā è stato recentemente studiato da Jean Kellens (1994).

inquietudine. Lo statuto ontologico dell'aurora, così a margine tra i due mondi della luce e dell'oscurità, deve essere stato percepito dalla mentalità arcaica come una condizione di ambivalenza, se non di ambiguità: infatti l'Aurora è una divinità ambigua, come pure l'aurora in quanto momento, sezione temporale, fase di passaggio tra una condizione ed un'altra, spesso dai contorni sfumati, dove l'una si stempera nell'altra e dove l'una conserva in fondo un aspetto, seppur minimo, di ciò che l'ha preceduta. Tale è il senso di epiteti vedici come il composto *uṣāśā-nāktā* 'notte e aurora' o del duale *uṣāśā* 'notte e aurora' che denotano questo coefficiente di alterità presente nella dialettica degli opposti, studiata, nel caso dell'Aurora, da Giancarlo Montesi (1953-1954; 1957) e da Coomaraswamy (1978, 85-88). Molto acutamente Coomaraswamy ha parlato di un "Darker Side of Dawn" per definire questa ambivalenza di una entità che può essere sia benefica che sinistra e "serpentina" per il suo retrocedere nell'oscurità ed essere così, talvolta, più partecipe della notte che dell'avanzare delle luci: e questo specialmente nel periodo invernale, quando l'oscurità sovrasta la luce e l'Aurora ritarda la sua progressione, al punto da richiedere l'intervento demiurgico di Indra che in certi racconti mitologici la mette in fuga per agevolare la comparsa del sole (Lazzeroni 1985, 214). Questa ambivalenza dell'Aurora deve aver certo determinato una attenuazione del suo ruolo e delle sue funzioni, non meno che del suo nome, nella corrispettiva letteratura avestica, motivando una traslazione dei suoi attributi alla équipe mithriaca e a Miθra stesso, come si è detto più sopra. E del resto, questa natura ambigua non è certo relegata solo all'area indo-iranica, ma è comune anche ad altri testi che illustrano come una originaria ambiguità aurorale possa essere stata marcata negativamente.³ Una prima constatazione di questa disparità tra milieu vedico e iranico per ciò che riguarda la simmetria *Uṣas-Uṣah* ci è data da un epiteto caratteristico della cultura vedica come *duhitār- divāh* 'figlia del cielo' che non ha un corrispettivo avestico **duyðar- diiaoš*, certo per il fatto che l'hapax *diiau-* (*Yt.* 3. 13)⁴ appartiene alla sfera del vocabolario daevico (contro il cielo ahurico, *asman-*): *pauruua.naēmāṭ patat diiaoš daēuuanəm draoijštō anrō mainiiuṣ pouru. mahrkō* 'Anra Mainiiu qui a beaucoup de mort, le plus trompeur des démons, se précipite devant le ciel' (Kellens 1974, 402). *Uṣah* non ha nemmeno contrassegni di familiarità con altri dèi e la terminologia patrilineare è concentrata su Ahura Mazdā che è il padre di Ārmaiti (*Y.* 45.4) e di Aṣi (*Yt.* 17.2): nel caso di quest'ultima, il suo carattere di divinità che elargisce benefici, di auriga di Miθra e di manifestazione di bellezza e radiosità può costituire uno di quei casi di assimilazione dei tratti di una originaria Aurora indo-iranica in una elaborazione mitologica secondaria, attenta a prevenire le ambiguità di questo fenomeno inquadrandolo nel sistema mitologico di una divinità suprema come Miθra.

Nella struttura iterativa dei formulari dello *Yasna* 44, il refrain 'questo io ti domando, rispondimi veracemente o Ahura' (*taṭ θβā pārāsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahura*) si inserisce in uno

³ Come nel caso del bulgaro *εοφφορικυ* 'satanico, demoniaco' (= neo-greco *εὐσφορικὸς*) per una interpretazione biblica dei LXX, dove *εὐσφόρος*, nome della Stella del Mattino, diviene epiteto del Principe delle Tenebre, per una dequalifica semantica dovuta a implicazioni religiose (Bernard 1989, 242-243).

⁴ Ma la differenziazione potrebbe essere già stata insita nel patrimonio indoeuropeo e indo-iranico anteriore alla separazione, come ci illustra il greco *Διὸς θυγάτηρ* che non è un epiteto di Eos, in quanto ella non è figlia di Zeus, ma di Helios (Schmitt 1967, 172-173).

schema di perorazione sui quesiti fondamentali dell'esistenza, su 'chi ha stabilito il cammino del sole e delle stelle' (Y. 44.3: *kasnā x̥əng strēmca dāt aduūānəm*) o su chi abbia posto l'alternanza tra giorno e tenebre, sonno e veglia:

taṭ θβā pārāsā əraš mōi vaocā ahurā kē huuāpā⁵ raocāscā dāt tēmāscā kē huuāpā⁵ x̥afnəmcā dāt zāēmācā kē yā ušā arēm. piθβā xšapācā yā manaoθrīš cazdōḡhuuantəm arəθahiiā 'Questo ti domando, rispondimi veracemente, o Ahura: quale artigiano ha posto le luci e le tenebre? Quale artigiano ha posto il sonno e la veglia? Per mezzo di chi l'aurora, il mezzogiorno e la notte fanno pensare chi è desideroso all'oggetto del desiderio?' (Y. 44.5).

L'aurora compare qui in un contesto demitologizzato, dove l'enfasi centrata sull'opera creatrice dell'artigiano (*huuāpah-*) relega in secondo piano i momenti cronologici del mattino, del mezzogiorno e della sera che svolgono un ruolo unicamente temporale di opposizioni (luce-tenebra; sonno-veglia) che ritmano la vita quotidiana come segnali che fanno pensare (*manaotar-*) alle pratiche culturali espresse dal termine *arəθa-* (= vedico *ārtha-*). La fase delle prime luci dell'aurora è quindi uno dei momenti necessari per la scansione di ogni attività e di quelle prescrizioni rituali che si eseguono giornalmente: in questa economia rituale l'aurora, qui in un senso temporale e non mitologico, svolge un ruolo di "indice", di segnale che rivela al sacrificatore il tempo della performance. Anche l'aurora vedica esercita questa funzione di segnale (*ketu-*): più specificamente è il 'segnale del sacrificio' (*yajñāsya ketūr*, RV 1.113.19) che mette in evidenza il sole, il sacrificio e il fuoco: RV 7.80.2 *prācikitat sūryam yajñām agnīm* 'elle a rendu distinctifs le soleil, le sacrifice et le feu' (Renou 1957, 101).⁵

Comunque, anche se Y. 44.5 è l'unica attestazione di *ušah-* nei testi antico-avestici, bisogna aggiungere che vi sono altri contesti in cui il momento delle prime luci aurorali che annunciano il giorno è denotato per riferimenti indiretti:

kadā mazdā yōi uxšānō asnəm aṇhəuš darəθrāi frō ašahiiā frārəntē vərəzdāiš səṇghāiš saosiiantəm xratuuō 'quando, o Mazdā, avanzeranno i tori dei giorni, i *xratu-* dei Saošyant, per sostenere con feconde definizioni l'esistenza di Aša?' (Y. 46.3).

L'espressione 'tori dei giorni' (*uxšānō asnəm*) è costruita secondo la simmetria del chiasmo, in incrocio con 'i *xratu-* dei Saošyant' (*saošiiantəm xratuuō*), in uno schema analogo a quello di Y. 50.10, dove 'le luci del sole' (*raocā x̥əng*) intrattengono il medesimo tropo stilistico con 'il toro dei giorni' (*asnəm uxšā*). Alla simmetria tra *uxšānō/xratuuō* e *asnəm/saošiiantəm* da una parte (Y. 46.3), ne consegue un'altra fra *raocā/uxšā* e *x̥əng/asnəm* dall'altra (Y. 50.10). La connotazione aurorale relativa alla manifestazione dei tori è stata riconosciuta dai primordi della ricerca (Bartholomae 1906, 145) fino a Humbach (1957, 92; 1959, 130), che peraltro ipotizza due possibilità, una di tipo metaforico-aurorale e l'altra inerente a una concretezza di bestiame che reca benefici e prosperità. La "metaphor for dawning" (Humbach 1991, 177) sembra tuttavia essere la possibilità più convincente: come dimostra l'uso del verbo *ar* con il preverbo *fra-* che anche in un altro contesto denota il progredire delle luci aurorali, riferito all'avanzare della

⁵ Nell'Avesta questa funzione "distintiva" della luminosità è un attributo di *Miθra*, a riprova di come in lui si trovino compendiate qualità e ruoli di una mitologia dell'aurora indo-iranica: in Yt. 10.142 è infatti *Miθra* 'che al mattino pone in evidenza le molte forme' (*yō paoiriṣ vaēiṣiṣ sūrəm frādāiti*).

Daēnā nel racconto escatologico di *HN*. 2.9. Inoltre, un esame più approfondito di questi passi dimostra il rilievo attribuito al primo manifestarsi delle luci come momento che segna l'esordio del sacrificio. Anche se l'aurora non viene nominata col suo nome proprio di *uṣah-*, nondimeno il contesto indiretto di *Y*. 46.3 e *Y*. 50.10 pone in risalto l'evento del suo progredire: e questo è importante in relazione ad un altro aspetto che rinsalda la manifestazione dell'aurora con le procedure culturali e innologiche che si premurano di favorirne il ritorno, secondo gli schemi dell'oratoria indo-iranica degli "Uṣaslieder" (Humbach 1957, 92 n. 30). Inoltre, questi canti in relazione alla comparsa dell'aurora sono connessi a un'esperienza visiva la quale favorisce l'inverarsi di un insight visionario, parallelo a quel tipo di esperienza vedica in cui l'epifania di Uṣas annuncia un ampliamento della visione conoscitiva o comunque della percezione visiva se si tiene presente *RV* 1.113.5 *dabhrām páśyadbhya urviyā vicākṣa uṣā* 'à ceux qui ont faible vue, l'Aurore (fait) voir loin' (Renou 1957, 43). Esaminando il passo di *Y*. 46.4, conseguente a *Y*. 46.3, si nota che il motivo dell'avanzare dei tori dei giorni si ripete nel sintagma dei 'tori... del territorio o dei paesi' (*gā... śōiθraiiā vā daxiiṣuṣ vā*) che vengono impediti nel loro avanzare (*frōrātōiṣ < fra + 'ar*) dal malvagio che ha una 'cattiva invocazione' (*dužazōbah-*): che questi bovini ripetano la concezione della stanza precedente è quanto mai verosimile, e ugualmente interessante è il fatto che essi siano gli 'animali da tiro di Aša' (*aṣahiīā važdrāṅg*). La cattiva invocazione e l'atto improprio (*śōiθrahiīā*) che impediscono ai tori di avanzare (= impediscono all'aurora di manifestarsi), sono da collegarsi a quell'insieme di concezioni inerenti ai poteri della parola e dei suoi artifici retorici; in particolare qui si tratta di quel repertorio degli "Uṣaslieder" che probabilmente subirono avverse fortune all'interno del nascente messaggio zoroastriano, con adattamenti e reinterpretazioni delle loro funzioni nella comunità. Questo passo può risaltare meglio da una comparazione con *Y*. 32.10, dove si parla del malvagio che corrompe gli inni pronunciandone uno per vedere (*vaēnarijē*) coi propri occhi la vacca e il sole (*gām aṣibiīā huuarēcā*): è evidente che l'uso della recitazione e delle eulogie ha lo scopo di fare vedere le luci aurorali (le vacche equiparate, come per il caso dei tori, alle prime luci) a cui consegue il manifestarsi del sole (*huuar-*). Ma vi è da aggiungere che se lo scopo delle potenze della parola è quello di fare vedere qualcosa, nel momento dell'aurora, questo qualcosa coincide con una intuizione dell'intelletto: colui che non è un empio, che ha una buona invocazione ed esegue il corretto rituale, non impedisce ai tori di avanzare (= all'aurora di manifestarsi) e così facendo 'pone questi tori alla testa del volo della buona intuizione' (*Y*. 46.4 *huuō tāṅg frō.gā paθmāṅg hucistōiṣ carat*). Il momento dell'aurora è quindi la fase in cui si realizza il 'volo' (*paθman-*) di una 'buona intuizione' (*hucisti-*); ed è anche il momento in cui, parallelamente al progredire di questi 'tori', avanzano 'i *xratu-* dei Saošyant', ovvero quei poteri dell'intelletto che insieme con la visione (*daēnā-*) sono una delle conseguenze dell'azione sacrificale, segno di una acquisizione di facoltà sovranormali. Infatti, oltre all'espressione 'i *xratu-* dei Saošyant', un analogo sintagma 'le *dāēnā-* dei Saošyant' (*Y*. 34.12) si ritrova in un contesto di progressione lungo 'i sentieri ben percorribili di Vohu Manah' (*paθō vañhēuṣ xāētāṅg manarijō*). Le connessioni tra *xratu-* e *dāēnā-*, in quanto potere intellettuale e capacità di visione, sono state ben evidenziate da Schmidt (1975, 7 ss.) che ha inquadrato il dispiegarsi di queste facoltà mentali nel momento della comparsa del-

l'aurora: quali siano state le implicazioni di questi nessi di concetti psicologici e rituali per la storia dell'iranismo è testimoniato dalla elaborazione della figura escatologica del Saošyant nella letteratura avestica recenziore e nei testi pahlavi. Già nei testi antico-avestici le preoccupazioni del rituale sono indirizzate ben oltre il periodico ritorno dell'aurora che era al centro delle procedure dell'*agnihotra*- vedico (Kellens-Pirart 1988, 33); al contrario, ora è la dimensione escatologica ad avere la preminenza e a motivare la speculazione teologica e mitologica. Il momento dell'aurora in cui avanzano le *daēnā*- e i *xratu*- del Saošyant, appare così una prefigurazione dello scenario escatologico dello *Zamyād Yašt*, quando il Saošyant Astuuat.ərəta sorgerà dal lago Kāsaoya (*Yt.* 19.94) per guardare l'intera creazione con il potere trasfigurante della sua vista dell'intelletto: 'egli guarderà con gli occhi del *xratu*-' (*hō diδāi xratəuš dōiθrābiia*). In uno stesso sintagma si ritrovano quindi le medesime concezioni gatiche di *Y.* 34.12 e di *Y.* 46.3 sopra esaminate: il potere intellettuale del *xratu*-, l'azione del vedere (*diδāi*) e il medium degli occhi (*dōiθrābiia*), due derivati della radice *dī* che è la stessa radice della visione (*daēnā*-).

Volgendoci ora alle testimonianze letterarie dell'Avesta recenziore notiamo una maggiore descrittività in alcuni tratti e attributi dell'aurora, che è detta 'lucente' (*xšōiθni*-), 'bella' (*sīrīā*-) e 'veloce' (*rəuuī*-), epiteto, quest'ultimo, che esprime quel timore per la lentezza dell'aurora che ritroviamo nel mito vedico di Uṣas, spinta da Indra a manifestarsi e a uscire dalla inerzia della notte. Ecco come risalta *ušah*- dalla *Ušahin Gāh*:

ušam srīrām yazamaide ušāhām yazamaide xšōiθnīm rauuat. aspam framēn. narām framēn. narō. vīrām yā xāθrauuaiti nmāniiāiti ušāhām yazamaide rəuuīm ranjat. aspam yā sanaṭ aoi haptō. karšuuairīm zām 'Adoriamo la bella Aurora, adoriamo l'Aurora splendente dai veloci cavalli che spinge in avanti gli uomini, gli uomini e i guerrieri; benefica, connessa a Nmānya. Adoriamo la veloce Aurora dai veloci cavalli che si è innalzata sopra la terra dalle sette regioni' (*Gāh* 5.5).

La descrizione non offre molti appigli per una ricostruzione di tratti antropomorfici dell'aurora, ma solo di qualche sua qualità come la bellezza – caratteristica del resto diffusa per le divinità e in particolare per quelle luminose – la lucentezza e la velocità. I composti *rauuat. aspā*- e *ranjat. aspā*-, analoghi al composto *auruuat. aspa*- 'dai rapidi cavalli' che qualifica il sole, alludono al traino dell'aurora per mezzo di animali collegati al progredire delle luci mattutine (cf. *RV* 1.148.3 *āsvāsah* . . . *rārahānāh*), al pari dei 'tori dei giorni' nel sintagma *uxsānō asnām* (*Y.* 46.3). Donare benefici (*xāθrauuaiti*-) è un tratto della munificenza delle divinità e oltre a Uṣah si trova riferito allo X'arənah, alle Fravaši e ad Ahura Mazdā. L'epiteto *framēn. narā*- o *framēn. narō. vīrā*-, secondo Duchesne-Guillemin (1936, 35, 75) 'qui excite les guerriers, les fait démarrer' o secondo una proposta di Klingenschmitt 'dont les guerriers demeurent en avant' (Kellens 1971, 24), potrebbe essere un indizio dell'incitamento provocato dalla luce mattutina che risveglia gli esseri, promuove l'inizio di ogni attività⁶ e – complice il canto del gallo – sconfigge il demone della

⁶ E specialmente di quelle militari, il che giustifica l'epiteto *framēn. narō. vīrā*- riferito all'aurora. Cf. anche Curzio Rufo III.3.8 sulle usanze dell'esercito di Dario III che si mette in marcia al sorgere del sole (*patrio more persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere*) e Dumézil (1981, 95) sulla 'stagione dell'aurora' che segna la fortuna delle battaglie vittoriose di Camillo, protetto dalla "mattutina" Mater Matuta.

Procrastinazione, Būšyāsta (*Fr. W.* 10.42), richiamando gli uomini al lavoro e alla recitazione delle preghiere.

Oltre all'aurora propriamente detta, cioè *uṣah-*, si rilevano ulteriori specificazioni del momento che precede il giorno nel termine *uṣahina-*, che denota propriamente la sezione cronologica di tempo che intercorre da mezzanotte alle prime luci dell'alba, periodo di massima oscurità durante il quale è proibito celebrare rituali solenni, scandito solo dalla preghiera relativa all'aurora che deve essere recitata prima del suo sorgere. La fase in cui la notte è più profonda necessita della vigilanza delle potenze ahuriche che vegliano sulla creazione per salvaguardarla dalle nefaste influenze daeviche: in queste ore cruciali di *uṣahina-* è il dio Sraoša che deve essere evocato, come si legge in *Vaēθā Nask* 108: *uṣahenāi paiti gātubiiō sraošahe ašiehe maṭ kahmāciṭ drənjaiiāiti* 'At the time of Uṣahina one recites Sraošahe Ašyehe together with any other [prayer]' (Humbach–JamaspAsa 1969, 53). Il momento dell'oscurità che contiene in germe il rinnovarsi dei primi bagliori che annunciano il sorgere del sole,⁷ rappresenta, come per il versante vedico, una situazione di commistione tra notte e giorno che nella letteratura avestica appare comunque demitologizzata e limitata a una suddivisione temporale compresa tra mezzanotte e l'alba, senza gli antagonismi e le riconciliazioni delle due sorelle vediche Rātri e Uṣas, la notte e l'aurora: *uṣahina-* è più lo sfondo in cui si svolge l'attività vigilante di Sraoša, anche se viene identificata con *uṣah-*, come leggiamo nella traduzione pahlavi della *Uṣahīn Gāh* 5: *uṣahīn <D> nēk rāy yazēm kū ōš <D> nēk* 'I revere the beautiful Uṣahīn [i. e. the fair dawn]' (cf. Dhabhar 1927, 53; 1963, 97).

Il testo del *Frahang ī Oim* 27b (Reichelt 1900, 212-213; 1901, 137) ci descrive più dettagliatamente la fase di *uṣahina-* fornendoci interessanti ragguagli sul tipo di aurora che si manifesta nella terza e nella quarta parte della suddivisione della notte (*xšāpan-*):

bahr ī sidīgar uṣam sūrām ōš ī abzār xwānēnd kē uṣahin pad-iš andar āyēd; bahr ī čaharom raocanhām fragatōiṭ rōšnīh ud frāz rasišnīh kē ōš ī bām u-š hāwan gāh-iz xwānēnd 'der 3. Teil ist *uṣam sūrām* das heilige Frühlicht genannt; damit fällt *uṣahin* zusammen, der 4. Teil *raocanhām fragatī* die Ankunft des Lichtes, was sie Morgenlicht und auch *hāwan gās* nennen'.

Come ho cercato di dimostrare altrove (Piras 2002), il sintagma *uṣam sūrām* (pahlavi *ōš ī abzār*), 'la potente aurora', della terza parte della notte designa un'aurora nascosta dentro l'oscurità, ben diversa da quel 'progredire delle luci' (*raocanhām fragatōiṭ*) della quarta parte della notte, denominata in pahlavi *ōš ī bām*, ovvero, un'aurora irradiante.

⁷ L'aurora o comunque la fase di *uṣahina-* è ben distinta dalla manifestazione del sole, come indica la frase *vispām paiti uṣāhām ā hū vaxšaṭ* 'durante ogni aurora fino al sorgere del sole' (*Vd.* 13.2), periodo durante il quale il porcospino (*vayhāpara-*) combatte le creature di Anra Mainyu. Vi è anche la possibilità che *uṣah-* possa indicare una notte luminosa: nel commento a *Yt.* 8.35 *yō auuadāt frauazāite xšōiθniāt hiš ušaiiāt* 'who from there flies, from [?] the luminous dawn', Panaino (1990, 59, 123) ha infatti proposto due soluzioni per interpretare il movimento di Sirio che esce dalla aurora luminosa. O è un riferimento al moto giornaliero di Sirio (quando non è visibile), oppure – sulla base di un parallelo vedico – si tratta di una notte chiara, illuminata dalle stelle e dalla luna.

L'epiteto *uṣṣam sūrām* configura in realtà una aurora debole⁸ che viene chiamata, in apparente contraddizione, 'forte' proprio per un intento propiziatorio e apotropaico, motivato dalla delicatezza di questo passaggio incerto tra oscurità e luce, in cui la ricomparsa del giorno non è un fatto scontato ma anzi necessita di cautele e di procedimenti beneaugurali del rituale e del linguaggio.⁹ È in questa fase cruciale che bisogna sostenere l'auspicato ritorno delle luci mattutine, quando l'aurora viene chiamata 'forte' proprio per contrastare la sua debolezza di aurora potenziale, ancora avvolta nella notte: è in questo momento 'prima dell'avanzare dell'aurora' (*āat uṣāṇham para frātōit*) che il gallo *Parō.darš* ('che vede per primo')¹⁰ ascolta la voce del fuoco (*Fr. W.* 10.41); e questo momento prima dell'avanzare dell'aurora equivale a dire (*Vd.* 18.15) che 'quest'uccello eleva la voce nella forte aurora' (*hō mərəyō vācim baraiti upa uṣāṇham yaṃ sūrām*). La sovrapposizione tra le due frasi chiarisce questa anteriorità di un'aurora 'forte', differente dalla manifestazione luminosa che viene espressa dal verbo *fra* + *gam*, analogo all'impiego del verbo *fra* + *ar* per i 'tori dei giorni' in *Y.* 46.3 e per la comparsa della *Daēnā* in *IIN.* 2.9 (*aīhā dim vātaiiā frēranta sadaiiēti yā hauua daēna* 'nell'avanzare di questo vento gli appare la propria daēnā').¹¹ È sempre un'aurora 'forte' quella che compare nell'episodio di *Pāurva* (*Yt.* 5.62): *θraošta xšafnō θritiiaiiā frāymat uṣāṇham sūraiia viuuaitīm, upa uṣāṇham upa.zbaitat arəduuīm sūrām anāhitām* 'al compimento della terza notte (*Pāurva*) si avvicinò all'aurora nel momento in cui si irradiava la forte (lett.: nell'irradiarsi della forte); presso l'aurora invocò *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*'. In questo caso, come nel passo di *Yt.* 14.20 in cui il falcone *Vārəyṇa* 'vola eccitato alla prima'¹² aurora che si irradia (*yō vazaitē zaršaiiamnō agraṃ usaitīm uṣāṇham*), la fase di progressiva illuminazione dell'aurora viene accentuata dall'uso della radice *bā* nella sua forma participiale *viuuaitī-*; altri derivati come *bānu-* 'raggio di luce' o aggettivi come *bāmaniuua-*, *bānumant-*, *bānuuant-*, *bāmiia-* si ritrovano in contesti che evidenziano maggiormente luoghi e paesaggi in cui si effettua questa irradiazione (Mawet 1982, 289-290): la dimora di *Miθra* (*Yt.* 10.44) e di *Anāhitā* (*Yt.* 5.101), il monte *Harā* (*Yt.* 13.59) o la geografia del *Vouru.kaša* e del *X'aniraθa*. Un'aurora irradiante che si affrancava dall'oscurità era certamente percepita come un fenomeno di rassicurante e trionfale manifestazione della luce, tale quindi da giustificare una diade *uṣah-/bāmiia-* (originaria secondo Gray 1929, 164, 139-140) testimoniata anche

⁸ Una particolarità che era già stata notata, anche se non sviluppata, da Gershevitch (1959, 288 n. 142¹).

⁹ Un impiego "contrastivo" del linguaggio, con evidenti finalità apotropaiche, si ritrova anche in vedico, in cui un epiteto "may help to emphasize a contrast or opposition or to suggest that the process described is contrary to experience or expectation" (Gonda 1959, 192).

¹⁰ Composto avestico *parō.darš-* in cui il 'vedere per primo' è riferito al sorgere del giorno, cf. Bartholomae (1904, 859) che lo spiega come 'der zuvor erblickt, näml. die Ankunft des Tages'.

¹¹ La sintassi di *frēranta* è problematica e configura una certa simultaneità nel progredire del vento e della *Daēnā* (Piras 2000, 88-90). La traduzione pahlavi elimina invece rischi di ambiguità: 'in quel vento allora a lui sembra che avanzi la sua dēn' (*andar ān wad ōy ā-š franāft sahēd ān ī xwēš dēn*).

¹² In avestico l'aggettivo *agra-* 'primo' è un hapax, mentre il suo corrispettivo vedico *āgra-* (insieme a *prathamā*) si trova spesso riferito ad *Uṣas* e al suo essere non solo 'prima' ma anche 'primigenia' (Kuiper 1960, 229) in un senso cosmogonico.

nel pahlavi *ōšbām/ōš ī bām*. Altre attestazioni isolate di *bāmiia-* si hanno nel pazand *bām* ‘giorno’, *bāmdād* ‘aurora’ (Nyberg 1974, 43), nel medio-persiano e partico manichei *bāmdād*, *bāmēn*, *bāmēw*, *bāmistūn*, nonché nel sogdiano manicheo *β'm βγγ*, nome di una divinità maschile, il ‘dio aurora’. Nella fraseologia dei testi manichei constatiamo una permanenza della diade *ušah-/bāmiia-* (T II D 66v = *bq* in Boyce 1975, 121): *'md wcyh 'wd b'md'd rwšn 'spyxt 'c hwr's'n* ‘gekommen ist die Morgenröte (?) und der Morgen, das glänzende Licht aus dem Osten’ (Andreas-Henning 1932, 192 n. 6). Il vocabolo *wcyh* – tradotto come ‘Morgenröte’ e segnato interrogativamente da Andreas-Henning – si ricollega al pahlavi *wizīhišnīh/wizīhišn*, che ha un duplice senso di ‘separation’ e ‘dawning’ (MacKenzie 1971, 93), derivato del verbo *wizīhīdan* ‘to be separated’. Questa serie di vocaboli è verosimilmente il frutto di una creazione dotta per tradurre il fenomeno dell’aurora, con un significato secondario di distinzione e di separazione: nello zoroastrismo, come si è visto, permanevano una serie di cautele e preoccupazioni per le ambiguità di una aurora ora definita ‘forte’, ora connotata in pahlavi mediante una enfasi su una auspicata ‘separazione’ che traduceva le forme della radice *¹vah* ‘illuminare’ – come *viūsą* di *HN*. 2.7 (= pahlavi *pad wizīhišnīh*) o *vīusaiti* di *Vd*. 19.28 (= pahlavi *be wizīhišnīh*) – radice dalla quale deriva il nome stesso di *Ušah*.

Il momento in cui si attua questa separazione dalla oscurità, questa “distinzione” da un regime notturno dell’esistenza carico di pericoli e incertezze, in attesa che si riaffermi la chiarezza del giorno, è stato quindi raffigurato dalla creatività religiosa dello zoroastrismo in modi differenti: mediante un ruolo di *Ušah* più defilato, rispetto all’aurora vedica, e con sostituzioni di altre divinità del corteo mithriaco e di *Miθra* stesso; in questa demitologizzazione può risaltare l’aspetto cronologico di una fase che prepara l’attività rituale¹³ e liturgica, privilegiato come dimensione temporale sul cui sfondo si possono verificare momenti importanti della storia religiosa, come la leggenda della nascita di Zarathustra che nel momento dell’alba (*bāmdādān*) discese dal mondo spirituale a quello materiale (*Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* 17: Molé 1993, 131). È un tempo in cui vegliano animali benefici come il riccio (*Vd*. 13.1) e il gallo (*Vd*. 18.15); o durante il quale volano uccelli predatori come il falcone e l’avvoltoio: avatara di *Vərəθraϋna* sotto forma di *Vārəϋna*, nel primo caso abbiamo un indizio del legame tra la personificazione dello *xʾarənah-* e il momento dell’aurora che segna l’inizio della liberalità divina (e lo *xʾarənah-* è uno di questi doni, non a caso concesso da Aši, che rientra in una tipologia aurorale); oppure sembianza assunta da *Pāurva* nel secondo, in una situazione di volo magico che avviene in una condizione limite, sospesa tra giorno e notte, e in un importante luogo simbolico, nella zona di confine del mondo delimitata dal fiume *Rajhā*. L’azione del volo si effettua dunque in un momento denso di opportunità e di possibili acquisizioni di poteri, di benefici e di apparizioni, come quella di *Anāhitā* o di *Daēnā*,¹⁴ in una direzione che è

¹³E quindi connessa a procedure sulla utilizzazione del *barsom* (*Yt*. 15.35); o ancora, momento terapeutico in cui può sopraggiungere la guarigione (*Vd*. 21.3).

¹⁴Ricordiamo, come presumibile influsso zoroastriano, che nel manicheismo (M 2 I, II = Boyce 1975, 40, testo *h* 4-9) è sempre dall’est che Bagard appare a *Mār Anmō* come ‘spirito del confine orientale’ (*w'xs' y hwr's'n*) e ‘sotto forma di fanciulla’ (*pd dys' y qnycg*).

quella da cui si propaga la luce e che disegna percorsi di viaggi oltremondani, come quel 'cammino luminoso' (*rāh ī rōšn*) verso oriente, percorso dal sosia di Kirdir in compagnia della sua Dēn. Araldo di questo scenario di luminosità, l'aurora non è soltanto una fase di demarcazione che oltrepassa l'oscurità ma è essa stessa una "soglia", un passaggio (*widār*) verso altre dimensioni della cosmografia oltremondana, come si può evincere dai racconti escatologici zoroastriani – dove l'aurora è il momento che segna l'ascesa o la caduta delle anime – e come si specifica meglio nel *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 29.3 a proposito del Giudizio (*āmār*): *ruwānān andar ušahin bām ī ōš ka ō āmār šawēnd ā-šān widār pad ōš ī bāmīg* 'The souls are in the light of the dawn of night-time when they go to the reckoning, then their passing is through the bright dawn' (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998, 91).¹⁵

La vitalità di questo patrimonio di nozioni si riscontra anche in altri testi: ad esempio, nello scenario apocalittico dell'*Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* (XVII.14) si dice del Saošyant che 'quando farà la cerimonia al tempo dell'aurora tutti gli uomini sorgeranno' (Messina 1939, 120): in tale caso la metafora sovrappone la resurrezione dell'umanità al momento sorgivo del mattino. L'importanza dell'oriente come luogo dell'origine, oltre che direzione verso cui si contempla il sorgere del sole, annunciato dai primi raggi dell'aurora, deve certamente aver influito a più livelli sull'immaginario dell'iranismo: l'oriente come luogo in cui risiede la fortezza di Kangdiz dei racconti apocalittici; l'oriente di un paesaggio sia reale che trasfigurato dalla leggenda, in cui si staglia il monte Harā, la prima montagna che appare (*Yt.* 19.1) in quelle regioni situate nell'aurora (*upaošar̥ha-*), dove le luci del mattino accendono le cime delle montagne; l'oriente da cui sorgerà il vittorioso Saošyant dal lago Ǝsaoya. E ancora, l'oriente da cui provenivano le migrazioni degli iranici e degli antenati degli achemenidi, l'est verso il quale si apriva la tenda di Ciro (*Ciropedia* VIII. 5.3) e davanti a cui si vegliava con fumigazioni per attendere il sorgere del sole (Erodoto VII.54), quello stesso sole il cui apparire garantiva l'elezione del re achemenide (Erodoto III.84-87) e al cui sorgere si paragonerà il re sassanide (Teofilatto Simocatta IV.8) 'che si alza con il sole e dona gli occhi alla notte' (ἡλιὸς συνανατέλλων καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ χαρίζόμενος ὄμματα).¹⁶

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

Andreas, F. C., Henning, W. B., 1932. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I* (SPAW, no. 10), 173-222.

¹⁵ Un confronto con le concezioni vediche della "porta del cielo" situata ad est nord est, e visibile prima del sorgere del sole (Witzel 1984, 223), potrà sicuramente chiarire meglio in ulteriori ricerche – secondo una prospettiva di storia dell'astronomia e della cosmografia – questa funzione dell'aurora come 'passaggio' nello zoroastrismo. E non solo: anche lo studio della componente iranica del manicheismo, e di concezioni come quella della 'colonna della luce' (*bāmistūn*) a cui lo stesso Witzel (p. 253 n. 71) argutamente si riferisce, potrebbero rivelare interessanti sviluppi e riformulazioni del simbolismo aurorale indo-iranico.

¹⁶ Lo studio della ideologia regale nella storia dell'iranismo è di notevole importanza per riscontrare indizi della legittimazione religiosa del potere mediante l'impiego retorico del patrimonio epico-mitologico zoroastriano: la descrizione dello storico bizantino richiama ad esempio il passo di *Yt.* 10.141 su Miθra che 'guarda nella oscurità' (*təmañhāda jiyāurum*). E la condizione del sorgere del sole si connette non solo all'epifania di Miθra ma anche a quella del Saošyant nello *Zamyād Yašt* che sorge dal lago Ǝsaoya e rende imperituro il creato con il suo sguardo di invigorimento.

- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Straßburg).
- Benveniste, E., 1968. Phraséologie poétique de l'indo-iranien, in *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris), 73-79.
- Bernard, R., 1989. Étude de quelques mots extraits de textes anciens, in *Issledovanija po slavja-no-vizantijskomu i zapadnoevropejskomu srednevekov'ju: posvjaščajetsja pamjati Ivana Dujčeva* (Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia 1, Sofija), 242-249.
- Boyce, M., 1975. *A reader in Manichaean Middle-Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Téhéran-Liège).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1978. La face obscure de l'Aurore, in Gérard Leconte (ed.), *La doctrine du sacrifice*, (Paris), 77-99.
- Dhabhar, E. B. N., 1927. *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* (Bombay).
- Dhabhar, E. B. N., 1963. *Translation of Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* (Bombay).
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J., 1936. *Les composés de l'Avesta* (Liège).
- Dumézil, G., 1981. *Mythe et épopée*, vol. 3, *Histoires romaines*, 3e éd. (Paris).
- Gershevitch, I., 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge).
- Gonda, J., 1959. *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* (The Hague).
- Gray, L. H., 1929. *The foundations of the Iranian religions* (Bombay).
- Humbach, H., 1957. Ahura Mazdā und die Daēvas, *WZKSOA* 1, 81-94.
- Humbach, H., 1959. *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg).
- Humbach, H., JamaspAsa, K. M., 1969. *Vaēθā Nask. An apocryphal text on Zoroastrian problems* (Wiesbaden).
- Humbach, H., 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and other Old Avestan texts*, in collaboration with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skjærvø (Heidelberg).
- Jaafari-Dehaghi, M., 1998. *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, pt. 1 (Studia Iranica, Cahier 20, Paris).
- Kellens, J., 1971. L'avestique de 1962 à 1972, *Kratylos* 16, 1-30.
- Kellens, J., 1974. *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta* (Wiesbaden).
- Kellens, J., 1994. La fonction aurorale de Miθra et la Daēnā, in J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism* (Roma), 165-171.
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1988. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden).
- Kuiper, F. B. J., 1960. The ancient Aryan verbal contest, *IJ* 4, 215-281.
- Lazzeroni, R., 1985. Analisi di un testo vedico: rappresentazione e evocazione in *RV*, X, 95, *AION-L* 7, 211-220.
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1971. *A concise Pahlavi dictionary* (London).
- Mawet, F., 1982. "Light" in Ancient Iranian, *JIES* 10, 283-299.
- Messina, G., 1939. *Libro apocalittico persiano Ayātkār i Žāmāspīk* (Roma).
- Molé, M., 1993. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevies*, 2e éd. (Paris).
- Montesi, G. 1953-1954. Il valore cosmico dell'Aurora nel pensiero mitologico del Rig-Veda, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 24-25, 111-132.
- Montesi, G., 1957. Ušāsānaktā. Mitologia vedica della Notte, *SMSR* 29, 11-52.
- Panaino, A., 1990. *Tištrya*, vol. 1, *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius* (Roma).
- Piras, A., 2000. *Hādōxt Nask 2. Il racconto zoroastriano della sorte dell'anima* (Roma).
- Piras, A., 2002. Sur la "puissante Aurore" dans l'Avesta, in Ph. Huyse (ed.), *Iran: questions et connaissances. Actes du IVe congrès européen des études iraniennes. Paris, 6-10 septembre 1999*, vol. 1, *Études sur l'Iran ancien* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 25, Paris), 253-260.
- Reichelt, H., 1900. Der Frahang i ōim I, *WZKM* 14, 177-213.
- Reichelt, H., 1901. Der Frahang i ōim II, *WZKM* 15, 117-186.
- Renou, L., 1957. *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, vol. 3, *Les hymnes à l'Aurore du Ṛgveda* (Paris).
- Schmidt, H.-P., 1975. *Zarathustra's Religion and his pastoral imagery* (Leiden).
- Schmitt, R., 1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden).
- Witzel, M., 1984. Sur le chemin du ciel, *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 2, 213-279.

Elio Provasi

ʾD šyrxwzʾk ZY RBk mwckʾ ʾyrʾrōw ʾnwly prm sʾr
ʾrβw ʾprwɳ ZY nmʾcyw ptškwɳm

1. The Iranian word for ‘glory, splendour’ (Av. *xʾarənah-*) is well attested in various Iranian languages, from Avestan, Old Persian and Median (in proper names), through Middle Iranian languages such as Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Bactrian, Khotanese, to New Persian and Ossetic. It occurs with various shades of meaning in texts of all periods, both secular and religious. Its etymological relationship to Old Iranian *xwar-/xwan-* ‘sun’¹ makes it probable that the original meaning was ‘splendour, shine’, from which the notions of ‘glory, fortune, (royal) charisma’ derive.

The purpose of the present article is to review the semantic range and uses of *farn* and related words in Sogdian texts, from *farn* in the traditional Iranian meaning of ‘royal glory, majesty, charisma (of divine kingship)’, to its use in Buddhist and Manichaean technical vocabulary, to titles and letter-formulae. It is a pleasure to offer this study as a tribute to Professor Gnoli, not only because it was under his guidance that I entered the field of Iranian philology, but also because this study touches on a subject which Gherardo Gnoli has masterfully investigated in a number of publications over the years.²

The original meaning in Sogdian seems to have been ‘radiance, bliss, shine, splendour’, whence on the one hand ‘glory’ (as a consequence of heavenly blessing), ‘majesty, (royal) charisma, (kingly) fortune’, and also ‘elevated position’ (in a spiritual career, including the physical marks indicating such a high station), and on the other hand ‘illumination, insight’, ‘*mens*’.³

2. In published Christian Sogdian texts, *farn* (as ‘glory’) only occurs twice, both times in contexts relating to oaths to pagan gods. In C1.186-189 (Hansen 1941, 12), *farn* translates Syr. *zākūtā* ‘victory’: ZY ʾγšʾdʾrt xšywny pr trn wʾxš fnyšy qw šyrqty sʾr o ZY swqnt xwrʾm pr xwry frn ʾt pr sʾt βγγšt ‘And the king began to entice the saint with soft words: “I

¹ Cf. Gnoli 1999, 313. For a different etymology see Lubotsky 1998, who connects a dialectal (Scythian?) **farnah-* (via **parnah-*) with Skt. *pārīnas-* ‘full property, sovereignty, abundance’ (cf. especially pp. 483 and 485-486).

² Cf. Gnoli 1962; 1963; 1967; 1974, 71-75; 1982; 1984; 1989a; 1989b, 49-50, 131, 148-151; 1990; 1996a, and the outstanding state-of-the-art reports 1996b and 1999.

³ The Manichaean terminology in Central Asia shows signs of adaptation from the Buddhist one; for the possible dependency of the Manichaean *farn* as *mens* on its Buddhist use as *abhiññā* cf. Bailey 1943, 61 and Asmussen 1965, 163. Whether the Buddhist and Manichaean terminology was influenced by ideas introduced by Zoroastrian missionary activities in Central Asia is a moot point, cf. Asmussen 1965, 163, but, on the other hand, Emmerick (Emmerick-Skjærvø 1997, 104) sees the spread of this “cultural Wanderwort” as linked to the diffusion of Zoroastrianism.

swear an oath⁴ by the Sun's glory and by all the gods'''.⁵ In C2 23/r/24-25 (Sims-Williams 1985, 44) it translates Syriac *gaddā* 'glory': *sw(qn)t* [*yzdqr*]/*t mzyx xwšy(w)ny fn* '[I swear] an oath [by Hormazd and his fortune and by] the fortune [of Yazdgerd] the great king'.⁶ In this passage we have, to my knowledge, the only occurrence of the interesting form *fn* /fann/. This shows a late regressive assimilation *-rn* > *-nn*, which also occurs in the same text (Story of Pethion) in the word *tny* /tanñā/ 'gentleness, submissiveness' (C2 12/r/13, Sims-Williams 1985, 38), corresponding in Man. texts to /tarnyā/ (*trny*(?) M 5730 [= T II D 117] /r/12 (Henning 1945, 473), *trny* M 133 /v.i/20 (LichtNous 129)). This kind of assimilation is the rule in Yaghnobi (e.g. Yaghn. *tann* 'humid' (JagT 332) < Sogd. *tarn* 'soft, mild' and *kan* 'deaf' (JagT 270) < Sogd. *karn* (B *krn*, M, C *qrn*);⁷ the opposite, progressive assimilation is shown in Khot. *kārra*- and MPers. *karr* 'deaf', Khot. *phārra*- 'fortune', MPers. *tarr* 'moist, fresh'.

3. As a non-technical term, *farn* occurs in Buddhist Sogdian texts in several cases (often in association with *zāwar* 'power, force')⁸ in the *Vessantara Jātaka* and elsewhere, where it can be translated as 'glory' in a general sense. In a first example, it applies to Suḍāśn's father, king Šivī: *rty βγ' z'w šw'm-k'm* 'PZY mc' *xw'BY' prn L' 'z'yr't* (VJ 889-890)⁹ 'I will go, sir, so that my fathers's glory may not be hurt because of me'.

'Glory' is also an attribute of good actions: *'wy šyr'krtyh ZY 'wy pwny'nh ZKw prn ZY γnw ZY ZKw z'wr* (VJ 905-906) 'Glory, power and force belong to good deeds and piety', and *rty kδ ršty'kh ZY šyrw-'krtyh prn 'skw'ty* (VJ 1184-1185) 'if there is a glory of rectitude and good deeds . . .'. It applies to the white elephant-king (in the phrase *prn ZY 'δh* 'glory and majesty')¹⁰ as a symbol of regality and of the nation: *ZKwh 'sp'ytk r'cβrt pyδ'n xwt'w 'wy pr'mnty δβ'r δβ'rt-δ'r'y 'ky ZY 'wy n'β prn ZY 'δwh wm't* (VJ 221-222) '(you are the one who) has given to the Brahmans the white Rājvart, king of the elephants, who was the glory and majesty of the people'.

⁴ On the etymology of the phrase **saukantam hwar*-, attested in many Iranian languages, see Schwartz 1989.

⁵ The Syriac version (given in Hansen 1941, 24) is slightly different: *en šemšā allāh-an wā-zākūtā dā-kul-hon allāhē* 'by the sun our god and the victory of all the gods'.

⁶ The Syriac version reprinted in Hansen 1955, 859(41) has: *ḥayy-(h)ū hōrmezd wā-gadd-eh wā-āp tāgā rabbā wā-'aššinā dā-yazdgerd mōlek malkē* 'by Hormazd and his fortune, and the great and powerful crown of Yazdgerd the king of kings'.

⁷ Chr. Sogd. *grny sry* in T II B 66 /v/17 (Müller 1913, 21) does not belong to Sogd. *karn*, but is probably from Syr. *qrn*' (cf. Sundermann 1974, 234); the last reference in Gharib 1995, 193 no. 4842 should accordingly be deleted.

⁸ On this cf. sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 below.

⁹ Buddhist Sogdian texts, when not stated otherwise, are quoted from Benveniste's and MacKenzie's editions (*Vessantara Jātaka*: Benveniste 1946; P 2-10: Benveniste 1940; SCE: MacKenzie 1970; *Dhu.*, *Dhy.*, *Padm.*, *Vaj.*, *Vim.*: BSTBL) with a few implicit corrections, e.g. the distinction between *x* and *γ* in all positions. English translations from MacKenzie's and Henning's editions are theirs; all other English translations are my own.

¹⁰ Cf. below on *'δh ZY prn* (P5.36) as a technical term.

The *farn* can also be the result of the magical properties of a stone: *rty xyδ snk mz'yxw rkš ZY p'tyws xcy ZY ZKwyh wyspny x'n'y cyntr mz'yxw prn 'PZY wyšy xcy* (P3.93-95) 'and this stone is a great amulet (*rakṣā*) and protection, and in every house it is a great glory and joy'. In the same magical text (a "shamanist rain-maker's handbook", in Henning's words [1946, 714]), where *prn* (together with *z'wr*) is an attribute of the Wind (*w't*), it is used in a sense approaching '(divine) energy': *cnn tw' prn ZY cnn tw' z'wr pyδ'r* (P3.218-19) 'because of your energy and power'.¹¹

A similar nuance, with reference to Āryāvalokiteśvara, can be detected in *rty kδ z'tk δγwth k'mt rty šw βyrt cnn δ'mδ'r'k βγ'n 'sk'tm 'ry'βr'wkδyšβr pwtystβ mx'stβ prn pyδ'r* (P8.70-72) 'and if he wishes for sons and daughters, he obtains them through the energy of the bodhisattva mahāsattva Āryāvalokiteśvara, master of the creatures, highest of the gods" (and similarly in P8.190).

Farn is often found in the set phrase *X prn nm'cyw βr-* 'to pay homage to the glory of X', sometimes preceded by 'nz'nwkw 'kneeling',¹² e.g. in *VJ 1426-1428: rty ZKh my'wn 'nz'nwk' nm'cyw βr'nt δry y'wr 'wyn swδ''šn prn ZY 'wymntr'yh* 'And, while kneeling, they all paid homage three times to the glory of Suḍāśn and Mandrī', and also in *VJ 73 ('wyn 'BY' prn* 'to (his) fathers glory'), *VJ 1395-1397 ('wyn 'BY' ZY 'wym'th prn* 'to the glory of his father and mother', and, similarly, *VJ 1432-1433), VJ 375-378 ('to the glory of (his) father and mother (ZKn 'BY' 'PZY 'wym'tyh prn), . . . of (his) palace (ZKn š'ykny prn), . . . of the nation ('wyn n'β prn'))*.

A long sequence of invocations of the type *nm'cyw βr'm 'wyn X prn* 'I pay homage to the majesty of X', where X is the name of a Buddha or bodhisattva, is found in the *Avalokiteśvarasyanāmāṣṭaśatakatotra*, of which two copies survive, in P8.1-54 (Benveniste 1940, 105-107) and Or.8212/111 Frg. 7 and 10 (Reichelt 1931, 78-79 and Sims-Williams 1976, 51-52; facsimile in *DTS*, pl. 25). A similar list is found in Uigur (with the corresponding phrase *yükünürm(än X quīnga)* in the fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* published by Müller (1908, 10-35).¹³ The names of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas are for the most part different, but cf. Sogd. *nm'cw βr'm 'wyn typ'nkr pwtty prn* (Frg. 7 /6/) 'I pay homage to the glory of the buddha Dīpāṅkara' and Uig. *yükünürm dipankari atly burxan quīnga* (T III 56/9 /r/6-7 in Müller 1908, 32).

4.1. As a Buddhist technical term,¹⁴ the highly polysemous Sogd. *farn* indicates first of all the elevated rank or stage attained in the career of a bodhisattva, thus corresponding to Chin. 相 (向) *xiàng* in this meaning. As Bailey has shown (1967, 218; cf. also Bailey 1943, 56 and 61-62), *prn*, like Khot. *phārra-*,¹⁵ Toch. *parām* and Uig. *qut*, is used for the

¹¹ Benveniste's literally translated 'à cause de ta gloire et de ta force'; Reichelt (1928, 62) more accurately has 'infolge deiner übernatürlichen Kräfte'.

¹² Cf. the phrase *nm'cyw sp'tz'nwk* 'homage on bended knee' in the Ancient Letters (see Sims-Williams 1991, 178 and 1996, 80).

¹³ Cf. also Bombaci 1966, 23.

¹⁴ For the correspondences between *farn* and the various Buddhist terms it translates, see the invaluable Chinese-Sanskrit-Sogdian glossary (Appendix II) in BSTBL (II) 159-220.

¹⁵ Emmerick observes (Emmerick-Skjærvø 1997, 103) that Khot. *phārra-*, besides its use as a technical

‘four stages of the Buddhist career’ (Khot. *tcōhora phārre*), i.e., as MacKenzie points out (BSTBL (II) 60-61), the 四向 *sì xiàng* (with 向 = 相), and also for the *pratyekabuddha* and *buddha* stages. The usual identification with *lakṣaṇa*, without further qualification, is thus rather misleading.

We can distinguish several cases. In the first place, *farn* is used for ‘elevated station attained by a bodhisattva, *buddhatva*, *tathāgatatva*’, usually in the phrase *pwty’kh prn byr-* (*putyāk farn βēr-*) ‘to obtain the *buddhatva*’.¹⁶

A few examples follow: *rty c’n’w γβ ptšm’r klp x’yr’t rty xyδ ZKw pwty’kh prn byrt-k’m* (*Dhy.* 242-243)¹⁷ ‘and when many kalpas in number shall pass, then he will attain the stage of Buddhahship’; *xwnx w’tδ’r ZKZY šy ZKh pwty’kh prn tym L’ byrt ’’th rty šy c’wn ’zw’nyh šw pr’ytrh nyδ’yew nyst* (P2.172-175) ‘That being who should have not obtained the *bhuddatva* does not hold anything dearer than life’; *ZKwh pwty’kh prn ’PZY byr’n ZY ’wyh šry βwmyh w’n’kw ’nwtwh β’n* (P2.111-113) ‘May I obtain Buddhahship and thus be a protection for the three universes’; *cnn wyspn’c ’βz’ βwxs’n ’PZY ZKwh pwty’k prn byr’n* (P2.1214-1215) ‘May I be saved from all evil and obtain Buddhahship’; *xwty pwty’k prn byr’n* (P8.203) ‘May I myself obtain the rank of Buddhahship’; and also (with *farn* written as *βrn*) in a dedication written around two Buddha images on a scroll: *tkyṣ pw(ty’k) β(r)n byr’n* ‘Que (moi) Tekiz j’obtienne la béatitude de *buddhatva*’ (P26 /1-2/ in *DTS* 37, text C1). In the following example, the object of *βēr-* is expanded with ‘brywn ‘blessing’: [*cnn mytr’y*] *pwty [Z]Kw pwty’kh prn ’’brywn β(yr’n* (P17.38-39, Yoshida 1984, 161, 164) ‘May I obtain the blessing of Buddha-rank [from Maitreya] Buddha’. The phrase also appears in a shortened form as *prn byr-* (without *pwty’kh*) in *rty styw ’wyn šm’ryn’k ZK prn n’ byr’t ’’t* (*Dhy.* 391) ‘and, although the one considering may not (yet) have obtained the stage (of *bodhi*)’.¹⁸

Two examples occur with the *-aka* infinitive *byr’y*¹⁹ instead of a finite form of the verb: *kt’m ’’z-’wny ’’z-’yt rty ZK r’m’nt c’δysmr CWRH byrt mrxw ’kw pwty’kh prn byr’y prm* (*Padm.* 62-63)²⁰ ‘In whichever existence he is born he always acquires a jātismara body, continually until attaining Buddhahood’, and similarly in P10.9. In one example, the verb *pr’ys* (past stem *pr’yt*) ‘arrive, attain’ is used instead of *byr-*:²¹ *rty ’xw kδ’c wyspyrβ’kyh pwty’kh prn s’r L’ pr’yt βwt* (P9.99-100) ‘then he has never attained total understanding and *bodhi*’.

term, is now attested also as a general term for ‘splendour’.

¹⁶ The phrase *pwty’k byr-* (without *prn*) occurs very often: 17 times in the *VJ*, and also in P2.59, 1142-1143, 1203 and P7.181.

¹⁷ As MacKenzie remarks (BSTBL (II) 60-61), *pwty’k prn* in this case paraphrases 成佛 *chéngwéi fō* ‘to become Buddha’.

¹⁸ As MacKenzie points out (BSTBL (II) 63), here *prn* stands for 道 *dào*, itself short for 佛道 *fó dào* ‘*bodhi*, *tathāgatatva*’ (usually translated literally as *pwt’-n’k r’δh*, cf. BSTBL (II) 165), i.e. the Buddha stage.

¹⁹ On which see Yoshida 1979, 185.

²⁰ Here the Chin. text (reprinted in BSTBL (II) 12) has 至成佛 *zhì chéngfō* ‘until becoming Buddha’.

²¹ In Turkish too, *qut bul-* and *qutqa tæg-* are used interchangeably: *qut bulmaduq midik prtigčān tīnlylar* (T III M 56/16 /v/1) and *qutqa tægmadük midik prtagčān tīnlylar* (T III M 168, in TTTiv 445) (with *midik tīnlylar* = Sogd. *myδ’kk mrtxm’yt* = *prthagjana*; cf., on the last, BSTBL (II) 167).

The connection of *prn* with *βyr-* also appears in the adjectival compound *prnβyrt'k* 'who has attained glory'.²² This has as a second element the past participle *βyarte* < **abi-arta-* + *-aka-* (cf. Yagn. *viyórta*)²³ corresponding to the present stem *βēr* < **abi-āraya-*.²⁴ The compound *prnβyrt'k* occurs rather frequently in Buddhist texts, often in the phrase *mz'yx prnβyrt'k* (*RBkw prnβyrt'k* in P6.178, Benveniste 1940, 91), which corresponds to Chin. 大德 *dà dé* = *bhadanta* 'glorious' (an appellative given to *śramaṇas*) (cf. BSTBL (II) 49, 172), e.g. (in the vocative) in *Dhy.* 13-15 (BSTBL 54): *nm'w mz'yx prnβyrt' mn' mz'yx xwyšt'k ptβy 'šcy'n'k wrzrw mγ'wn ptβystk mz'yx z'ry sy'yn'y 'βcnpδy xwyštr* 'Namo, O great glorious one, my great master, worthy of reverence. (who has) rightly understood all, great merciful one, Chief of the World!', in P6.42-43: *mz'yx prnβyrt' 'fc'npδyk xwyštr* 'o great glorious, Chief of the world', and again at P6.84, 126, 178. Without the preceding *mz'yx*, it occurs as an attribute of *šmn-* '*śramaṇa*' in P2.83-87: *rty cnn xypδ yrβ'h wyspw wynt ZKwyh snks'ryh ZKw n s'th zykh m'yδ c'n'kw ZK prnβyrt'k šmny s't prw prwy wynt ZKwh 'βc'npδh* 'And by his understanding he sees everything in the *samsāra*, the whole damage, just as a glorious *śramaṇa* sees the whole world as illusion', and again (*prnβyrt'rx'nt šmny* 'a glorious arhat *śramaṇa*') in P17.4, 10 (Yoshida 1984, 160) and (*rx'nt prnβyrt'y/k šmny*) in P17.14, 17, 21, 27, 32 (Yoshida 1984, 160-161). It occurs also in line 2 of the Karabalgasun inscription (in Hansen 1930, 15 and, with corrections, in Yoshida 1988, 32) (*R*)*B(k')* (*γr*)*β'kw 'xš'wnδ'r MN βγγšty prnβyrt'y RBkw twrkč'ny 'βc'npδ(ykw) 'xšy-wny 'y tnk(ry)δ' xwtpwl-mys* 'The great, wise sovereign, having obtained fortune from the gods, great Turkish world-sovereign Ay Tängriḡā Qut Bulmiš', where the phrase *čan βayīštī farnβyarte*, is a literal translation of the Turkish title which follows.²⁵ Together with *farnxwand* 'fortunate' (on which see below) it also occurs in a letter from the last quarter of the 9th century: *MN βγγšty prn-βyrt'y prn-xwnty* 'qui a obtenu des dieux la grâce, doté de la grâce' (Or.8212(89) /r/1, DTS 64).

In two cases *pwt'ykh prn* depends on ''*γδk* 'wish'. In the final fragment of the *Vajracchedikā* published by Müller and Lentz we find: *cnn pwt(y)'k(y) prn ''γδy pyδ'r* (TM 391 /10/, STii 548) 'out of the wish for the rank of Buddhahship', and cf. also *c'wn wyspyšn [w'tδ'r] 'jžwnty šyrxwztyh [ZY c'wn pwt](y)'kh prn ''γδ'k [pyδ'r]* (10100i /v/9-12,²⁶ as T i α V 26-28 in HSogdica 61) 'out of friendship for all living beings and the wish for the rank of Buddhahship'.²⁷

²²The same structure, with *βyarte* in the second position, appears in the proper name *p's βyrtk* (*pāšβyarte*), lit. 'having obtained honour' (in *Vim.* 196, BSTBL 30), which translates Chin. 德守 *dé shōu* = Śrīgupta (cf. BSTBL (II) 117).

²³With the regular lengthening (and subsequent rounding) of **a* in the group **ar-* + consonant, cf. Yagn. *tórta*, past participle of *tir-* 'to go' (JagT 335) from Sogd. *wtir-/wtart*.

²⁴Cf. Sims-Williams 1991, 182.

²⁵As pointed out by Hansen 1930, 26 (who, however, read a non-existent *prnβyty* instead of *prnβyrt'y*) and Yoshida 1990, 120. Cf. also Hansen 1930, 38, where he gives the reading *prn βyty* (recte *prn-βyrt'y*) also for Or.8212(89) (see below).

²⁶For the new signature cf. Kudara-Sundermann 1987, 347, and for the correct line numbers cf. the facsimile (*ibid.*, pl. XV).

²⁷The translation '*Buddha-lakṣaṇa*' was rightly rejected by Henning (HSogdica 62). In the same place

In two further examples, *prn* has also the general meaning ‘Buddhaship’: *rty ’xw c’wn pwt’y’k prn δwr ZY pt’yn βwt-k’m ptk’wn* (P2.487-488) ‘and, on the contrary, he shall be far and separated from Buddhaship’, and *rty kδ mwn’kw pstrwm βr’k βr’k w’β’y rty ZK cnn prn pr’c’k L’ βwt* (P8.147-148) ‘If he recites early this mantra, he shall not be remote from Buddhaship’.

4.2. Secondly, *prn* (sometimes qualified with *pwt’n’k* ‘buddhic’) is equivalent to 相 *xiàng* = *lakṣaṇa* ‘mark, sign’.²⁸ E.g., ‘*PZY ZK prn ’sptk ZKZYšypr ywnc ZK py’ty’kh ’PZY ’xw wyspw wkry šyr’k ’m’ty’kh prn kšn* (Vim. 85-87) ‘The majesty complete which is on his form (is his) adornment and all the kinds of good ornament to (his) appearance’ and probably also (as *pwt’n’k prn*) in P2.46 (*kt’m ZKw pwt’n’k prn βyrt* ‘whatever buddhic sign he may obtain’), in P2.1 and (with *prn z’wr*) in P7.20. It appears in the combination *prn n’xnh*²⁹ in *Dhy.* 49-50: *rty nwkr ’ywnk wyspw wkry prn n’xnh prw ptβr’wš šm’r’kh xwynty* ‘Now (acting) thus (with) all the kinds of sign is called consideration in reverse’.

As the ‘mark of the *cintāmaṇi* flame’ it occurs in *Dhy.* 89: *wβyw m’wn y’wywyk’ ’rδ’y’p’ ZY m’ny ’γδ’y prn δβ”nh* ‘both an all-body radiance and a flame of the “mind-wish” mark’, where the word order is peculiar; here one would expect something like **m’ny ’γδ’y δβ”nh prn*, since the phrase, as MacKenzie points out (BSTBL (II) 53), corresponds to Chin. 摩尼焰相 *móni yàn xiàng* ‘(*cintāmaṇi* flame mark’.

The 32 *lakṣaṇas* are mentioned together with the 80 *anuvyañjanas* (secondary marks, 隨形好 *suí xíng hǎo*)³⁰ in *Dhy.* 108-110: *rty 100 ywnc z’yh pwrny pwt’y wyn’y wyspny ptkr’y 32 prn ’t 80 znk’n ’pyšm y’ywh n’wβ’w’k wyspw m’wn rxwšny ’t wyrmyny* ‘and he will see 100 yojana of ground full of Buddha images, of all the images the 32 marks and the 80-fold *anuvyañjana*, all bright and peaceful’ (where 32 *prn* corresponds to Chin. 三十二 相 *sānshí’èr xiàng* = **dvātrimsān* (*mahāpuruṣa*)-*lakṣaṇāni*, cf. BSTBL (II) 55, 190) and also in P14.27-28. Cf. also P5.40, where *anuvyañjana* is translated as *šyr’w’y*.³¹

Farn is used for the ‘sign of *nirvāṇa*’ in *Dhy.* 366: *’zw ’mw nyrβ’n-cyk prn ’t z’wr ’PZY ZKw ywnc y’yw tw’ ’nšt’ym-’skwn* ‘I am showing you the sign and power of *nirvāṇa* and the form-body’, where it is again associated with *z’wr*. Here ‘*t*’ and ‘*’*’ is clearly out of place; the phrase, as MacKenzie notes (BSTBL (II) 63), is mistranslated; in fact, the Chinese text (republished in BSTBL (II) 69) has 以涅槃相力 *yǐ nièpán xiàng lì* ‘by the power of the *nirvāṇalakṣaṇa*’.

he quotes, from another unpublished fragment T i α, the phrase *ZKw rx’nty’ prn βyrt* ‘he obtained the rank of Arhat-ship’, to which he compares Uig. *arxant qutī*. This occurs, e.g. in a Manichaean text (T III D 260/7 t/5-/v/1, in TTTiii 194-197): *arimiš köngül-lüg qutluy-(l)[ar] ayī trkkiā tuyunup [ayiy]-larin bastilar arxant qutin bultilar* ‘the blessed ones with purified heart, having quickly attained enlightenment, have curbed their bad inclinations and obtained the rank of arhat’.

²⁸ On *prn* as ‘*lakṣaṇa*’ cf. Rosenberg 1927, 1388-1389, WLii 572 and Weller 1934, 358.

²⁹ Either one can be used interchangeably for *lakṣaṇa*, cf. BSTBL (II) 51.

³⁰ On ‘*pyšm y’ywh n’wβ’w’k* as ‘*anuvyañjana*’, cf. Benveniste 1933, 224-225.

³¹ Cf. Henning 1946, 731 and BSTBL (II) 173. On *py’ty* as ‘*alaṃkāra*’ cf. BSTBL (II) 194.

In particular, *andarβrōkī spēte* **yažw(ya)*³² *farn* as the ‘mark of the white hair between the brows’ is a literal translation of Chin. 眉間白毫相 *méijiān bái háo xiàng* = Skr. *ūrṇākeśa*) (cf. BSTBL (II) 189): *yw’r xtw’mw’ntβr’wky’sp’ytk yžw’prn’rδ’yp’šm’r n’nyw* (*Dhy.* 370) ‘only but consider the radiance of the mark of the white hair between the brows, not (any) other’ (and similarly in *Dhy.* 172).

4.3. *Farn* is used as an equivalent of 通 *tōng* = *abhijñā* ‘supernatural knowledge or faculty (of a Buddha)’ in a few passages: 1) alone in *Vim.* 170: ‘*PZY pr pnc wkry prn rš’k’xw* ‘and he is a *ṛṣi* with the five kinds of fortune’, where, as MacKenzie notes (BSTBL (II) 20 and also 62), *pnc wkry prn* = Chin. 五通 *wǔ tōng* = **pañcābhijñāh*; 2) with *z’wr* in *Vim.* 83-84: ‘*PZY ZK pnc wkry prn’t z’wr pyδh’t spy β’r’k’PZY ZK mz’yx prβ’r wrtn* ‘(He is) mounted (on) the elephants and horses of the five kinds of fortune and power and the Great Vehicle (is his) carriage’, where *pnc wkry prn’t z’wr* stands for 五通 (力) *wǔ tōng (lì)*, cf. Weller 1934, 356 and BSTBL (II) 20; 199); 3) with *wrc’wny* in *Dhy.* 309-310: *pyšt’tšn tymn ZKw prn’t wrc’wny L’wyn’m* ‘but again I do not see their majesty and magic’, where *prn’t wrc’wny* stands for 神通 *shéntōng* (cf. BSTBL (II) 62); 4) with both *z’wr* and *wrc’wny* in L 86/11/,³³ a fragment of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*:³⁴ *wntn (p)rn z’wr wrc’wnyh* ‘such majesty (and) power (and) magic’.

4.4. *Farn* translates 威 *wēi* = *prabhāva* ‘might, power, majesty, dignity’ in *Dhu.* 224-225: *rtypyšt cnn pwt’n’k prn’t z’wry cnn w’δy mnxz ZKw δstw pryβyr pwt’y ycy w’st* ‘Then, with the dignity of Buddha he rose from the seat, crossed his arms (and) stood before the Buddha’ (where, as MacKenzie remarks (BSTBL (II) 46), *prn’t z’wry* stands for 威力 *wēilì* = *prabhāva*, rather than 通力 *tōnglì* = *abhijñā*) and also in P6.64-65: *ywn’k’myn m’yδ’ytk prn ZY z’wr ZK* ‘it (i.e. the name of the Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiḍūrya-prabhārāja Tathāgata) belongs to the fortune and power of the *tathāgatas*’. Cf. also Kr.IV Soghd.4 (Rosenberg 1927, 1380 [= L 71 in Ragoza 1980, 50])/9-10/: *rtypyδ’yty prw pr’ywyδ žmnw’xw pwt’n’k prn z’wr pyδ’r [/ pncw kwn’k’r rwδ’nt* ‘and then, at that time, because of the Buddhist might and power, five platforms grew’.

4.5. The phrase *prn ZY z’wr* corresponds to Chin. 德力 *déli* ‘energy (*śrī*) and power (*bala*)’³⁵ in *Padm.* 20-21: *rtkδ 18’βtmyδ’wsty’y rty ZK prn ZY z’wr xwr’ywz-nk’βwt* ‘if he apply it (i.e. the power of sight) for 18 weeks his glory and power will be like the sun’.

4.6. The phrase *”δh ZY prn* translates 威儀 *wēiyí* = *īryāpatha* ‘posture, (majestic) deportment’³⁶ in P5.35-37: *pyrnmstr tγw’cw’krtyh kδ’ry KZNH ZY’w”δh ZY prn*

³²The pronunciation is not assured; *yžw(’)* (feminine) ‘(single) hair’ is apparently a light stem, cf. the plural *yžw(r’)* (reading uncertain!) in Sundermann 1974, 254 and n. 160.

³³Ragoza 1980, 60 (and facs. of 3Kr-30, pl. 48).

³⁴For the identification of the text, cf. Sims-Williams 1981b, 233-234.

³⁵Cf. the Chin. text reprinted in BSTBL (II) 12, and, for *prn* as 德 *dé*, BSTBL (II) 176.

³⁶Cf. BSTBL (II) 173; *”δh* corresponds to 威 *wēi* = *prabhāva* in *Vim.* 140 (BSTBL 26), while *īryāpatha* is translated as *prynh* in *Vim.* 108 (BSTBL 26), and simply transcribed as *’yry’pt* in *Dhy.* 351 (BSTBL 72).

šw'm'ntk βyrtδ'ry m'yδ 'YKZY 'xw šryw xr'mt 'what action have you previously accomplished, so that you have obtained this majesty and glory, (namely) as a lion walks?', where šw'm'ntk . . . m'yδ 'YKZY 'xw šryw xr'mt paraphrases 如師子行 *rú shīzi xíng* (= *simhavikrāntagamin*).

4.7. In Buddhist technical terminology Sogd. *prn* often alternates with *prnh* as a literal rendering of 相 *xiàng* (cf. BSTBL (II) 51, 189-190) in all its different acceptations. In two fragments from the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* it is used (as sometimes *prnh* is) as an equivalent to 想 *xiāng* = *saṃjñā*.³⁷ In the first case, *mrtxm'k prn* renders 人想 *rén xiāng* (also 人相 *rén xiàng*)³⁸ = *pudgalasaṃjñā* (translated as *mrtxm'k prnh* in *Vaj.* 10, cf. BSTBL (II) 164): 'ky (')PZY ZKw mrtxm'k prn (βyr)[(L 38 /2/)]³⁹ 'who(ever) obtains the perception of (the reality) of a person'. In the second case, w'tδ'rt *prn* renders 衆生相 *zhòngshēng xiàng* = *sattvasaṃjñā*:⁴⁰ rty wyδ'γ(t)y ZK p'tsyn pwδystβ m'δ pt'yškwy ZY ckn'c pyδ'r 'PZY βγ' ywn'k w'βr ZY w'tδ'rt prn βyrtδ('r)[nt] (L 82a /11-13/)⁴¹ 'and then the bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyasena⁴² said: wherefrom, O Lord, have they obtained so much perception of (the reality of) a living being?'.⁴³

5.1. As a Manichaean technical term, *farn* is first of all a designation of the 'νοῦς', the first of the five spiritual 'limbs' (*pnc ptywδn*, cf. HBBB 77 on 623, or *pyyxyy*, M 14 /t/27, WLii 547) of the soul, or *membra dei* (νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός), corresponding, among others, to MPers. and Parth. *bām*, Turk. *qut* and Chin. 相 *xiàng*.⁴³

³⁷ This, when used alone, is usually translated with Sogd. *šm''r*, cf. BSTBL (II) 178.

³⁸ Cf. BSTBL (II) 164. On the interchangeability of the characters 相 and 想 cf. also WLii 497-498. The two characters were homophones, apart from the tone, also in Early and Late Middle Chinese: 相 EMC *siaŋ*, LMC *siaŋ* vs. 想 EMC *siaŋ'*, LMC *siaŋ'* (cf. Pulleyblank 1991, 337 and 338).

³⁹ Ragoza 1980, 31 (and facs. of Kr 4-694, pl. 19); cf. n. 34 above.

⁴⁰ Cf. BSTBL (II) 190. This is translated as w'tδ'r "zwn *prnh* in *Vaj.* 10, *Dhu.* 93, as w'tδ'r *prnh* in *Dhu.* 60, cf. BSTBL 4, 36, 38 and (II) 190. Both expressions occur together in *Vaj.* 9-11: ZY sywpwδ'y 'PZY kδ'myn pwtystβ 'xw 'zw βrynh βwt 'PZY y mrtxm'k prnh βwt 'PZY w'tδ'r "zwn *prnh* 't 'yt'wk' prnh rty nwkr L' pwtystβ βwt 'Thus, Subhūti, if this bodhisattva should have the "I" sign, or "man" sign, or "living being" sign, or "old age" sign, then he is not a bodhisattva'.

⁴¹ Ragoza 1980, 54-55 (and facs. of 3Kr-26, pl. 44).

⁴² For the identification of p'tsyn as Bhaiṣajyasena cf. Sims-Williams 1981b, 234.

⁴³ On the five members of the soul see WLii 42 (where a table of correspondences with their respective names in other languages is given), WLii 495, 497-498, 572 (and 489, where they are listed at H 151c of the Chinese hymn scroll), Sundermann 1984, 500-501, LichtNous 109, and especially the detailed discussion in LichtNous 131-132 (with the table on p. 137). On the first member of the pentad see also Sundermann 1994c, 124, Sundermann 1984, 502 n. 61 (the MPers. expression *b'm 'y p'(k)* [as against MPers. *b'm ny rwšn*, and Parth. *b'm t'ryg*, LichtNous 131-132] at l. 1 of the text published therein recalls the Chin. 光明輝輝清淨相 *guāngmíng huīhuī qīngjìng xiàng* 'light-radiating, pure glory' of the Hymn scroll (H 123b, in WLii 486)) and LichtNous 83-84. On Turk. *qut* as the first of the *membra dei* cf. Bombaci 1966, 26 (with references). The whole question of the use of Chin. 相 *xiàng* in Manichaean texts is discussed in detail in Bryder 1985, 128-134.

It appears in several places where the Five Limbs are enumerated in order, e.g. in M 14 /r/26-28 (WLii 547): *rw'ny/ pswγty(y) ppyšyyt frn 'š[y'] m'n 'šm'r' ptβyδyy* 'the soul's pure limbs: glory, thought, spirit, reflection, perception'; similarly, in M 801a J/v/13-14 (HBBB 37, 624-625), in So 18221 (= T.M. 389b) /r/12-13 (Sundermann 1981, 52, text 3.5, 609-610), and also in So 18221 /r/2-3 (Sundermann 1981, 50, l. 599-600, with *m'npr'm'tk/y* instead of *'šm'r'* as the third member)⁴⁴ and 18170 /r/12-13 (LichtNous 60), and finally (with *jn'* instead of *'šy'* as the second member) in M 133 /r/i/1-3 (LichtNous 128).

The six 'gifts' (or 'fruits', constituent elements) of the first limb of the soul, i.e. the first cardinal virtue,⁴⁵ are enumerated in M 133 /r/ii/18-26 (LichtNous 129) *'rtyšyrq r't' t(y nm)l' (c)q'n cw(pr s'r) w(')styy ○ xw frn cn xy(p)δ frnyy ○ kyy xwtyy xcy fryt' t xwsndy' (h) f(ršt'm)'n(q)[y](h) z'(rc)n(w)ky' ○ '(wrmtky)' 'ty nqβtp'znnyy* 'And he put on it a beautiful gift and offering, the glory from its glory, that is love, joy, magnanimity, mercy, peace and humility'.

As Sundermann points out (1994c, 124), the Nous is both the first and noblest part of the human soul as the object of redemption, and a redeeming godhead, which operates through the Apostles and the Church.⁴⁶ This is the Light-Nous,⁴⁷ which occurs in Sogdian in the compound *δēnefarn*, and corresponds to Turk. *nom qutī*.⁴⁸ This compound is well-attested, e.g. in M 14 /v/12-13 (WLii 548): *4 βyy'k ○ fryyt' t pcqwyr ○ δynyfrn 'tšy γβ'ky'* 'Four godheads: Love, Fear, Glory of the Religion and its Wisdom', and also M 14 /v/24-25 (WLii 548): *Jmyδδ myn'ndyy rw'nyy δyny (fr)n sxwn tnb'r xcy* 'To the spiritual soul pertain Glory of Religion, Logos, Body' and M 14 /v/5 (WLii:547): *δynyfrnyy sfrywnyh* 'the creation of the Light-Nous' (also in M 14 /v/16, WLii 548). Cf. also *jw'ndyy mrtxmyy δyny- frn* (BBB 534-535, HBBB 34) 'the Glory of the Religion of the living man',⁴⁹ (M 395 + M 5865 /43-48/ (HBBB 44): *'nyy βyy'k δyn'βr' cn δynyfrny ○ 'ty cn xwynštrtyy pr βyyšty wyc'wky' pr mzyx swynd 'tyy γr'n pcγ'z pcγtδ'rm* 'I, as Electus, have received this godhood from the Glory of Religion and from the Elders, with the gods' witness, under a great oath and in grave admission', and also the important passage (Ch 5554 [= Ch/So 20182] /115-123/, Sundermann 1985, 27) where the work of redemption accomplished by the Light-Nous (*δyny-prn*), who shakes the bodies (*tnp'rt βn'wt*) and extracts the light (*δynmync ptmyδy 'rk'ry* 'the daily work of the religion') which rises up to the light

⁴⁴ On *mān-parmāte* as the third limb of the soul cf. Sundermann 1981, 50 n. 1 and Sundermann 1994c, 128 n. 36.

⁴⁵ Cf. LichtNous 138, and already HSogdica 3.

⁴⁶ For a comparison of the first member of the soul with the Great Nous, cf. Sundermann 1994b, 324.

⁴⁷ On the Nous of the Religion, or Light-Nous, see the literature quoted in Sundermann 1985, 45 (s.v. *δyny-prn*), and also Sundermann 1995, Sundermann 1979, 102, and LichtNous 22-26. Another Sogdian name for the Light-Nous is *δyn mzt'yzn βyyy* 'the God of the Mazdayasnian Religion' (Sundermann 1979, 103).

⁴⁸ And cf., in the Chinese Hymn-scroll, 善法相 *shàn fǎxiàng* 'the good Glory of the Law' (H 146d, in WLii 488). On Chin. *fǎxiàng* see also Bryder 1985, 116-117. On Turk. *nom qutī* cf. Bombaci 1966, 26.

⁴⁹ Probably (according to HBBB 89 on a1) also to be restored in M 113 /r/1: [*jw'ndyy mrtxmyy δyny- / frn m'zyr* 'if the Glory [of Religion of the living man] has been hurt . . .']

vessels (*'sky kw rwxšntyh (w)[rtnt] s'r snty*), is compared to that of the 'giant of the seas' (*sm'wtry kwn'y*) which gives rise to the tides (*'nyt(y) sm'wtrw βn'wt* 'shakes the whole ocean').⁵⁰

5.2. In Manichaean texts, *farn* occurs also as the 'glory, majesty' (of kings) in a *Kephalaia*-type text: *I prw xwt'wt 'xš'wnδ'rtyh 'sp's w'nw 'ty 'xwšndyy skwynd frn nyy* 'zyry 'The first (part of the day should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords, so that they be well content, that their majesty be not infringed' (M 135 A/ii/r/14-/v/3/, Henning 1945, 470) and probably also in a fragment of Manichaean church history: *š'nš'y prnw (r')βw L' βwt [k'm]* 'no illness shall affect the Shahanshah's majesty' (L 83 /10-11/, Ragoza 1980, 57, corrected in Sims-Williams 1990, 284).

Farn is the 'protector spirit' of a king in the famous tale "The Caesar and the thieves" (Tale H in Henning 1945, 477-480): a 'Caesar' (*kysr*) is tricked by some 'thieves' (*t'yt*) into the belief that he is dead. One of the thieves places a diadem of majesty (*prn δyδym*)⁵¹ on his head and puts on royal garments (*MLK'mync nγwδn ptmwyδ't*), and then, having approached the coffin where the Caesar is lying, says: *'yy kysr wγr's wγr's 'PZY n' pckw(yr) p'rZY ('zw) tw' prn 'ym o rty kδry 'ny(wn) xw p'(š)['] (y) prn 'ym γrβw t'yt ZY δ/ym/βynt-'ktw* 'Hey, Caesar, awake, awake! And fear not, I am your *Farn*. Now, besides I am the guardian *farn* (*pāše farn*) for many thieves and jugglers' (So 10100g I /r/10-12, as T i α (Tale H) in Henning 1945, 478-479). G. Gnoli (1996a) has convincingly shown that in this text the characterization of the *farn*/thief as trickster and psychopomp (cf. *prw βry' prβ'rcy 'škr'n* 'as charioteer I shall guide [you] through the ether' at /v/4) (cf. *ibid.*, 97-99) allows a comparison to the figure of Hermes.

The phrase *pāše farn* 'protector *farn*' (together with *k'y prn* 'Kayanian glory') occurs also in a letter fragment: *rty ptškw'nh ptškw(y)[m] skwn kw s'r's't βr'yšt(mn)[c] MLKw ZY kw γwr-y k'y prn (ZY)[ms] kw cyn'nckδy 'wt'k p'šy β(y)[w] ZY kw mγwn p's'k prn []* 'And we make a request to the magnificent, angelic king and to the proud, Kayanian glory, and to the protector of Činānčkanθ, the lord [] and to all protective glories' (Ch/So 20230 (= K 30) /v/7-12, Sundermann 1992, 80).⁵²

Farn is the 'dignity of Buddha' (as *legatus* of the Light) in M 129 /v/13-15 (Sundermann 1994b, 319-320): *bwt'ny frnyy pr xypδδ (kršn) ptyt'p 'tyšy wšt'm'xcyk δβry* 'He lightened the splendour of Buddha in his appearance and [placed him] at the gates of Paradise'. Here, as Sundermann points out (*ibid.*), the subject is certainly Jesus the Splendour, and *bwt'ny frnyy*, which can be compared to *pwt'n'k prn* (*'t*) *zwr* as *prabhāva* of Buddhist texts (cf. above), represents in all likelihood a member of the Manichaean pantheon, probably the Great Nous (*ibid.* 323-324)⁵³. *Farn* refers to the dignity of the Electi (*'rt'wty*) in the Sog-

⁵⁰ The word *δēnefarn* also occurs in: 18223+18222 ii /v/14 (Sundermann 1981, 45), M 2090 /r/2 (unpublished, quoted in BoyceCat 87), M 286i /r/9 (unpublished, quoted in Gershevitch 1946, 139), L 97e /1/ (in Sogd. script, Ragoza 1980, 68 and pl. 55), 14444 (= T II D 170e) /r/6 (unpublished, quoted in Sundermann 1979, 132 n. 239), Otani 6210a /2/ (OtaniFr 193).

⁵¹ This (*farnδiδēm*) is an example of a compound with *farn*. On other compounds see below.

⁵² Cf. below on *farn-waxšikt*.

⁵³ Cf. also *pwt'ny-y 'βr'z-'nt'kw frn* (Bäz.B /25-26/, Yoshida 2000, 90) 'the shining splendour of

dian version of the Xwāstwānift: [rxwšnt' βγ'yšty δyny ZY] 'rt'wty frny pyrn-'m-s'r 'in the presence [of the light gods], the glory [of the religion and] of the Electi'⁵⁴ (So 10900 /v/7-8, as T I D a in HSogdica 64-65). It is the 'glory' of the (five) Light Elements⁵⁵ (*mrδ'sp'nt βγ'yšt prn*) in L 59 /6/ (Ragoza 1980, 43),⁵⁶ of the world (*'fcm̄bδ*) in M 134i /v/6-7 (Henning 1944, 144 n. 3): *m[γwn ']/fcm̄bδyy frn 'ty ''γ'r* (with the difficult ''γ'r, cf. *ibid.*). Cf. also the passage (So 14410 II /r/4-6, Sundermann 1997, 92) *ms nm'c βr'm o ZKn wyspšyr tnp'ry o ky MN frn ZY MN wrz ZY MN βwδ' cn wγš' 'krty RBkw* 'Then I pay homage to the most excellent (*allerbest*) body,⁵⁷ which is great, because of joy, from glory and magic and perfume'.⁵⁸

Farn also occurs in the quasi-compound *farn-wāxšikt* 'Glories and Spirits' (tutelary spirits). Two instances are quoted (as examples of group-inflexion) in GMS 1640, *frnw'xš(yqt)* from M 5266 /v/3 (as T II D 66 2.14) and *frn w'xšyqtyy* from M 6330 /r/7 (as T II D 207,7)⁵⁹ (the first also in Gershevitch 1946, 148). Henning (apud GMS *ibid.*) compares MPers. *farrahān ud wāxšān*. The first instance occurs in the following context (M 5266 /v/2-3, unpublished, read from ms.; facs. in PhotoEdII pl. 128): *fryšty βγγ mrym'ny cn m(γ)/wn/ dyn p'syt fryštyt frnw'xšyq(t)* 'the Apostle Lord Mār Mānī'⁶⁰, from all the Apostles (and) Glories and Spirits, guardians of the Church'. To *mayōn dēn pāšēt frēštēt farnwāxšikt* in this example we can compare the phrase *mγwn dyn p'syt 'xš'wn p'syt rwxšnt!* 'γmzyn t'wntyy z'wrk'yn 'all luminous, armoured, powerful, strong guardians of Church and realm' (M 6330 [= T II D 207] /r/3-5, in GMS 1647).⁶¹ As Henning points out

Buddha'. For Manichaean Turkish examples of the usage of *burxan qutī* cf. Bombaci 1966, 25.

⁵⁴ Henning's restoration based on the Turkish text; cf. now, in Asmussen's edition, *y(a)ruq t(ā)ngri-lärkä ariy nomqa t(ā)ngričii nomčii ariy dintarlarqa* (XV C 323-325, Asmussen 1965, 179).

⁵⁵ On the five Light Elements (*(pnc) mrδ'sp'nt βγγšty*) cf. Sundermann 1979, 125 n. 150, Sundermann 1994a, 458-459, Sundermann 1997, 135-136.

⁵⁶ And facs. of Kr IV-802, pl. 31. As Sims-Williams points out (Sims-Williams 1981b, 239), this is a Manichaean text, not a Buddhist one, as wrongly assumed by Ragoza.

⁵⁷ Here the 'most excellent body' (*wyspšyr tnp'r*), as Sundermann observes (Sundermann 1997, 152), is one of the light vessels: the sun or the moon, or both.

⁵⁸ And cf. also, in fragmentary contexts: 14511(2) /r/2 (Sundermann 1990, 24) and, besides, M 1846 /r/4-5 and 7 (unpublished; translation in Asmussen 1965, 251-252; /r/5 quoted in BoyceCat, 81): *'rtkδ' 'šm'x trt [] /5/ pr frn dwn mγwn βymyc [] /6/ ... /7/ 'skwδδ'*, translated by Asmussen as 'and if you are confused in your *farn* (voüx) together with the whole divine ...', and *'frywncyk frn* (M 600 /r/3-4, as M 600, 5 in GMS 1015) 'blessing (and) glory (?)' (cf. also GMS 728, where parts of /r/4 and 7 are quoted as T i D). Cf., further, M 600 /r/2-5 (unpublished): *[] pr mγwn dy(y)n [] /3/ [] p[tfrynd'sk y'n /4/ [xw]jt'sk m'yδδ /5/ [] 'frywncyk frn* 'in all the religion-[...] you send blessings [and] ask for a favour, so that [...] blessing and glory' (*'frywncyk frn* quoted in GMS 1015; for *p[tfrynd'sk* and *[xw]jt'sk* as 2nd pl. durative presents cf. GMS 644, 724). I wish to thank the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz for their kind permission to study unpublished Turfan fragments, and the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung in Berlin, with its director Prof. P. Zieme, as well as Prof. W. Sundermann and Dr. Ch. Reck for their friendly hospitality and helpfulness.

⁵⁹ Cf. BoyceCat 107, 122.

⁶⁰ The expression *frēšte bayī mār mānī* also occurs in a *Kephalaia*-type text (M 135 A ii /r/2-3 and 8-9, in Henning 1945, 469).

⁶¹ The full context (M 6330 /r/2-12, unpublished) is as follows: *cn y'kwβ /3/ fryštyy mγwn dyn p'syt /4/ 'xš'wn p'syt o rwxšnt! /5/ 'γmzyn t'wntyy (z)'wrk'yn /6/ 'tyy fryštytyy 'wswγtyy /7/ p[swγt(yy) frn w'xšyqtyy /8/*

(HBBB 11 and MirManII 326 n. 6), the ‘Glories and Spirits’ (MPers. *farrahān ud wāxšān*, Turk. *qut(lar) vaxšiklar*), are frequently invoked as protectors, often together with *frēstagān* ‘apostles’ and/or *zōrān* ‘powers’. In fact, they are qualified as ‘guardians’ (MPers. *pāsbān*) in a few Middle Persian passages, e.g., in M 4b II/r/11-16 (HRii 55 and Boyce 1975, 191): *nōg āfrīn nōg pērōzīh āyād az bay zarwān abar farrahān ud frēstagān wāxšān īg ēn šahr, ku padīrād ō dēn yōjdahr, bawēd pāsbān az andarōn ud bērōn, hayyār ud pādār* ‘let new blessing and victory come from the Father of Greatness⁶² unto the glories, angels and spirits of this realm, so that they may accept the holy religion and be guardian(s) from inside and outside, helper(s) and protector(s)’, and M 4b II/r/23-1/v/5 (HRii 56 and Boyce 1975, 191): *nambarēm ō bay yākōb frēstag, abāg farrahān zōrān ud nēw wāxšān, ku-mān xwad pāyēnd pad zōr ī abzār u-mān xwad zamēnānd az andarōn ud bērōn* ‘I revere the lord Yākōb, the angel,⁶³ with the glories, the powers and the good spirits, so they may protect us with strong power and lead us forward from within and without’, and cf. also M 31 II/v/17-19 (MirManII 39 and Boyce 1975, 148) *u-t bawānd pāsbān frēstagān ud wāxšān* ‘let the apostles and spirits be your guardians’. In Turkish, *qut vaxšiklar* is an exact syntactical equivalent of Sogd. *farn-wāxšikt*,⁶⁴ cf. (T II D 260 /v/4-5 in TTTiii 200-201): *ögä yūkūnmiš buyanīmz tüšintā ō üstüngii altinqii tngirilār(n)[in](g) ō öngii öngii q(u)t vaxšiklarning ō ü(st)älzün tngridā[m] kü(čl)äri* ‘in exchange for our service of praying and honouring, may the divine power (*tängridām küč*) of the gods above and below (and) of the various tutelary spirits increase’. In a slightly different form (with the coordinative particle ZY) the phrase *prn ZY w’xšyky* occurs in a letter from Bāzāklīk: *mγwnw dγn p’šytw pryšt’kt(y) [prn] ZY w’xšyky mrtš’r* (Bāz.A /77-78/ in Yoshida 2000, 11) ‘from all the apostles, glori(es) and spirits, protectors of the Church’. In the Bāzāklīk letters the same expression also occurs in the singular: *twδ-kδcykw prn-w’xšykw* (Bāz.B /70/ in Yoshida 2000, 92) ‘the guardian glory-spirit of the city of Tūš’.

In a few cases, *farn* forms part of the set expressions *šmāx farn* and *tawa farn* ‘your Excellency’.⁶⁵ It occurs with the 2nd pl. possessive in the Karabalgasun inscription (l. 15):

mrtš’r (?)s’t nwyw/9/ ‘frywncyk ‘tyy γwβty’h/10/ nwyw frn ‘tyy frnxwndky’ /11/ nwyw wššyy ‘tyy ‘xwsndy’ /12/ nwyw t’w ‘tyy z’wr . . . ‘From the angel Yākōb, all luminous, armoured, powerful, strong guardians of the Church, guardians of the realm, and the messengers, pure, blazing Glories and Spirits, let come hither new blessings and praise, new glory and fortune, new joy and happiness, new power and strength . . .’ [*nwyw ‘frywncyk ‘tyy γwβty’h* quoted in GMS 1015]. On the figure of the angel Yākōb see below, and on the expression *frn ‘tyy frnxwndky* cf. section 5.3.

⁶²For MPers. *bay zarwān* (and Sogd. *zrwāḡayī*) as the Father of Greatness see Sundermann 1979, 101, 123 nn. 138-142.

⁶³In the Karabalgasun inscription the angel Yākōb (Sogd. *yākōḡ frēšte*) is cited in reference to the Uygur qaghan (l. 17): *rtyxwty y’xy (?) [x](š)ywn’k wm’t ky pr y’kwβ βr’y-(št)’k ‘xšnyrkwxyp(δ) [JCWRH []* (Yoshida 1988, 34; 1990, 121) ‘he himself was a valiant ruler, who acquired the characteristics of the angel Yākōb’; this religious figure was considered a protector of the Manichaean church (cf. the Chinese and Turkish texts quoted in Yoshida 1990, 121).

⁶⁴The hendiadys *qut vaxšik* occurs frequently in Turkish texts, cf. the references in Bombaci 1996, 25.

⁶⁵Cf. Henning’s remark (Henning 1945, 475 n. 1) on the use of *farn* as a polite form of address to dignitaries of the Manichaean church.

['j](šm)'xprn 'xš'w'nδ'ry w'δy nsty 'skwδ'skwn 'Your Majesty is seated on the royal throne' (Yoshida 1988, 34),⁶⁶ and also in a fragment from a letter (M 483 /7-8/) quoted in GMS 810.⁶⁷ In one particular case, in the salutation of a Mug letter, the enclitic -βn is used instead of the independent possessive pronoun: 't βγw xwβw RBch 'nwith krwicw xwβw 'y(rt)y MN xypδ βntk xw'ry z'tk ptškw'nh rtβn prn γrβ nm'cyw (B16 /1-2/, SDGMii 174) 'To the lord king 'yrty, great support, ruler of Krūt, (a) report from his servant and relative, and homage to Your Excellency'.⁶⁸ With the 2nd sing. possessive it occurs twice in a tale published by Henning ('The monkey and the fox'): ZY kδry sγtm'n nxšyr[t] ZKn tw' prny xwβw ry'-(k)[ry] ptysyni'nt [o rt](β)y kδryh xwβw kwncykw 'sk[w]'nt [o] p'rZ-Y ZKn tw' prny [ny/my CWRH ZKn mrtxm'kty s'r mynt skwn ZY nymy ZKn nxšyryh mynt 'All animals have approved Your Excellency as absolute king and are at the point of declaring you king. For Your Excellency's body is half like a man's, and half like an animal's' (TI = So 10100g(2) /r/4-11, Henning 1945, 474-475, and again, in the same text, at /v/23 as tw'prny, written as one word). The phrase tw' prn (perhaps not forming yet a standard expression) first appeared, a few centuries earlier, in the Ancient Letter III /5-7/: 'PZYt β'δ β'δ δykh prsty'm 'HRZYβc 'yw δykh L' βyr'm 'HRZY 'krty m'pw prmy-nwkh t'βk s'r 'HRZYM ZNH 'βyz ywn'k 'st 3 srδ 'PZY δrw'ny 'skw'm pr tw' prn (Reichelt 1931, 22) 'And from time to time I send you a letter,⁶⁹ but I don't receive any letter from you, and I have become hopeless⁷⁰ about you; and I have this affliction, having been for three years in Dunhuang⁷¹ on Your Excellency's behalf'. In a Buddhist fragment published by Livshits a similar phrase occurs, where *prn*, instead of being governed by a possessive pronoun, is determined by βc'npδy xwyštry (lit. 'the majesty of the chief of the world'): c'γwn'k rxnt' skwn 'wy βc'npδy xwyštry prnw 'nγ(')wnc ptz-y'm'c kwn'y-cyk w'xš w'β'y 'how dare you speak, doing strife (and) quarrel, against His Majesty, the Lord of the World?' [my translation] (Kr IV/789/4263 /9-10/, Livshits 1996, 3-8).

5.3 In inscriptions and letters, *farn* occurs, in coordination with the quasi-synonymous *prnxwntkyh*,⁷² in the expression *farn at farnxwandakya* 'glory and fortune', itself

⁶⁶ Cf. also Hansen 1930, 18, who read only . . . *prn*.

⁶⁷ M 483 /t/7: šm'x frnyy 'ft'r mwck 'ty xwštyy nny γwt 'Your Excellency does not require many teachers and masters', with *frnyy* in the oblique governed by γwt 'is lacking (to)'; cf. also in the fragment (in Sogd. script) Otani 2495 /2/ (OtaniFr 76): [š](m'xw prn s'r pt(š)/kw'nh] 'a report to Your Excellency'.

⁶⁸ And similarly, with the definite article instead of the pronoun, ZKn (p)[r](n) γrβ nm'cyw in A6 /3/ (SDGMii 141).

⁶⁹ For the Indian loan-word *δykh* 'letter' instead of the usual *n'mk* see Henning 1948, 603 n. 3.

⁷⁰ Literally 'without hope'; on *prmy-nwkh* 'hope' see Skjærvø 1976, 111.

⁷¹ For *δrw'()*n = Θρωάνα = Dunhuang see Henning 1948, 608-609.

⁷² This abstract is formed with the denominal suffix -yāk / -yā (cf. GMS 985, 1110-1111 and Sims-Williams 1981a, 12-14) from the adjective *farnxwande* (possibly pronounced [farnxwānde], [farnxwunde]), from **farnahwant-* + *-aka-*, cf. GMS 1092). The adjective *farnxwande* and the abstract *farnxwandakya* occur frequently in Sogdian texts. Considerations of space do not permit me to dwell upon derivatives and compounds with *farn*; on these I intend to return in a forthcoming article. On *farn* in proper names cf. Weber 1972 and Sims-Williams 1989-1992 II 63 (and *passim*).

a literal translation of the Turkish hendiadys *qut qiv*,⁷³ e.g. in the Karabalgasun inscription (l. 4): [] *pr prn ZY prnxwnkyh*⁷⁴ *z-’wr z-’wtw δ’(r’n)t* (Yoshida 1988, 32) ‘they have maintained [] by the power of glory and fortune’, and also at l. 8 (*pr prn ZY prnxwnkyh*).

The same expression is found also in the Bāzāklik letters (as *frn ZY frnxwn’t ky’(h)* in Bāz.A /78/, Yoshida 2000, 11). A similar hendiadys (*farn ēznāwe* ‘glory and worthiness’) occurs in a letter from Bāzāklik: *βγ’y xypδ’wntw [] prn ’yrz-n’wy* (Bāz.A /48-49/, Yoshida 2000, 10) ‘the glory and worthiness⁷⁵ of the divine lord []’.

Lastly, *farn* occurs with particular frequency in letters as part of conventional phrases, formulae and greetings, e.g.: *pr βγγ ZY pr tw’ prn z’wr prtr ’krty* (A17 /1/, SDGMii 141) ‘I have been exalted⁷⁶ through the lord’s glory and power and yours’.

In the phrase *pr prn* it occurs in V16 /4-6/ (SDGMii 126):⁷⁷ *rtkδ tγw ’šw βγγ xwβw pr prnw šyr’kk ZY wyzc’t ’skwy rtβγ ’zw βntk mrtγ ZKw srw nwš’kw myn’m* ‘If you, the lord king, are fortunate, well, and at ease, then I, sir, (your) serving man, consider (my) head immortal’,⁷⁸ and in L 44 /9-11/, where it is qualified with ‘sk’ ‘high’: *rtβγ kδ’ šm’x trts’r pr ’sk’ prn RB(kw) [ptβ]yw šyr’kk ZY-βγ wrcy’ ’skwδ’ m’x [γrγwh nwš’yt my](n)ym* (Ragoza 1980, 36)]⁷⁹ ‘And, sir, if you there are in high fortune and great honour, well and at ease, sir, then [we consider ourselves immortal]’.

The phrase *X prn s’r* (also written together as *prns’r*) ‘to the glory of X’ (i.e. ‘to His Excellency X’) is often found in salutations.⁸⁰ For example, in a letter from a late period: *t’wyδ swkβ’r prns’r γrβw z’m nm’c* ‘à la grâce de David le moine, bien des hommages respectueux’ (Or. 8212(86) /v/1, DTS 52).⁸¹ In this type of expression, *farn* is often qualified with *RB(k’)* (sometimes spelled out as *mzyx*) ‘great’,⁸² e.g.: *βγγ ZKn RBprn γrβ nm’cy(w) (p)t[škwym]* (V10 /r/4, SDGMii 106) ‘I pay great homage to the lord’s great glory’,⁸³ and

⁷³ On Turk. *qut qiv*, cf. Bombaci 1966, 21 (with references).

⁷⁴ Mistakenly read as *prnxwnk’n* in Hansen 1930, 15.

⁷⁵ Here *ēznāwe* (in Man. script *’jyn’wyy*, GMS 1082) is written in an archaic spelling with a group *-rz-*, as in the adjective *’yrz-nw* in 18196 /11/ (cf. Sundermann 1992, 78).

⁷⁶ For *prtr* in the sense ‘exalted’ cf. *rtγ myšnw mrtxm’tt myš’ny ’δprn prtr βwt* (SCE 526-527) ‘and among men he will be the most exalted’ (MacKenzie 1970, 31 ‘the very foremost’).

⁷⁷ And similarly in Nov2 /r/6 and 14 (SDGMii 104) and A15/2-3/ (*prprn*) (*ibid.* 164).

⁷⁸ Translation (with the reading *’šw* for Livšic’s *’γw*) in Sims-Williams 1994, 44.

⁷⁹ With corrections in Sims-Williams 1981b, 235; restoration in Sims-Williams 1994, 44.

⁸⁰ The phrase *X prn s’r* corresponds to *X qutīnga* in Turkish letters, e.g. *tngrī avtadan uluy qutīnga* ‘an die hohe Majestät des göttlichen Bischofs’ (Ch/U 6854 /1/, Zieme 1975, 68) (with *uluy* = Sogd. *mazēx*!).

⁸¹ And also in: Or. 8212(86) /r/3 (DTS 51), Or. 8212(89) /r/5 (*ibid.* 64), Bāz.A /115-116/ (Yoshida 2000, 13) (*xwšt’(r)/t j ’ncnm frn s’r* ‘to the assembly of presbyters’), Bāz.B /43/ (*ibid.* 91), Bāz.B /60/ (*ibid.*), Bāz.B /72/ (*ibid.* 92), Bāz.C /24/ (*ibid.* 120).

⁸² In this and other cases, the form *RBprn* could represent a compound *mazēx(k)-farn* ‘(greatly) glorious’. This reading is preferable to *wazark-farn* (Gharib 1995, 340 no. 8459), in view of the examples with *mzyx prn* from Bāzāklik letters quoted below. Cf. also (in the oblique) *pwt’ny RBfrny* ‘Buddha-like, glorious’ (U 6021 /6/, Sundermann 1996, 101).

⁸³ And also in: A14 /4/ (SDGMii 78), V16 /3/ (*ibid.* 126), Nov.2 /r/6 (*ibid.* 104), B15 /2/ (*ibid.* 150), B18 /2/ (*ibid.* 153), Bāz.A /56/ (Yoshida 2000, 10), Bāz.A /65/ (*ibid.* 11), Bāz.B /66/ (*ibid.* 92), Otani 1321 /1/ (OtaniFr 59).

(with *mzyx*): *xw'r z-'δ'k' xwštr mz-yx prns'r* Bāz.C /2/ (Yoshida 2000, 118) 'to the great glory of the presbyter Xwarzādag'.⁸⁴

Finally, the salutation can be expanded with the adjective *brāzande* 'shining, glowing',⁸⁵ e.g.: (Bāz.A /25'/, Yoshida 2000, 8) *mwz-'kw 'br'z-nty RBfrn s'r* 'to the shining glory of the teacher'.⁸⁶

REFERENCES

- Asmussen, J. P., 1965. *X'āstvānift: studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen).
- Bailey, H. W., 1943. *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books* (Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, Oxford; 2nd ed. 1971).
- Bailey, H. W., 1967. *Khotanese texts*, vol. 6, *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* (Cambridge).
- Benveniste, E., 1933. Notes sur le fragment sogdien du Buddhadyānasamādhisagara-sūtra, avec la collaboration de P. Demiéville, *JA* 223, 193-245.
- Benveniste, E., 1940. *Textes sogdiens édités, traduits et commentés* (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale 3, Paris).
- Benveniste, E., 1946. *Vessantara Jātaka. Texte sogdien édité, traduit et commenté* (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale 4, Paris).
- Bombaci, A., 1965-1966. Qutluy bolzun! A contribution to the history of the concept of "Fortune" among the Turks, *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* 36, 284-291; 38, 13-43.
- Boyce, M., 1975. *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9, Leiden).
- BoyceCat = Boyce, M., *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin 1960).
- Bryder, P., 1985. *The Chinese transformation of Manichaeism. A study of Chinese Manichaean terminology* (s.l.).
- BSTBL = MacKenzie, D. N., *The Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library* (Acta Iranica 10, Leiden 1976).
- DTS = Sims-Williams N., Hamilton, J., *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, 2.3.3, London 1990).
- Emmerick, R. E., Skjærvø, P. O., 1997. *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*, vol. 3 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik 27, Wien).

⁸⁴ And similarly in Bāz.B /45/ (Yoshida 2000, 91) and Bāz.C /21-22/ (*ibid.* 119).

⁸⁵ Cf. also *pwt'ny-y 'br'z-nt'kw frn* (Bāz.B /25-26, n. 53 above). The adjective *brāzande* is used with *farn* also in the phrase *β'γ'y 'wyγwr 'xšywny-y frn's 'br'z-nty 'skw'tw*] (18196 /v/12-15, in Sundermann 1992, 79) 'the lord, king of the Uyghurs, may his glory be shining' (also *frn's 'br'z-nty 'skw'tw* in 18196 /t/1, unpublished, read from photograph in PhotoEdII pl. 173). This also appears in another version of the same text, in Man. script, as [*β'γ'y 'wyγwr 'xšywny-y (fr)n's [br'znty] 'skw't*] (L 77 + L 73 /t/7-8, read from photograph in PhotoEdI pl. 191, where the two fragments, first published separately in Ragoza 1980, 53, 51, are mounted together). A close parallel occurs in Turk. *yaln süü tngrii 'ilg tapa klmäk [bo]lzun* 'das flammende Glück möge zum göttlichen König kommen!' (T.M. 164 /t/1-2, in von Le Coq 1922, 41, Nr. 27, cited with a new translation in Zieme 1975, 49-50), where *yal(i)n sü* (with *sü* synonymous with *qut*) corresponds exactly to Sogd. *brāzande farn*. The syntax of the phrase *farn-aš brāzande skwāt* is unusual; as Sundermann remarks (1992, 80), the enclitic pronoun *-(')š* as a possessive attached to a noun does not otherwise occur in Sogdian. In my opinion, at this stage of the development of the language this could be a calque from Turkish usage (although in Yagnobi, as in New Persian, this is the standard pattern, cf. Xromov 1972, 25).

⁸⁶ And, similarly, Bāz.A /133/ (Yoshida 2000, 14); cf. also (after a lacuna) *'br'z-nt'kw RBfrn s'r* in U 6021 /2/ (Sundermann 1996, 101).

- Gershevitch, I., 1946. Sogdian compounds, *TPS* [1946], 137-149.
- Gharib, B., 1995. *Sogdian dictionary. Farhang-e soydi*. (Tehran).
- GMS = Gershevitch, I., *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954; 2nd ed. 1961).
- Gnoli, G., 1962. Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel mazdeismo e nel manicheismo, *AION*, n.s., 12, 95-128.
- Gnoli, G., 1963. *AX'arətəm x'arənō*, *AION*, n.s., 13, 295-298.
- Gnoli, G., 1967. Lichtsymbolik in Alt-Iran, *Antaios* 8/6, 528-549.
- Gnoli, G., 1974. Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto gli Achemenidi, in *Gururājamañjarikā: studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, vol. 1 (Naples), 23-88.
- Gnoli, G., 1982. "Qut" e le montagne, in A. Gallotta, U. Marazzi (ed.), *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata* (Naples), 251-261.
- Gnoli, G., 1984. Note sullo "x'arənah", in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemain emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica 23, Leiden), 207-218.
- Gnoli, G., 1989a. Un cas possible de différenciation lexicale entre dari et pārsi, in C.-H. de Fouchécour, Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 7, Paris), 151-164.
- Gnoli, G., 1989b. *The idea of Iran: an essay on its origin* (Serie orientale Roma 62, Rome).
- Gnoli, G., 1990. On Old Persian farnah-, in *Iranica varia: papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Acta Iranica 30, Leiden), 83-92.
- Gnoli, G., 1996a. Farn als Hermes in einer soghdischen Erzählung, in R. E Emmerick *et al.* (ed.), *Turfan, Khotan and Dunhuang. Vorträge der Tagung "Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung"*, veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9.-12.12.1994) (Berlin), 95-100.
- Gnoli, G., 1996b. Über das iranische hyarnah-: lautliche, morphologische und etymologische Probleme. Zum Stand der Forschung, in *AoF* 23, 171-180.
- Gnoli, G., 1999. Farr(ah), in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 9, ed. E. Yarshater (New York), 312-319.
- Hansen, O., 1930. Zur soghdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalgasun, *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 44/3, 1-39.
- Hansen, O., 1941. *Berliner soghdische Texte I: Bruchstücke einer soghdischen Version der Georgspassion (C 1)* (APAW 1941, 10).
- Hansen, O., 1955. *Berliner soghdische Texte II. Bruchstücke der großen Sammelhandschrift C2* (AWLM 1954, 15).
- HBBB = W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (APAW 1936 [1937] Nr. 10).
- Henning, W. B., 1944. The murder of the Magi, *JRAS* 1944, 133-144.
- Henning, W. B., 1945. Sogdian tales, *BSOAS* 11/3, 465-487.
- Henning, W. B., 1946. The Sogdian texts of Paris, *BSOAS* 11, 713-740.
- Henning, W. B., 1948. The date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters, *BSOAS* 12, 601-615.
- HSogdica = W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* (James K. Forlong Fund 21, London 1940).
- JagT = M. S. Andreev, E. M. Peščereva, *Jagnobskie teksty* (Moskva-Leningrad 1957).
- Kudara, K., Sundermann, W., 1987. Zwei Fragmente einer Sammelhandschrift buddhistischer Sūtras in soghdischer Sprache, *AoF* 14, 334-349.
- von Le Coq, A., 1922. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III* (APAW 1922, 2).
- LichtNous = Sundermann, W., *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous* (Berliner Turfantexte 17, Berlin 1992).
- Livshits, V. A., 1996. Sogdian Buddhist fragment Kr IV/789 No. 4263 from the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, *Manuscripta Orientalia* 2/2, 3-8.
- Lubotsky, A., 1998. Avestan *xvarənah*:- the etymology and concept, in W. Meid (ed.), *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen. Akten der X. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Innsbruck, 22.-28. September 1996* (Innsbruck), 479-488.
- MacKenzie, D. N., 1970. *The "Sūtra of the causes and effects of actions" in Sogdian* (London Oriental series 22, London).
- MirManII = F. C. Andreas, W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkistan, II* (SPAW 1933, 7), 294-363.

- Müller, F. W. K., 1904. *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan*, II (APAW 1904, Anh. 2).
- Müller, F. W. K., 1908. *Uigurica* [I]. 1. *Die Anbetung der Magier, ein christliches Bruchstück*. 2. *Die Reste des buddhistischen "Goldglanz-Sūtra". Ein vorläufiger Bericht* (APAW 1908, 2).
- Müller, F. W. K., 1913. *Soghdische Texte I* (APAW 1912, 2).
- OtaniFr = K. Kudara, W. Sundermann, Y. Yoshida, *Iranian fragments from the Ōtani collection. Text volume* [in Japanese] (Facsimile series of rare texts in the Library of Ryūkoku University 17, Kyoto 1997).
- PhotoEdI = Sundermann, W., *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in early publications (1904-1934). Photo edition* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Supplementary series 3, London 1996).
- PhotoEdII = Weber, D., *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934. Photo edition* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Supplementary series 4, London 2000).
- Pulleyblank, E. G., 1991. *Lexicon of reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and early Mandarin* (Vancouver).
- Ragoza, A. N., 1980. *Sogdijskie fragmenty central'noaziatskogo sobranija Instituta vostokovedenija* (Moskva).
- Reichelt, H., 1928. *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 1. Teil, *Die buddhistischen Texte* (Heidelberg).
- Reichelt, H., 1931. *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2. Teil, *Die nicht-buddhistischen Texte* (Heidelberg).
- Rosenberg, F., 1927. Un fragment sogdien bouddhique du Musée Asiatique, *IzvAN* 15-17, 1375-1398.
- Schwartz, M., 1989. Pers. *saugand xurda*n, etc. 'to take an oath' (not *'to drink sulphur'), in C.-H. de Fouchécour, Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Studia Iranica, Cahier 7, Paris), 293-296.
- SDGMii = V. A. Livšic, *Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug*, vol. 2, *Juridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma* (Moskva 1962).
- Sims-Williams, N., 1976. The Sogdian fragments of the British Library, *IJ* 18, 43-82.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1981a. Some Sogdian denominal abstract suffixes, *AcOr* 42, 11-19.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1981b. The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad [I], *BSOAS* 44, 231-240.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1985. *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2* (Berliner Turfantexte 12, Berlin).
- Sims-Williams, N., 1990. The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad, II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah, *BAI* 4 (= *In honor of Richard Nelson Frye. Aspects of Iranian culture* [1992]), 281-288.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1991. A Sogdian greeting, in R. E. Emmerick, D. Weber (ed.), *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie on the occasion of his 65th birthday on April 8th, 1991* (Frankfurt am Main), 176-187.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1989-1992. *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions of the Upper Indus* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 2.3.2, London), 2 vols.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1994. The triple system of deixis in Sogdian, *TPS* 92/1, 41-53.
- Sims-Williams, N., 1996. From Babylon to China: astrological and epistolary formulae across two millennia, in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, in collaborazione con l'Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 9-12 novembre 1994* (Atti dei convegni lincei 127, Roma), 77-84.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1976. Sogdian notes, *AcOr* 37, 111-116.
- STii = Müller, F. W. K., Lentz, W., *Soghdische Texte II* (SPAW 1934, 21), 504-607.
- Sundermann, W., 1974. Nachlese zu F. W. K. Müllers "Soghdischen Texten I", 1, *AoF* 1 (Berlin), 217-255.
- Sundermann, W., 1979. Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos, *AoF* 6, 95-133.
- Sundermann, W., 1981. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtliches Inhalts* (Berliner Turfantexte 11, Berlin).
- Sundermann, W., 1984. Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch, in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica 23, Leiden), 491-505.
- Sundermann, W., 1985. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch* (Berliner Turfantexte 15, Berlin).

- Sundermann, W., 1990. *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Supplementary series 2, London).
- Sundermann, W., 1992. Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts concerning the Turfan region, in A. Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The texts. Encounter of civilizations on the Silk Road* (Orientalia Venetiana 4, Firenze), 63-84.
- Sundermann, W., 1994a. Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in soghdischer Sprache, in C. Elsas et al. (ed.), *Tradition und Translation. Zum Problem der interkulturellen übersetzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene. Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin), 452-462.
- Sundermann, W., 1994b. Eva Illuminatrix, in H. Preißler, H. Seiwert (ed.), *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Kurt Rudolf zum 65. Geburtstag* (Marburg), 317-327.
- Sundermann, W., 1994c. Manohmed rōšn 'der Licht-Nous', Ursprung und Wandel eines manichäischen Begriffs, in K. Röhrborn, W. Veenker (ed.), *Memoriae munusculum. Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain* (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 39, Wiesbaden), 123-129.
- Sundermann, W., 1995. Who is the Light-NOYΣ and what does he do?, in A. van Tongerloo, J. v. Oort (ed.), *The Manichaean NOYΣ. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991* (Manichaean studies 3, Louvain), 255-265.
- Sundermann, W., 1996. Three fragments of Sogdian letters and documents, in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, in collaborazione con l'Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 9-12 novembre 1994* (Atti dei convegni lincei 127, Roma), 99-111.
- Sundermann, W., 1997. *Der Sermon von der Seele. Eine Lehrschrift der östlichen Manichäismus* (Berliner Turfantexte 19, Turnhout).
- TTTiii = W. Bang, A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte III: Der große Hymnus auf Mani* (SPAW 1930), 183-211.
- TTTiv = W. Bang, A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte IV: Ein neues uigurisches Sündenbekenntnis* (SPAW 1930), 432-450.
- Weber, D., 1972. Zur sogdischen Personennamengebung, *IF* 77, 191-208.
- Weller, F., 1934. Bemerkungen zum soghdischen Vimalakirtinirdeśasūtra, *AM* 10, 314-364.
- WLi = Waldschmidt, E., Lentz, W., *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (APAW 1926, 4).
- WLii = Waldschmidt, E., Lentz, W., *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten* (SPAW 1933, 13), 480-607, 2 pls.
- Xromov, A. L., 1972. *Jagnobskij jazyk* (Moskva).
- Yoshida, Y., 1979. On the Sogdian infinitives, *JAAS* 18, 183-195.
- Yoshida, Y., 1984. On the Sogdian formula for receiving the eight commandments – Pelliot sogdien 5 and 17, *Orient* 20, 157-172.
- Yoshida, Y., 1988. Karabarugasun hibun no sogudo-go-han ni tsuite (On the Sogdian version of the Kara Balgasun inscription), *Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies, Kyoto University* 28, 24-52.
- Yoshida, Y., 1990. Some new readings of the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun inscription, in A. Haneda (ed.), *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale. Actes du Colloque Franco-Japonais, Kyoto, 4-8 octobre 1988* (Kyoto), 117-123.
- Yoshida, Y., 2000. Sùtè wén kāoshì [Studies of Sogdian texts], in Liǔ Hóngliàng (ed.), *Tūlǐfān xīnchū mǒnjìào wénxiàn yánjiū* [Studies in the new Manichaean texts recovered from Turfan] (Beijing), 3-199.
- Zieme, P., 1975. *Manichäisch-Türkische Texte* (Berliner Turfantexte 5, Berlin).

DIE BESCHREIBUNG DER DAĒNĀ IN EINEM SOGHDISCHEN MANICHÄISCHEN TEXT¹

(Tafeln 6-8)

Christiane Reck

Mani hat seine Religion bewußt synkretistisch angelegt. Er wollte, daß sein System die vorherigen in sich aufnimmt und deren Abschluß bildet. Zugleich wollte er den Anhängern anderer Religionen verständlich sein und benutzte daher ihre Bilder zur Illustration seiner eigenen Vorstellungen. Dabei griff er nicht nur auf das Judentum zurück, worin er aufgewachsen war, sondern auch auf den Buddhismus und den Zoroastrismus. Der dualistische Ansatz, grundlegende kosmogonische Vorstellungen und die Übernahme zoroastrischer Götternamen neben der Übersetzung der syrisch-aramäischen trugen zum iranischen Gesicht des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus bei. Aber auch eschatologische Details, wie die Auffassung der Manichäer, daß der befreiten Seele nach dem Tod des gerechten Menschen ihre eigenen Werke in Gestalt einer Jungfrau entgegenzutreten und sie beim weiteren Aufstieg begleiten, sind dem zoroastrischen Bereich entlehnt.

Später half den Manichäern der Brauch, fremdes Gedankengut bzw. fremde Begrifflichkeit für die Darstellung der eigenen Inhalte zu benutzen, auch als Schutz gegen Verfolgung. Dies gilt in besonderem Maße für die Adaption der manichäischen Texte an das buddhistische Schrifttum in China.

Ein besonders repräsentativer Text für diese Vermischung ist das von Walter B. Henning publizierte Fragment mit der Erzählung von der Daēnā.²

Bei der Arbeit an den Fragmenten der Ōtani-Sammlung in Kyoto 1997 waren mir zwei Bruchstücke, 7127 und 7210, aufgefallen, die zu dieser Handschrift gehören, wovon sich Ōtani 7127 direkt an den vorhandenen Text anfügen läßt, vgl. Taf. 6 und 7.

Das Hauptfragment Ch/So 14731 ist 40 cm hoch und 26 cm breit. Es hat das Fundsigel T II Toyoq. Das heißt, daß es während der 2. deutschen Turfanexpedition in Toyoq gefunden wurde. Nach einer Untersuchung von Werner Sundermann stammen diese Rollen-

¹ Der Artikel basiert auf einem Vortrag "Die Erzählung von der Daēnā als Beispiel für den Synkretismus in der manichäischen Literatur Zentralasiens", der auf dem Symposium "Indien und Zentralasien – Sprach- und Kulturkontakt" vom 7. bis 10. Mai 2001, veranstaltet von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Kommission für Buddhistische Studien und der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Seminar für Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde, gehalten wurde. Ich danke der Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, der Universität Ryūkoku in Kyoto, der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin und der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für die Photos und die freundliche Genehmigung zur Publikation.

² W. B. Henning, *Sogdian tales*, BSOAS 11 (1945), 476-477 als Text G; Facsimile in D. Weber (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934: photo edition* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Suppl. series 4, London 2000), pl. 171. Eine Bearbeitung einiger Zeilen dieses Fragmentes auf der Grundlage der Zusammenfügung mit einem anderen Bruchstück wurde von mir in dem Artikel: 84 000 Mädchen in einem manichäischen Text aus Zentralasien, in P. Kieffer-Pülz, J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: studies in honour of Heinz Bechert on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Swisttal-Odendorf 1997), 543-550 vorgelegt.

fragmente aus Toyoq, die auf der Rectoseite chinesischen Text und auf der Versoseite soghdischen manichäischen Text tragen, aus einer Zeit, wo der Manichäismus sich im Niedergang befand und stark von buddhistischen Elementen durchdrungen war. Die Schrift ist nachlässig und die Gestaltung der literarischen Werke unterscheidet sich sehr von den früheren, ästhetisch anspruchsvollen Kodexfragmenten.³

Das Fragment Ōtani 7127 ist nicht sehr groß: 6,9 cm × 6,8 cm. Es fügt sich an den Anfang der letzten beiden Zeilen von Ch/So 14731.⁴ Y. Yoshida danke ich ganz herzlich dafür, daß er mich über ein weiteres Fragment in Kenntnis setzte, das die Zeilen 17-20 ergänzt, aber nicht vervollständigt. Es befindet sich in der Sammlung Orientalischer Handschriften der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg unter der Signatur Дх 06957.⁵

Außerdem gehört wahrscheinlich das Fragment Ōtani 7210 noch mit zu der Handschrift. Es ist 5,5 cm × 7,0 cm groß. Alle Fragmente haben auf ihrer Vorderseite chinesischen Text aus dem Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra.⁶ So läßt sich dann auch die Stellung in der soghdischen Rolle rekonstruieren. Das Fragment Ōtani 7210 gehört ca. 10 Zeilen vor den Beginn des großen Bruchstücks.⁷ Aufgrund des großen Abstandes zum Haupttext und der nicht ganz sicheren Lokalisierung zähle ich die Zeilen dieses Fragmentes unabhängig von den anderen Fragmenten.

³ W. Sundermann, Completion and correction of archaeological work by philological means: the case of the Turfan texts, in P. Bernard, F. Grenet (ed.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique* (Paris 1991), 286-288.

⁴ Die Zusammensetzung ist auch abgebildet in K. Kudara, W. Sundermann, Y. Yoshida, *Iranian fragments from the Ōtani collection: Iranian fragments unearthed in Central Asia by Ōtani mission and kept at the Library of Ryūkoku University* (Kyoto 1997), facs. vol., pl. 50.

⁵ Es ist publiziert in *Dunhuang manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia*, vol. 13, Дх 06191–Дх 07900 (Shanghai 2000), 231.

⁶ Alle sechs Fragmente entsprechen *Taishō* [= J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe (ed.), *The Tripiṭaka in Chinese* (Tokyo 1924-1935)] 262, Bd. 9, S. 15. Ch/So 14731: b 26-c 24, Ch/So 10051: c 3-6, Ch/So 10052: b 20-21 (Identifikationen: Y. Yoshida), Ōtani 7127: c 23-25, Ōtani 7210: b 9-10 und Дх 06957: c 12-15.

⁷ Vgl. *Iranian fragments from the Ōtani collection*, 121-122. Die 10 Zeilen ergeben sich aus folgender Berechnung. Das Fragment Ōtani 7210 ist identifiziert als Kap. 15, Z. 9-10 des *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, *Taishō*, Bd. 9. Jeweils eine Spalte von Ch/So 14731 enthält 4 Blöcke zu je 4 Zeichen. Die *Taishō*-Spalten enthalten jeweils drei Blöcke zu je 4 Zeichen. Zwischen dem ersten Zeichen von Ch/So 14731 und dem letzten Zeichen von Ōtani 7210 befinden sich 47 Blöcke zu je 4 Zeichen, das sind 11 Spalten und drei Blöcke auf dem Rollenfragment, also knapp 12 Spalten. Eine Spalte ist durchschnittlich 1,75 cm breit. Es ergibt sich ein Zwischenraum von ca. 21 cm. Bei einem Zeilenabstand von ca. 2 cm fehlen also 10 Zeilen soghdischen Textes zwischen Ōtani 7210 und Ch/So 14731. Bei der Rekonstruktion der chinesischen Textabfolge traten allerdings Probleme auf. Setzt man die 47 Blöcke zwischen den erhaltenen Textabschnitten ein, so müßte Ōtani 7210 den Anfang einer neuen Spalte darstellen. Das tut es nicht. Es ist deutlich der Rest des Zeichens von einem darüberliegenden Block auf der vorangehenden Spalte zu erkennen. Außerdem wäre der Schriftspiegel durch eine waagerechte Linie abgeschlossen. Es muß also chinesischer Text ausgelassen oder eingeschoben worden sein. Außerdem stehen zwischen den beiden auf Ōtani 7210 erhaltenen Textblöcken im *Taishō* 4 Blöcke. Es können auf Ōtani 7210 aber nur drei Blöcke zwischen zwei waagerecht benachbarten stehen. Aus diesen Differenzen ergibt sich, daß die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Stellung dieses Fragmentes in der Rolle nur angenähert bestimmt werden kann.

W. B. Henning hat die Erzählung von der Daēnā veröffentlicht als Illustration, wie er schrieb, zur folgenden Geschichte "Cäsar und die Diebe", worin der Farn, der Schutzgeist des Cäsar agiert. Beide Themen, Daēnā und Farn, haben auch Professor Gherardo Gnoli beschäftigt, und so möchte ich ihm zu Ehren mit diesem Artikel ein wenig zur Erweiterung unserer Kenntnis über die Daēnā beitragen.

Der Text über die Daēnā zeigt nach Henning deutlicher als irgendein anderer bekannter manichäischer Text, daß die Manichäer die zoroastrische Vorstellung teilten, daß der Seele nach dem Tode ihre eigenen guten Taten in der Gestalt einer Jungfrau, in den awestischen zoroastrischen Texten als *daēnā* (pahl. *dēn*) bezeichnet, ein Wort das auch 'Religion' bedeuten kann, begegne. Werner Sundermann hat ganz ausführlich in seinem Artikel über die Jungfrau der Guten Taten den zoroastrischen Ursprung dieser Vorstellungen und der Identifizierung der Daēnā mit den Werken des Gläubigen dargelegt.⁸

Nach Sundermann sind durch die Beschreibung der Himmelsreise des zoroastrischen Priesters Kerdīr aus dem 3. Jh., d.h. zur Zeit Manis, "die geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen dafür gegeben, daß die entsprechenden manichäischen Vorstellungen auf zoroastrische zurückgehen".⁹

Die schicksalhafte Begegnung der Seele mit der Daēnā ist in der zoroastrischen Literatur mehrfach dargestellt.¹⁰ Grundlage sind die Darlegungen im sogenannten Hādōxt-Nask, das bei Westergaard zu den Yašt gezählt wurde und zwar als Yašt-Fragment 21 und 22¹¹ und im *Vidēvdād* 19, 30 (98)¹² und darauf aufbauende Pahlavibearbeitungen, z.B. im *Mēnōg-i xrad* II, 123-139¹³ und im *Arda Wirāz nāmāg* 8-9.¹⁴

Manichäische Darstellungen der Erlösung der individuellen Seele finden wir in den koptischen Quellen, dem Psalmbuch, in den koptischen *Kephalaia* und den Homilien. Sie verbinden auch die Erlösung der Seele mit den Werken des Gläubigen. Darüber gibt uns

⁸ "In der mittelpersischen Überlieferung der Zarathustrier wurde die Identifizierung der Jungfrau mit den Taten des Menschen vollendet. Vereinfacht könnte man sagen: wurde am Anfang die *daēnā* genannte Jungfrau durch die Tugenden des Menschen geziert, so waren es schließlich die Taten des Menschen selbst, die Jungfrauengestalt besaßen" (W. Sundermann, Die Jungfrau der Guten Taten, in Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Recurrent patterns in Iranian religions: from Mazdaism to Sufism. Proceedings of the round table held in Bamberg (30th September–4th October 1991)* (Paris 1992), 165.

⁹ Ebenda, 166.

¹⁰ Vgl. M. Boyce, *Textual sources for the study of Zoroastrianism* (Manchester 1984), 80-89, zur Daēnā allgemein vgl. M. Shaki, Dēn, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7 (Costa Mesa 1996), 279-280, und F.-Th. Lankarany, *Daēnā im Avesta, eine semantische Untersuchung* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik. Dissertationen 10, Reinbek 1985). Vgl. jetzt auch A. Piras, *Hādōxt Nask 2. Il racconto zoroastriano della sorte dell'anima. Edizione critica del testo avestico e pahlavi, traduzione e commento* (Serie orientale Roma 88, Roma 2000), besonders 90-93.

¹¹ N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta or the religious books of the Zoroastrians* (Wiesbaden 1993), 296-300.

¹² Vgl. J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, pt. 1, *The Vendidad* (Sacred books of the East 4, Oxford 1887; repr. Delhi 1988), 213.

¹³ Vgl. E. W. West, *Pahlavi text*, pt. 3 (Sacred books of the East 24, London 1885; repr. Delhi 1994), 18-20.

¹⁴ Vgl. F. Vahman, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmāg. The Iranian "Divina commedia"* (London-Malmö 1986), 90-93 und 194-195, und Ph. Gignoux, *Le livre d'Ardā Virāz* (Paris 1984), 48-49 und 157.

Kephalaion 141 Auskunft, das die Überschrift trägt 'Auf welche Weise die Seele den Körper verläßt'.¹⁵

Im 7. *Kephalaion* 'Über die 5 Väter'¹⁶ wird von der Lichtgestalt gesprochen, die ein Ebenbild der Erscheinung des Apostels darstellt.¹⁷ Der Jungfrau der Guten Taten und der hier erwähnten Lichtgestalt, die auch als 'Geleitender Weiser' auftritt, ist gemeinsam, daß sie Ebenbilder sind. Die Lichtgestalt ist aber ein himmlisches Ebenbild, eine göttliche Schöpfung, während die Jungfrau der Guten Taten ein Ebenbild der Seele darstellt. Sie ist genauso schön, wie sie durch die frommen Werke des Gläubigen gebildet wurde.¹⁸

Die Homilien beginnen mit dem Sermon des Gebets, worin ein Teil als 'Gebet an den "Geleitenden Weisen"' bezeichnet ist. Es enthält die folgenden Bitten:

Möge Deine Gestalt vor mir herauskommen und ... mich vor (?) allen Gefahren ... Möge ich siegen ... siegen über alle Kräfte des Körpers ... und ich werde aus der Welt herausgehen ... Möge der große Glanz (d.i. Jesus) kommen und den Weg mir erleuchten. Mögen Deine drei Engel mir Deine Kleider, Deine Diademe ... bringen ... Deinen mächtigen Siegespreis ... herrliches geehrtes Gewand ... Erde. Möge mein Weg in Ruhe sein. Möge eine Tür sich vor mir öffnen an der Säule (der Herrlichkeit) ... Möge ich stehen in der Reihe ... Urteil des Richters der Wahrheit. Möge ich übersetzen in den Lichtschiffen und zur Ruhe gelangen ...¹⁹

Auch die neuesten koptischen Texte aus Kellis bestätigen diese Erwartung der Gläubigen. Sie sprechen in Psalm A 5:

The image of my counterpart came unto me, with her three angels. She gave to me the garment and the crown and the palm and the victory. He took me to the judge without any shame; for what he entrusted to me I have perfected ...²⁰

Die Jungfrau begegnet uns ebenfalls in den koptischen Texten und zwar in Psalm 255:

[Jesu my] Light, I cry unto thee in the hour of the going forth [from the body], do not, my Light, do not forsake me [in the midst] of the wild beasts. [Let] me be worthy also to see thy

¹⁵ *Kephalaia*, Bd. 1, 2. Hälfte, Lfg. 13/14, bearbeitet von W.-P. Funk (Stuttgart 1999), 344. Vgl. auch C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Göttingen 1961), 104 Fn. 3.

¹⁶ *Keph. 7* in: *Kephalaia*, Bd. 1, 1. Hälfte, hrsg. v. H. J. Polotsky und A. Böhlig (Stuttgart 1940), 36.

¹⁷ Die Lichtgestalt ist eine Emanation des Lichtnous (Hinweis W. Sundermann), vgl. *Keph. 9* 'Was die Deutung des Friedensgrüßes, der Rechten, des Kusses und der Proskynese ist' in: *Kephalaia*, 1.1., 41, Z. 11-25.

¹⁸ G. Quispel, Das ewige Ebenbild des Menschen. Zur Begegnung mit dem Selbst in der Gnosis, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1967 (= *Polarität des Lebens*, Zürich 1968), 28.

¹⁹ H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (Stuttgart 1934), 6, Z. 18-30.

²⁰ I. Gardner, A Manichaean liturgical codex found at Kellis, *Orientalia*, n.s., 62 (1993) 2, 44, Z. 12-18. Im Anschluß daran werden die weiteren Etappen des Aufstiegs beschrieben, worin der Ich-Erzähler auch vom 'ship of living water' und dem 'ship of living fire' berichtet. Den Hinweis auf diesen neuen Text verdanke ich einer Fußnote von P. O. Skjærvø, Iranian elements in Manichaeism. A comparative contrastive approach. Irano-Manichaica I, in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Bures-sur-Yvette 1995), 277-278.

Maiden for whose sake I have toiled, who brings all the gifts of the faithful (. . .), and her three angels that are with her.²¹

In den mittelliranischen Texten finden sich ebenfalls vielfältige Hinweise auf das, was die Seele nach dem Tode des Körpers erwartet, z.B. heißt es im parthischen *Huyadagmān*:

Thou shalt put on a radiant garment, and gird on Light; and I shall set on thy head the diadem of sovereignty.²²

Manis Übergang ins Lichtreich wird in einem parthischen Text folgendermaßen beschrieben:

. . . wie ein Herrscher, der die Waffen und sein (Kriegs-)Kleid ablegt und ein andres königliches Gewand anlegt, so legte der Gesandte des Lichts des Körpers kriegerische Tracht ab, setzte sich nieder in ein Licht-Schiff und ergriff das göttliche Kleid, das Diadem des Lichts und den schönen Kranz. Und in großer Freude flog er zusammen mit Lichtgöttern, die rechts und links (neben ihm) einhergehen, unter Harfenklang und Freudensang, – flog er in göttlicher Wundermacht, wie ein rascher Blitz oder eine eilende Strahlenscheinung (*Sternschnuppe*), hin zur lichten Säule der Herrlichkeit und zum Mondgefährt, dem Treffpunkt der Gottheiten, und blieb (dort) bei Gott Ohrmizd, dem Vater.²³

In parthischen Hymnen werden die Taten besonders hervorgehoben:

[Denn jeder?], der sie hört und glaubt und in seinem Kopf behält und der durch fromme Taten dient, der wird von diesem Geburt-Tod die Erlösung erlangen und von allen Sünden befreit werden . . . Denn in diesem Geburt-Tod gibt es ja nichts Schönes außer allein dem Verdienst und den frommen Taten, die die wissenden Menschen tun . . .²⁴

Erstaunlicherweise sind die Parinirvāṇa-Hymnen *prnybr'nyg b's'h* alle von Klage geprägte Lieder, die den Verlust der Gemeinde betonen und nicht, wie vielleicht zu erwarten gewesen wäre, die Freude der Gläubigen darüber wiedergeben, daß wiederum mit der Seele eines Erwählten ein Teil der Lichtseele die Erlösung gefunden hat. Dies wird nur ganz kurz in der Form erwähnt, daß "der Thron erlangt wurde".

Ein mittelpersisches Textfragment überliefert uns folgenden Wortlaut:

Herrscher, neuen glänzenden Thron von der Mutter der Lebenden, ein neues Diadem, eine goldfarbige Krone, von . . . Neue Wohnstätte.²⁵

Parthische Montagshymnen verheißen:

Den geistigen Palast bereiten sie für euch. Gehet ein in das Reich, vor den Vater der Größe, und seiet vor ihm in eurem religionsgemäßen Verhalten, in Ruhe und Reinheit.²⁶

²¹ *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, pt. 2, hrsg. v. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart 1938), 66, Z. 19-24.

²² M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles in Parthian* (London 1954), 101, VIc 4.

²³ W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III* (SPAW 1934, Nr. 27), 860-861, Text c, T II D 79 recto = M 5569.

²⁴ Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III*, 856, Text b, T II D II 134 = M 5815.

²⁵ M 309, F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II* (APAW, 1904, Anhang), 47.

²⁶ M 5860 I/v/i/3-10/, Publikation in Vorbereitung; Ch. Reck, *Mitteliranische manichäische Montags- und Bēmahymnen*.

Oder auch:

Der Palast des Lichtes ist für uns vorbereitet und der göttliche Thron des Friedens für ewig.²⁷

Der arabische Historiker An-Nadīm beschreibt die ihm überlieferten Vorstellungen²⁸ im Kapitel 'Lehre der Manichäer über das zukünftige Leben' folgendermaßen:

Wenn der Tod, lehrt Mani, einem Wahrhaftigen naht, sendet der Urmensch einen Lichtgott in der Gestalt des leitenden Weisen und mit ihm drei Götter und zugleich mit diesen den Siegespreis,²⁹ das Kleid, die Kopfbinde, die Krone und den Lichtkranz. Mit ihnen kommt die Jungfrau, ähnlich der Seele dieses Wahrhaftigen . . . Jene aber nehmen diesen Wahrhaftigen, bekleiden ihn mit der Krone, dem Kranze und dem Kleide, geben ihm den Siegespreis in die Hand, und steigen mit ihm auf der Säule des Lobpreises zu der Sphäre des Mondes, zu dem Urmenschen und zu der Nahnaha, der Mutter der Lebendigen, bis zu dem Zustand, in dem er zuerst in den Paradiesen des Lichts war.³⁰

Der *Fihrist* ist offensichtlich der koptischen Überlieferung sehr nahe. In Bezug auf das Gericht gibt es in den Überlieferungen Unterschiede. Gemeinsam ist ihnen, daß die Seele nach ihrer Loslösung in Empfang genommen wird. Entweder wird sie direkt einem Richter vorgeführt, der ihre Unschuld erkennt und sie ins Lichtreich läßt oder sie erhält die Insignien der Erlösung ohne Urteilsspruch.³¹ Die Insignien der Erlösung sind nach dem *Fihrist* und den *Kephalaia* der Siegespreis, das Lichtkleid und das Diadem. Manchmal sind noch Kranz und Krone hinzugefügt.³² Die parthischen Hymnen sprechen außerdem vom Thron und der Halle, bzw. dem Palast, der bereit wird, was Teil des verheißenen Paradieses ist. Den wichtigsten Beleg für die Weiterführung dieser Vorstellungen in den mittelliranischen manichäischen Texten bietet aber ein ganz kleines soghdisches Bruchstück in manichäischer Schrift. Auf dieses Fragment, M 6132, wies G. Gnoli hin unter Berufung auf

²⁷ M 30 /v/II/6-8/ Hymnus auf den Sonnengott, Publikation in Vorbereitung: Ch. Reck, *Mitteliranische manichäische Montags- und Bēmahymnen*.

²⁸ Die von P. Alfarc, *Écritures manichéennes*, 2, *Étude analytique* (Paris 1919), 50 geäußerte Vermutung, daß An-Nadīm u.a. aus dem *Šābuhragān* zitiere, wird von C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 113 widerlegt.

²⁹ Flügel hatte hier 'Wassergefaß' übersetzt, doch Polotsky hat schlüssig nachgewiesen, daß dies in den arabischen Handschriften unterschiedlich vorliegt und korrekt als Siegespreis zu übersetzen ist, vgl. H. J. Polotsky, C. Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (SPAW, 1933, Nr. 1), 71.

³⁰ G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig 1862), 100, unter Einbeziehung der Übersetzung von C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 100.

³¹ Die verschiedenen Darstellungen sind zusammengefaßt bei H. J. Polotsky, Manichäismus, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearb., begonnen von G. Wissowa, Supplementband 6 (Stuttgart 1935), 240-271, zit. aus G. Widengren (hrsg.), *Der Manichäismus* (Darmstadt 1977), 128-129. Sie sind auch differenzierend bearbeitet bei C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 103-139.

³² Krone und Diadem sind die Standardausrüstung der Gepriesenen im Manichäismus. Sie sind der sasanidischen Königsideologie entnommen, vgl. P. O. Skjærvø, *Iranian elements in Manichaeism*, 277, Fn. 37. W. Sundermann wies mich freundlicherweise darauf hin, daß gerade die Zweiteilung des Kopfschmuckes kennzeichnend für die altiranischen Könige ist: vgl. P. Calmeyer, *Crown*, i: In the Median and Achaemenid periods, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 6 (Costa Mesa 1993), 408.

I. Gershevitch.³³ Aufgrund derselben Thematik möchte ich es hier mitpublizieren, vgl. Taf. 8a-b. Es ist 5,0 cm hoch und 3,4 cm breit, mit 10 nicht vollständig erhaltenen Zeilen. Die Schrift ist eigentümlich. Die Buchstaben sind kursiv aber häufig isoliert geschrieben.

M 6132/I. S./

- /1/ [](.)[1](.)[1]
 /2/ [δ](β)n' 'ty wy(j)p'h³⁴
 /3/ [](c) ° 'rt(y) s't wyy rtyy³⁵
 /4/ [](.)'r'nd °° '(r)ty c'nw
 /5/ [](c)w rw'n cn δynyfrn 'ty
 /6/ [](r) [']kty' 'ww šyrk³⁶
 /7/ [](δ/t/g)[1-2]ty(y./š) sk'tryk³⁷
 /8/ [](.)ndy³⁸ β[1](δ/t/γ/r/x)³⁹
 /9/ []t(.)[3]
 /10/[](.)[3]

 /1/ []
 /2/ [Zweifel⁴⁰ und Furcht
 /3/ []. Und alle vor sein Angesicht
 /4/ []. . -en. Und wie
 /5/ []die Seele von der Glorie der Religion und
 /6/ []. . . Taten die/den gute/n

³³ G. Gnoli, The Sassanian iconography of the Dēn, *BAL*, n.s., 7 (= *Iranian studies in honor of A. D. H. Bivar*, 1993), 85 Fn. 47.

³⁴ Zwischen y und p sind zwei kleine Strichchen erhalten, die möglicherweise zu j gehört haben können. Die Oberfläche oberhalb des Buchstabens, mittendrin und unterhalb ist dem Wurmfraß zum Opfer gefallen, daher sind keine weiteren Buchstabenreste nachweisbar bzw. ausschließbar.

³⁵ I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954) [= *GMS*] § 1439.

³⁶ *GMS* § 982².

³⁷ *GMS* § 1287. Problematisch ist der Buchstabe vor dem s. Gehört zum vorangehenden Wort? Ist es ein š? Was ist /tys? 'sein . . .'?' 'Und ihn' wäre rtšy.

³⁸ Eventuell kann man hier xwsndy' oder 'xwsndy' 'Freude, Zufriedenheit' ergänzen. Leider ist vom ersten Buchstaben nach der Lücke nur sehr wenig erhalten, so daß man z, p, s oder ähnliches lesen könnte. Die Endung -nd bildet das Part. Präs. (*GMS* §§ 1066 und 1068), woran die Abstraktendung -y' angefügt ist. Diese Endungen können an viele Präsensstämme angehängt werden. Dadurch sind viele Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten gegeben.

³⁹ Nach dem β ist Raum für einen Buchstaben. Dann ist ein punktförmiger Rest erhalten, der entweder ein diakritischer Punkt eines r oder x sein kann, oder aber die Spitze des über die Zeile führenden Striches, wie in δ, t, oder g in dieser Handschrift gemein haben. Stünde noch ein diakritischer Punkt nach dem β, dann könnte man frx, bzw. frwx in sehr gedrängter Schreibung vermuten. Doch das Papier ist an dieser Stelle frei. Vielleicht: βwy 'Errettung', βwδ 'Duft', βyr 'finden, erlangen', βyδ 'anderer'.

⁴⁰ Die Ergänzung erfolgte im Sinnzusammenhang mit wy(j)p', wobei dessen Ergänzung nicht ganz sicher ist. Andere Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten wären: kβn' 'klein' und tβn' 'Kiste, Sarg'.

/7/ []. . . und höher/mehr⁴¹
 /8/ []heit . . .
 /9/ []. . . []
 /10/ []

M 6132/2. S./

/1/ [1](.)([1](...)[]
 /2/ (δ)ynyfrn δn 3 mrδ'(s)[pndt]
 /3/ 'pryw ky 'ty wny rw'[n ww]
 /4/ nγwδn 'ty zywr w' δy(δ)[ym 'ty]⁴²
 /5/ ps'k »βrnd⁴³ oo 'rtyšy
 /6/ x' 'kty' '(w)w r(w)['n]
 /7/ 'rtyšy m'(y)[δ w'βt]
 /8/ (ty)[w]⁴⁴ (šyr)[]
 /9/ [2](.j) s[1] (.)([]
 /10/ [k](.n)[3](o)[]

/1/ []
 /2/ Glorie der Religion mit 3 Elem[enten],
 /3/ die der See[le das]
 /4/ Kleid und die Kette, das Diad[em und]
 /5/ die Krone bringen. U[nd ihre]
 /6/ Taten die See[le]
 /7/ Und zu ihr (so)[spricht sie:]
 /8/ "Du, gute[]
 /9/ []
 /10/ []

Ganz deutlich geht aus diesem Text hervor, daß *δynyfrn*, die 'Glorie der Religion', d.h. der *Nous*⁴⁵ als der Geleitende Weise auftritt. Er wird begleitet von drei Elementen, *mrδ'(s)[pndt]*. Mit diesem aus dem Zoroastrischen (*Amāša spānta*) entlehnten Begriff *mrδ'spndt* werden üblicherweise die fünf Söhne des Urmenschen, die Elemente, Äther,

⁴¹ Oder auch (*ksy*)'tryk 'enger'?

⁴² *GMS* § 1434.

⁴³ *GMS* § 653.

⁴⁴ Die oberzeiligen Strichreste erlauben verschiedene Ergänzungsvarianten. Ich habe diese vorgeschlagen in der Annahme, daß hier eine wörtliche Rede beginnen könnte, womit sich die Daēnā an die gute Seele wendet. Das ist aber sehr vage. Unterstützt würde die Annahme, wenn nach dem ersten Wort (*tγw*?) auf dieser Zeile 'ty stünde. Dafür wäre allerdings auch in der Lücke in der Zeile davor Platz.

⁴⁵ W. Sundermann, Namen von Göttern und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos, *AoF* 6 (1979), 132 Fn. 239, vgl. auch W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous* (Berlin 1992), 78 Anm. 1.2.

Wind, Licht, Wasser und Feuer, die seine Rüstung darstellen, bezeichnet,⁴⁶ hier hingegen stehen drei Elemente für die drei Engel.

Zusammen bringen sie der Seele die Insignien der Erlösung: das Kleid, die Halskette,⁴⁷ Diadem und Krone. W. Sundermann fand an dieser Stelle eine Übereinstimmung mit einem sehr bruchstückhaften Abschnitt des Fragmentes e des Gigantenbuches heraus, wie er mir freundlicherweise bei einer Durchsicht des Editionsentwurfes dieses Textes mitteilte. Demzufolge sind dort die Insignien 'bsyr 'Krone', *dydym* 'Diadem' und nach einer Lücke noch *pymwg* 'Kleid' aufgezählt.⁴⁸ Unmittelbar davor finden sich die Worte ∞ *qyrdg'n* ∞ *s/* (115) [*mhr*]'spnd ∞ 'gute Taten. [Ele]mente'. Offenbar werden in diesem mittelpersischen Text diese eschatologischen Vorgänge zitiert.

Daß auch in Zentralasien der Lichtnous mit der Lichtgestalt identifiziert wird,⁴⁹ belegt ebenso der Text U 57:⁵⁰

darauf so kommt der Gott der Gesetzesmajestät mit den (durch die) drei Göttern, die er selber ist •• (als?) das fromme Erbarmen •• (?) zu jener Seele •• Viele Arten guter Erinnerungsworte (?) sagt er •• Darauf zum Totenrichter schickt er sie •• Durch der selbst vollbrachten guten Taten Frucht den Sieg und Gewinn •• . . . dort findet sie •• . . .⁵¹

Im soghdischen Text von Ch/So 14731 u.a. vermissen wir den Geleitenden Weisen, doch die Jungfrau der Guten Taten tritt auf: 'Und die eigenen Taten, die wundervolle göttliche Königstochter, die Jungfrau kommt vor ihr Angesicht'. Statt der drei Engel stehen ihr rekonstruiert 84000 gottdienende Mädchen, wobei das Wort für 'gottdienend' nur in diesem Text so belegt ist, zur Verfügung. Die bekannten Insignien der Erlösung werden nicht erwähnt, dafür Blumen und eine Sänfte. Nach dem Auftritt der Daēnā bricht der Text ab. So wissen wir nicht, ob die Insignien nicht vielleicht doch noch überreicht werden, oder ob noch ein Gericht zu erwarten ist, wo dergleichen abschließend übergeben wird. Aus der Aufforderung ins Lichtparadies zu kommen, kann man aber vermuten, daß die Seele kein Gericht mehr absolvieren muß. Eine Rechtfertigung findet sich ja schon in

⁴⁶Vgl. W. Sundermann, Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen, 125 Fn. 147-146 und W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*, 137.

⁴⁷Steht die Halskette für den sonst gebrauchten "Siegespreis"?

⁴⁸Vgl. W. B. Henning, The Book of the giants, *BSOAS* 11 (1943), 58 und 62 (Z. 115-116) (M 101 e/1.S./4-5).

⁴⁹Vgl. auch C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 111.

⁵⁰J. Wilkens, Ein manichäisch-türkischer Hymnus auf den Licht-Nous, in *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, N.F., 16 (1999-2000), 219 und 227, Kommentar zu Z. 20-21. Die dort genannten 'fünf Buddhas' stellt er in Beziehung zu den fünf Lichtelementen. Diese sind in unserem Text M 6132 als Dreizahl präsent. Doch identifiziert er sie dann mit den fünf 'seelensammelnden Lichtern', die an anderer Stelle als fünf Engel, bzw. Gesandte bezeichnet werden, vgl. M 98 l/r/16/ und /22-23/ bei M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhra-gān-Texte* (Wiesbaden 1992), 10-13. Auf diesem Weg können die Lichtelemente auch als die die Daēnā begleitenden Engel auftreten. In der zoroastrischen Tradition treten drei Begleiter der Daēnā im mp. *Mēnōg-i xrad*, Kap. 2 (118) in Erscheinung. Es sind die Götter Mihr, Srōš und Rašn, vgl. M. Boyce, *Textual sources*, 82. Der türkische Text U 57 nennt ebenfalls drei Götter.

⁵¹A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III* (APAW 1922, 2, Berlin), 31 (Nr. 13, II. T II D 175, 2, 31).

den Zeilen 16 bis 22. Die Seele des Gerechten, die in Z. 12-13 'gesetzestreue Person' genannt wird, braucht sich nicht zu fürchten, weil sie im irdischen Leben nicht getötet hat, barmherzig den Lebewesen gegenüber gewesen ist und nicht ihr Fleisch gegessen hat.

Die chinesische Hymnenrolle nimmt in einem Montagsgebet die Erlösungserwartung auf:

Wenn der Tag der Unbeständigkeit kommt und man diesen abscheulichen Fleischeskörper verläßt, werden die Buddhas, die Heiligen und die Weisen einen vorne und hinten umgeben. Das Edelsteinschiff wird bereitstehen, die guten Taten werden von selbst zum Vorschein kommen, und er wird geradewegs vor den König der Gerechtigkeit treten und die drei großen Siegespreise empfangen, und zwar die Blumenkrone, Halsketten aus Edelstein und viele Arten von wunderbaren Kleidern und Schmuckgehängen . . . Aufgrund der eigenen guten Taten so auf ewig das Glück zu erlangen, darum bitten wir alle einmütig.⁵²

Der chinesische Text läßt viele Bezüge zu unserem Text erkennen. Darüber hinaus tritt die Seele hier nach der Begegnung mit der Daēnā vor den König der Gerechtigkeit und erhält die drei großen Siegespreise: Krone, Kette und Kleid. Wir können also in dem verloren gegangenen folgenden Stück unserer Textrolle eine ähnliche Passage erwarten.

Durch die Anfügung des kleinen Fragmentes aus der Ōtani-Sammlung ist die Beschreibung der Daēnā ergänzt worden. Sie wird als wundervolle, göttliche Gottestochter, Jungfrau geschildert, und soweit entspricht sie dem Bild, wie in den zoroastrischen Texten die Daēnā beschrieben ist: als eine wunderschöne Jungfrau. Doch während im *Haḍōxt Nask* weiter die Schönheit ausgemalt wird, werden hier ihre Attribute aufgezählt: ewige Früchte (?) (*myty* oder *mrty*), das Getränk (*cš'nt*), um den Kopf einen Kranz aus Blumen. Das Wort für 'Getränk' *cš'nt* ist zweifelsfrei zu lesen. Schwieriger ist es bei dem Wort, das ich nach Yoshida mit 'Früchte' übersetzt habe. Dieses Wort ist bereits bei Henning mit vielen Fragezeichen versehen. Die Schrift läßt hier mehrere Lesarten zu, die aber alle bisher keine befriedigende Lösung boten. Ursprünglich hatte W. B. Henning *mrty* gelesen, aber nichts in der Übersetzung vorgeschlagen. In der Fußnote übersetzt er unter Vorbehalt 'Vögel', was aber eine fehlerhafte Pluralbildung wäre, da *mrγ-* ein leichter Stamm ist, mit dem vielfach belegten Plural *mrγyšt*. In der Publikation der Ōtani-Fragmente ist Y. Yoshida auch auf dieses Wort eingegangen.⁵³ Er liest *myty* und übersetzt dies mit 'Früchte' (als Lehnwort aus dem Parth. bezeugt als *mygd* M 8287/R?/V?/2/,⁵⁴ *mygdg* Hu I, 35,⁵⁵ *mygdynn* M 1202/v/8/), welche im manichäischen System als besonders lichthaltig geschätzt wurden.⁵⁶ Bisher belegt ist die Entlehnung ins Soghdische als *myδ'kw* zumeist im *Vessantara-Jātaka*. Die Früchte würden als Nahrungsmittel natürlich schön

⁵²H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* (Wiesbaden 1987), 62-63 (H. 394-400).

⁵³*Iranian fragments from the Ōtani collection*, 122.

⁵⁴W. Sundermann, Anmerkungen zu Th. Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung, in H. Klengel und W. Sundermann (hrsg.), *Ägypten-Vorderasien-Turfan* (Berlin 1991), 171-172.

⁵⁵M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles in Parthian*, 72.

⁵⁶W. B. Henning, Two Manichaean magical texts, *BSOAS* 12 (1947), 39-66.

das Getränk ergänzen. Wäre dann ein Mahl geschildert, das die Unsterblichkeit besiegelt? Im *Haδōxt-Nask* heißt es: 'An Speisen soll man ihm bringen Frühlings-Butter; das ist für den Jüngling von gutem *manō*, gutem Reden, gutem Handeln, guter *daēnā* die Speise nach dem Wegsterben'.⁵⁷ Frühlings-Butter für die Seele des Gerechten, stinkende Speise für die Seele des Sünders. G. Flügel und auch B. Dodge haben in ihrer Übersetzung des *Fihrist* unter den Insignien, die der Seele überreicht werden, ein Wassergefäß aufgeführt (s. Fn. 29). Der vorliegende Text bezeugt, daß ein Getränk bei den Ereignissen, die der Seele nach dem Tode geschehen, eine Rolle spielt.⁵⁸

Die Attribute Früchte und Getränk werden bei der zoroastrischen Daēnā nicht erwähnt.⁵⁹ Vögel können bei der Anahita sein. Die Anahita wird manchmal mit einer Blume, Früchten, einem Vogel oder einem Kind dargestellt.⁶⁰ Nach Manfred Hutter ist die Daēnā als schönes Mädchen durch die Göttinnen Anahita und Aši beeinflusst worden. Doch auch die indische Göttin der Morgenröte Uṣas müsse hiermit herangezogen werden.⁶¹ Die Beziehung zur Anahita bestätigt auch Firouz-Thomas Lankarany in seiner Untersuchung zur Daēnā im Avesta.⁶²

Im *Vidēvdād* 19,30 wird die Daēnā an der Cinwad-Brücke mit zwei Hunden und einem Strick beschrieben. Hunde hießen aber im Soghdischen *kwt*, bzw. *'kwt*. Sie können hier also nicht gemeint sein. Vögel sind in volkstümlichen Interpretationen oft Repräsentanten der Seele selbst.

Es gibt verschiedene bildliche Darstellungen, die der Daēnā zugeschrieben werden. G. Gnoli identifizierte sie auf Siegelabdrucken mit einer Frau, die eine Blume in der Hand hält.⁶³ Eine Allegorie auf die Daēnā sieht Gitty Azarpay in dem Gestaltung einer Silber- schale, in der vier Musikantinnen zwischen Weinstöcken mit verschiedenen Tieren die Freude bildlich darstellen, welche die Seele in dem "Haus des Gesangs", findet.⁶⁴

Frau Dr. J. Ebert machte mich freundlicherweise auf weitere Abbildungen aufmerksam, die als Daēnā verstanden werden können. Eine davon möchte ich erwähnen. Es ist

⁵⁷ C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 135.

⁵⁸ Herrn Prof. Peter Zieme danke ich für den Hinweis auf einen Artikel über "La coupe". Darin ist auf das "Wasser des Lebens" verwiesen. Eine ausführliche Bearbeitung von zentralasiatischen Trinkriten findet sich bei E. Esin, "And". The coup rites in Inner-Asian and Turkish Art, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens: In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann* (Istanbul 1970), 224-261. In diesem Artikel ist auch ein Banner aus Turfan, heute unter der Signatur IB 7243 im Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin, abgebildet, worauf mich ebenfalls Frau J. Ebert aufmerksam gemacht hatte. Dort hält eine Gottheit ein Trinkgefäß in der Hand. Sie sitzt neben der Nana. Ist es eine Daēnā?

⁵⁹ M. Weinreich verdanke ich einen Hinweis auf das *Große Bundahišn*, Kap. 30.12, worin der Seele des Gerechten außer der schönen Jungfrau eine fette Kuh mit viel Milch und ein Garten voller Früchte begegnet, vgl. *Zand-Ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, transliteration and translation in English by B. T. Anklesaria (Bombay 1956), 258-259. Vielleicht hat diese Darstellung Einfluß auf die Beschreibung der Daēnā in diesem Text ausgeübt?

⁶⁰ Vgl. M. Boyce, *Anāhīd*, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1 (London 1985), 1003.

⁶¹ M. Hutter, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart 1996), 221-222.

⁶² Lankarany, *Daēnā im Avesta*, 165.

⁶³ Gnoli, *The Sassanian iconography of the Dēn*, 79-85.

⁶⁴ G. Azarpay, *The allegory of Dēn in Persian art*, *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976), 37-47.

eine Zeichnung auf Papier, die zwei sehr ähnliche Frauen darstellt aus der Sammlung Pelliott (vgl. Taf. 8c).⁶⁵ F. Grenet, dem ich an dieser Stelle herzlich dafür danken möchte, daß er mir sein Photo und eine Kopie des ausführlichen Artikels zu dieser Darstellung⁶⁶ zur Verfügung gestellt hat, schreibt dazu, daß es sich bei der linken vermutlich um die Daēnā handelt, darauf weise der Blumenkopfschmuck hin. Wir finden hier auch ein Trinkgefäß. Verwunderlich bleibt der zahme Hund auf dem Teller. Es sei hier an die Hochachtung erinnert, die die Zoroastrier den Hunden entgegenbringen und an die Überlieferung im *Vīdēvdād*, wo die Daēnā von zwei Hunden begleitet wird. Trotzdem bleibt diese Darstellung hier merkwürdig. Eine Schale mit Früchten hätte unsere Erwartungen besser erfüllt. F. Grenet erklärt diesen Hund als Erkennungszeichen der Gottheit, da die Soghdier oftmals ihre Götter durch spezielle Tiere, auf denen sie sitzen, oder die sie auf einem Tablett tragen, identifizieren. Neben den beiden Hunden auf der Cinwad-Brücke sei hier auch die Überlieferung des *sagdīd*, des Hundes, der zur Reinigung der Seele des Verstorbenen beiträgt, erinnert, worauf mich W. Sundermann hinwies.⁶⁷

Neben der Daēnā sitzt vermutlich die soghdische Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin Nana. Sie ist in der Regel an dem Sonnen- und Mondsymboll erkennbar, wovon die Sonne buddhisert ist, indem ein Phönix hinzugefügt wurde. Ausserdem charakterisiert sie auch der Wolf, auf dem sie sitzt. Der Skorpion und die Gürtelgestaltung sollen Merkmale der Dämonisierung sein. So sind sich hier die beiden Frauen gegenübergestellt. Eine Herabsetzung der Nana und eine Erhöhung der Daēnā kann nach Grenet nur den Manichäern zugeschrieben werden.

In dem o.g. Artikel wird die Funktion dieses Papierbogens erläutert. Es sind Zeichnungen, die anlässlich der Zeremonie zu Āfrinagān angefertigt werden.⁶⁸ Die Autoren weisen nach, daß dieser Brauch in Dunhuang praktiziert wurde. Darüber hinaus publizieren sie auch Materialien, die belegen, daß zoroastrische Zeremonien in Turfan abgehalten wurden. Dadurch ist wieder ein eher zoroastrischer Hintergrund für diese Zeichnung wahrscheinlich geworden.⁶⁹ Die Dämonisierung der Nana könnte dennoch auf manichäischen Einfluß zurückgeführt werden.⁷⁰

Bei der Verschmelzung der Nana mit der iranischen Gottheit Spēnta Ārmaiti in Zentralasien hat sie deren chthonischen Funktionen übertragen bekommen. Dies wird klar aus den Wandgemälden von soghdischen Grabstätten und auf khwarezmischen Silberschalen.⁷¹ Dadurch ist auch das gemeinsame Auftreten von Daēnā und Nana verständlich. Möglicherweise haben die Manichäer tatsächlich die Nana als "schlechte Daēnā", als Gegenüber für die sündigen Seelen betrachtet.⁷² Eine literarische Bestätigung für diese Hypothese

⁶⁵ *Sérinde, terre de Bouddha: dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie* (Paris 1995), 293-294, Katalognr. 223.

⁶⁶ F. Grenet, Zhang Guangda, The last refuge of the Sogdian religion: Dunhuang in the ninth and tenth centuries, *BAL*, n.s., 10 (= *Studies in honor of Vladimir A. Livshits*, 1996), 175-186.

⁶⁷ J. Amouzgar, A. Tafazzoli, Le cinquième livre du Dēnkard (Paris 2000), 68-69, 76-77 und 100-103 (*Dēnkard* 20.1-2, und 24.28).

⁶⁸ Grenet, Guangda, The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion, 180-181.

⁶⁹ Ebenda, 180.

⁷⁰ Ebenda, 179.

⁷¹ G. Azarpay, *Sogdian painting* (Berkeley 1981), 139.

⁷² Dann hätte sie aber nach dem *Mēnōg-i xrad* II, 167-171, wesentlich häßlicher dargestellt werden müssen.

gibt es nicht. Wohl aber gibt es unter den türkischen manichäischen Texten zwei, die eine Begegnung des Gestorbenen mit 'einer falschen (lügnerischen), behaarten, greisen Dämonin . . .' beschreiben.⁷³

Der vorliegende soghdische Text über die Daēnā ist nicht nur deswegen interessant, weil er die stete Tradierung eines ursprünglich zoroastrischen Mythologems bezeugt, sondern auch die zunehmende Buddhistisierung der Textgestalt.

Neben den Zahlen 32 und 84000⁷⁴ ist anzumerken, daß einige Wörter in diesem Text nicht in ihrer in manichäischen Texten üblichen Form aufgeschrieben sind, sondern buddhistische Lexik darstellen. Ganz und gar buddhistisch ist *lwky* 'Welt'. Das Lehnwort *pwny'ny'h* repräsentiert die verdienstvolle Tat. Für *cxš'pδ* 'Gesetz', wie es in manichäischen Texten verwendet wird, steht hier *šks'pt*. Dieses Wort ist dem Sanskritbegriff *śikṣāpada* wieder neu nachempfunden. Auf diesen Umstand hat mich Prof. Y. Yoshida hingewiesen. Das in unserem Text vorkommende *kwn'k'r* 'Sänfte' stammt von *kūtāgāra* (Sanskrit).⁷⁵

Das wichtigste Wort, das das neu hinzugefügte Fragment Ōtani 7127 in den Gesamttext einbringt, ist: *cš'nt* 'Getränk'. Auch dieses Wort ist hier in seiner in buddhistischen Texten üblichen Orthographie geschrieben und so mehrfach belegt,⁷⁶ auch in Kombination mit *mstk'r'k* also 'berauschend', so in der "Sūtra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink". Die manichäische Form wäre *cšnd'k*.⁷⁷

Die Betonung der Entsagung vom Töten und Fleischessen, sowie der guten Behandlung der Lebewesen ist ein deutlicher Hinweis auf neuen buddhistischen Einfluß. Zum Tragen kommt hier die buddhistische Anweisung des *ahiṃsā*, das 'Nichtverletzen'. Diese Grundhaltung ist im 2. manichäischen Gebot *pw''zrmy'* zwar auch verankert, doch scheint die Betonung an dieser Stelle tatsächlich mehr der buddhistischen Umgebung geschuldet zu sein.

Der uns vorliegende Text beschreibt die zoroastrische Daēnā. Es gibt die oben beschriebene vermutlich zoroastrische Abbildung der Daēnā aus Dunhuang. Ist unser Text vielleicht zoroastrisch? Im Text werden buddhistische Begriffe, buddhistische Orthographie und buddhistische Gedanken benutzt. Dennoch ist es kein buddhistischer Text. Für den manichäischen Charakter des Textes spricht die Verwendung des Wortes *rwxs'n'γrδmn* (Z. 18), das manichäischem Gebrauch vorbehalten ist, auch wenn dem zweiten Wort dieses

⁷³Vgl. J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian doctrine of a future life: from death to the individual judgment* (New York 1965), 47 und 48, T II D 169 iii = MIK III 200 // und T II D 178 = U 34. Zu den Publikationen dieser Fragmente s. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*, beschrieben von J. Wilkens (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 13.16.8, Stuttgart 2000), Nr. 311 und 387. In MIK III 200//v/10/ kommen 'zehntausende Dämonen; schwarzneblige Dämonen schweben herbei, heißt es . . .' vor. Sind sie die Gegenspieler zu den 84000 Mädchen?

⁷⁴Vgl. meinen Artikel (s. Anm. 2). J. Ebert danke ich für den Hinweis, daß auch im 16. Kapitel der *Maitrisimit* die 84000 sehr häufig vorkommt.

⁷⁵N. Sims-Williams, *Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian*, in K. Röhrborn, W. Veenker (hrsg.), *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien: Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981* (Wiesbaden 1983), 137.

⁷⁶E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens* (Paris 1940), 251.

⁷⁷Vgl. W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (Berlin 1937), Z. 592 mit Kommentar auf S. 74.

Kompositums der zoroastrische Terminus *garōdmān* zugrunde liegt.⁷⁸ Zoroastrische Texte konnten in Turfan bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden. Auf der Rückseite von buddhistischen chinesischen Sūtraabschriften sind nur manichäische Texte belegt. Der o.g. Ausschnitt aus der chinesischen Hymnenrolle beweist die Überlieferung dieser grundlegenden manichäischen Lehre von der Erlösung der Seele bis in die späten chinesischen Gemeinden hinein. Der vorliegende Text stellt dafür ein Bindeglied dar.

TEXT

Ōtani 7210/v/

- 1/](.)[
2/](h) msy-(')[tr
3/](.) mγwn [
4/](δ)[]ZY[

Ch/So 14731 + Ch/So 10051 + Ch/So 10052 + Ōtani 7127 + Dx 06957/v/

- 1/ δwky p(..)[⁷⁹
2/ mn' k(..)[

Vermutlich drei Zeilen fehlen.

- 6/ 'yw 'z-w'n(h)[]
7/ mrtxmy pwny'ny(h)[]
8/ m'δ ZY xwty pw r'yh⁸⁰ βw(t)[½ Z.]⁸¹
9/ šyr'nk'ry pwny'nk'ry kwδ prnm⁸² 'z-wyt rt[y 4]
10/ cyty⁸³ 'tδrmkw'nch⁸⁴ δ'm L' δβ'yšt kw(n)[ty rty]
11/ MN wyspn'ch pw pckwyr m'δ ZY (n)wšy xx xii βγyšt
12/ pδyh⁸⁵ pw 'y⁸⁶ 'xš'nt γ'r'nt⁸⁷ ZKwy škš'pt
13/ p'šy 'δy rty cw zmnyh myrty ptsrδ xx xx xx xx ii[ii 1LPW]

⁷⁸B. Gharib, *Sogdian dictionary* (Tehran 1995), 346; G. Azarpay, The allegory of *Dēn* in Persian Art, 47.

⁷⁹Zwischen den Zeilen ist der Rest eines finalen γ oder š erhalten. Davor ist die Oberfläche abgeschabt.

⁸⁰Henning ist hier auch unsicher in der Lesung. Er schlägt außerdem vor: *myh?* *rzyh?* oder nach Gershevitch einen Fehler für *pw* 'myh.

⁸¹Hier sind einige Grundlinien der Schrift erhalten.

⁸²Nach Henning liegt hier ein Fehler für *prm* vor.

⁸³Die Übersetzung 'Dämon' zweifelt Henning selbst an. N. Sims-Williams hat *cyty* als Geist aber bestätigt, vgl. *BBB* c 21, *cytyt* 'Dämonen'. Man müßte dann die Ergänzung in den Singular setzen.

⁸⁴Nach Henning Fehler für 'tδrmnk, derselbe Fehler tritt auf in P 6, 191.

⁸⁵N. Sims-Williams hat hier vorgeschlagen *pδ* mit 'Familie, Art' zu übersetzen, was dem buddhistischen Begriff *kwtr*, Skr. *gotra*, vgl. *pwt'n'k kwtr Dhu* 27 mit der Lokativendung -yh. W. Sundermann übersetzt *pδ* mit 'kind' = 'Art', vgl. Iranian Manichean Turfan texts concerning the Turfan region, in *Turfan and Tunhuang: the texts* (Firenze 1992), 79 Fn. 54 unter Bezugnahme auf I. Gershevitch, The Sogdian word for 'advice' and some Mury documents, *CAJ* 7 (1962), 86 n. 27a. Beleg: 'st()wprδ'k 'Tier', wörtl. 'zur Tierart gehörig'.

⁸⁶Henning gibt für 'y auch andere Lesungen 'ny, 'zy o.ä., vgl. Fn. f.

⁸⁷Henning hat hier (βy)'r'nt, wobei er das β selbst anzweifelt. γ'r'nt: γ'ry, γ'r'k 'Wächter, bewachen', < *gāraka nach Gharib, *Sogdian dictionary*, 161.

- 14/ δwγth βγšpšyt⁸⁸ pt'ycy⁸⁹ s'r 'ys'nt [rty 3]
 15/ 'sprymy ZY zym'yny kwn'k'r rtšy myδ (w')[β'nt]
 16/ L' pckwyr 'rt'w rw'nh p'rZY[10]
 17/ pty'p nyst p'rwt'y xr'm⁹⁰ (trδ ZKw) [6]
 18/ rty xr'm kw rwxšn'yrδmnwh s'r p(r)⁹¹ xx x ü βγ'y-š[t 4]
 19/ pyδy⁹² xw wγšy pcγz p'rZY⁹³ prm 'z-w'nty δ'm (m)[3]
 20/ 'wz'-ny p'ty wm'tyš m'δ ZY ZKn (w)[y](spw w'tδ'rt)[y]
 21/ ZKw 'zwnh z'ry sy'tδ'ry m'δ ZY šn L' ZY
 22/ ptxwstδ'ry L' MN y'ty⁹⁴ xwrtδ'ry rty kδry
 23/ xr'm kw βwδ'nty p'rγz wštm'xw s'r kw ZY xw nwšy
 24/ wγšy rtšy xw xypδ 'krty' p'rγz βγγ-pt(y)[c]
 25/ βγγ δwγth⁹⁵ pwr'ycw my ryty 'ystw nwšy myγty
 26/ ZY xw cš'nt ZKwyh pr srw 'sprymy myn(ch)
 27/ ps'kw xw[4] rtšy xwty r'δt'kw βwt
 28/ (δ)[]

⁸⁸W. Sundermann, Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in soghdischer Sprache, in C. Elsas *et al.* (hrsg.), *Tradition und Translation, Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin–New York 1994), 455 mit Anm.15 hat die Lesung βγšpšyt vorgeschlagen und begründet.

⁸⁹Zur Etymologie: Parth. *pdyc(g)* 'against' < **patiča*, Av. *paityank-*, vgl. D. N. MacKenzie, *Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library* (Leiden–Teheran 1976), 123, in buddh. Texten belegt. W. Sundermann, Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in soghdischer Sprache, 454–455 hat einen *pt'ycy βγγ* vorgestellt. Er übersetzt ihn als 'der vor/gegenüber/vis à vis-Gott' und sieht diesen bisher unbezeugten Gottesnamen in Verbindung mit der Daēnā-Erzählung: "Am nächsten liegt es wohl, an jene göttlichen Wesen zu denken, die der Seele des verstorbenen Gerechten nach seinem Tode entgegen kommen, die Seele begrüßend willkommen heißen und sie in das Lichtreich geleiten". In der vorliegenden Erzählung sind es die δwγth βγšpšyt 'die götterdienenden Mädchen'. Zur Erklärung des Wortes βγšpšyt: Henning: Fehler für βγpšyt, 'Töchter-Göttersöhne'; Hinweis von N. Sims-Williams: špš- 'dienen' aus spš- durch Assimilation des initialen *s* an *š*, vgl. chr.-soghd. špyš- 'dienen', s. N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C 2* (Berlin 1985), 57. Nach Ansicht von W. Sundermann "steht der pt'ycy βγγ für diese Jungfrau(en) der guten Taten oder geradezu für die Taten des Menschen, die ihm nach seinem Ende entgegentraten" (p. 455). Zur Untermauerung dieser Argumentation kann auch dienen, daß als nächster Gott in dieser Liste der δšny w't βγγ steht. Das ist der Name des 'Gottes des rechten Windes', s. auch P 3, der Süd-Wind, der gute, der auch beim Erscheinen der Daēnā im *Haδōxt Nask* weht.

⁹⁰Ein finales *nh* und ein finales *m* stehen übereinander: γr'nh? S. auch Henning, Fn. j. Vermutlich hat der Schreiber hier ein vorheriges γr'nh auf xr'm, wie es auch im Folgetext steht, korrigiert.

⁹¹Es ist trotz des Risses eindeutig *w* zu lesen. Vermutlich ist es ein Fehler für *pr*; denn was sollte es heißen, daß er ohne die Götterfamilien(?) kommen soll? Benötigt er deren Schutz, der oben angesprochen wurde, nicht mehr?

⁹²Vermutlich sind hier dieselben 32 Götterfamilien gemeint wie auf Z. 11. Die Zahl 32 wurde in Reck, 84000 Mädchen in einem manichäischen Text aus Zentralasien, 546, ausführlich erörtert. Leider wird durch diese Ergänzung auch nicht klarer, worauf Bezug genommen wird. Zwischen dem Wort βγγst und pyδy ist noch am Ende der Zeile eine Lücke, worin ca. 4 Buchstaben passen könnten. Eventuell reichte auch nur der Finalbogen des *t* bis an das Zeilenende. Dabei wäre aber nicht verständlich, warum der Schreiber das pyδy nicht mit hochgezogen hat.

⁹³Das *z* hat einen Punkt darunter.

⁹⁴Henning bestätigt hier, daß man zuerst βrty lesen würde.

⁹⁵Henning hat hier als Ergänzung vermutet: /wys/δwγth.

ÜBERSETZUNG

Ötani 7210

/2/] größ[er

/3/] ganz [

/4/] und [

Ch/So 14731 + Ch/So 10051 + Ch/So 10052 + Ötani 7127 + Jlx 06957/v/

/1/ Welt . . .[

/2/ mein . . .[

/6/ ein Leben[]

/7/ des Menschen Verdienst[]

/8/ so daß er selbst ohne Schuld(?) sein [wird]

/9/ der Fromme,⁹⁶ der Wohltätige⁹⁷ so lange er lebt. U[nd]

/10/ der Dämon, das dämonische Geschöpf kann ihn nicht verletzen. Und

/11/ vor allen ohne Furcht <ist er>, weil die 32 Götterfamilien

/12/ ohne Unterlaß die gesetzestreue Person behüten.

/13/ Und wenn die Zeit kommt, daß er stirbt, dann

/14/ kommen 8(4)[000] gottdienende Mädchen vor ihn. Und[]

/15/ Blumen und goldene Sänfte. Und zu ihm sprechen sie so:

/16/ "Fürchte dich nicht, gerechte Seele, weil []

/17/ ist kein Anteil, sondern komm []

/18/ Und komm zum Lichtparadies (bei den) 32 Götter-[]

/19/ familien die Freude erlange, weil du in der Welt der Lebenden []

/20/ das Töten zurückgewiesen hast, und so dich gegen aller Lebewesen

/21/ Leben barmherzig erwiesen hast, und sie nicht

/22/ getötet, und nicht ihr Fleisch gegessen hast. Und jetzt

/23/ komm zum duftenden, wunderbaren Paradies, wo

/24/ die ewige Freude ist". Und seine eigenen Taten, die wundervolle göttliche

/25/ Königstochter, die Jungfrau kommt vor sein Angesicht, die ewigen Früchte(?),

/26/ das Getränk, um den Kopf einen Kranz aus Blumen [].

/27/ Sie selbst ihn aussendend []

/28/ []

⁹⁶Wörtl. 'Gutestuer'.⁹⁷Wörtl. 'Verdiensttuer'.

ECHOES OF RELIGIOUS LEXICON IN THE ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTIONS?

Adriano V. Rossi

0. During the long period of time over which our friendship and scientific cooperation has been evolving, I have had many opportunities to enjoy friendly discussions with Gherardo Gnoli, to whom this volume is dedicated, on a number of Old Iranian historico-religious concepts and themes, which have dominated such an important part of his scientific activity, sharing with him, *inter alia*, the strong belief that the cultures of ancient Iran and the ancient Near East should always be viewed in strict contiguity and continuity. I will limit myself here to mentioning our discussions on the concepts of *arya-*, *xwarna-*, *dahyu-*, *xšassa-*; I have a note of them in a very preliminary form. I am sure that in the future there will be many occasions to deal extensively with the ideas and concepts on Achaemenid history which I have been consolidating over time, also as a consequence of our discussions. Then it will become clear how greatly I am indebted to Gherardo Gnoli for my vision of Iranian political and religious concepts. The following remarks on OP *anušya-* are only a small contribution to this volume, which is intended to celebrate a festive occasion particularly dear to many of us.¹

1. In a paper published in the early eighties, Gherardo Gnoli (1981) contrasts Antonio Pagliaro's assumption² that Gk. ἰθάνατοι 'the Immortals', the name of the selected guard of the Achaemenids mentioned by Herodotus VII, 83, could only be explained in the light of a faulty analysis of OP *anušya-* as *an* + *auša-* (to compare with Av. *anaoša-* 'immortal') that had taken place in the multilingual milieu of the Aramaic *scriptoria* of Persepolis. The **anauša-* thus originated ("pre-scientific etymology") would have been rendered as Gk. ἰθάνατοι. Among the major counter-arguments advanced by Gnoli, the following stands out: "se l'ambiente degli scribi aramei fosse stato quello delle origini della presunta etimologia prescientifica di *anušya-*, sarebbe legittimo attendersi qualche significativa indicazione, corroborante questa tesi, nelle versioni babilonese, elamitica ed aramaica [of the Bisotun inscription – A. V. R.] . . . stupisce invece che una verifica di tal genere non sia stata fatta dal Pagliaro".³

This claim in Gnoli's paper is followed up by a summary comparison of the nine Old Persian passages of the Bisotun inscription containing *anušya-* with the corresponding Babylonian passages: from this it emerges that out of the total of nine occurrences (one in the first column, two in the second, five in the third and one in the fourth), only in one of them is *anušya-* put in a syntagmatic relationship with *kāra-* 'army', while in the other cases it determines *martya-* 'man' (singular or plural; on DB OP iv, 82, where *anušya-* occurs in a different syntactic structure, see below). "È interessante notare – Gnoli goes on – che

¹ Thanks are due to Professors R. Contini, G. Garbini and G. Pettinato for friendly and scholarly advice on various matters. The reasons for cases of divergence in my OP transcription from the current standards will be given elsewhere.

² Pagliaro 1954, 146-149.

³ Gnoli 1981, 277.

nella versione neo-babilonese le espressioni corrispondenti a quella antico-persiana, *martyā tayaišai frataṃ anušyā*, non offrono alcun indizio né alcun presupposto all'etimologia 'prescientifica'. I termini e le espressioni ivi ricorrenti . . . non forniscono oggettivamente alcuna materia a sostegno di una interpretazione di *anušya-* tale da giustificare il successivo sviluppo supposto dal Pagliaro".⁴

2. In fact, that Pagliaro's proposal (subsequently accepted by some other scholars, including Frye and Mayrhofer)⁵ could not stand up to a textual verification is clear, even if the *wording* of the DB passages containing OP *anušya-* when compared with the other versions is not taken into consideration. Suffice it to remember that this term has been used with reference to: (1) the supporters of the rebel chiefs (seven occurrences, stereotypically repeated, as usual in the formulaic *cliché* of the Achaemenid inscriptions, with the only 'stylistic exception' of DB OP i, 57-58, where *martyā* stands outside the relative clause and *anušya-* seems to be used as an adjective acting as a predicate);⁶ (2) the army headed by Darius' father; (3) Darius' supporters in his principal exploit, the one against Pseudo-Smerdis (DB OP iv, 82);⁷ this is already sufficient for it to be excluded that Herodotus' ἁ-θάνοντο could have been generated by a misanalysis of *anušya-* by a hypothetical scribe, whoever he may have been. It seems more arduous fully to understand the main connotation the author of the original⁸ OP text intended to introduce by using *anušya-*. It seems that this word possesses a specific semantic valence which escapes us: in fact, except for the nine DB passages mentioned above, it does not recur in the whole OP inscriptional corpus. In other words, we cannot easily determine at first glance whether the term we are faced with here is to be considered a prevalently politico-military term (as most current interpretations seem to suggest) or whether a different nuance has to be looked for, which has not been fully perceived or, in any case, was not rendered by the authors of Elamite and Babylonian versions, and/or which we no longer recognise, because of our limited knowledge of the languages and institutions of the ancient Near East.

3. A couple of interesting points should be considered. The first is the following: when referring to the *entourages* of the rebel chiefs (DB OP i, 58; ii, 77; iii, 49; iii, 51; iii, 74; iii, 90; iii, 91), OP *anušya-* is systematically accompanied by *frataṃ* 'foremost' (Schmitt 1991); in the two cases where OP *anušya-* is used with reference to Darius' and his father Hystaspes' supporters (respectively DB OP iv, 82 and ii, 95) no further determination appears⁹ (on these two passages see below). The second is the following: Herzfeld (1938, 330)

⁴ Gnoli 1981, 278-279.

⁵ Frye 1962, 108, 1972, 87, Mayrhofer 1978, 9, 20 fn. 26, 1979, 295-296.

⁶ On this cf. Gnoli 1981, 278, and now Schmitt 1991, 53, annotation to lines 57 f. (where Benveniste's suggestion (1945, 61 fn. 1) is accepted).

⁷ "[L]e terme *anušiyā* lui-même n'est pas spécifique, puisqu'il qualifie également les membres de l'entourage immédiat des rois menteurs (DB § 13, 32, 42, 47): voir là-dessus la mise au point de Gnoli 1981, qui pense que le terme est très proche dans sa signification de celui de *bandaka*", Briant 1996, 929.

⁸ "Original" is here used in accordance with Rossi 1985, 202 ff., but see also fn. 17 below.

⁹ This argument is used in Gnoli 1981, 280 (with reference to DB OP iv 82) to reject the "locative interpretation" advanced by Gershevitch 1959, 298 in footnote ('foremost supporters' in the meaning of 'supporters standing in a foremost position').

and Eilers (1955, 233 f.) had already observed¹⁰ that the Late Babylonian expression *mār banē*, which in the Babylonian legal documents from the Achaemenid period could be approximately translated as ‘full-right citizen, freeman’,¹¹ seems to be used in DB in correspondence with OP *fratamā*, while the Babylonian rendering¹² of OP *anušyā* is the phrase *ša itti-šu* ‘(those) with him’ (which, as far as we know of the Late Babylonian linguistic system, may entail both a physical proximity and a hierarchical contiguity). On this point, a further consideration deserves our attention. While in the Babylonian account of the four events concerning the capture and/or the killing of Gaumāta, of Vahyazdāta, of the anonymous military chief of the latter, and of Arkhu, each rebel leader is referred to with the formula ‘THE LEADER AND *mār banē ša itti-šu*’, only with Fraorte’s soldiers – and only in the Babylonian version – did the author decide to make a lexical distinction, a few lines further on in the text, between ‘the troops on his side’ and the more restricted “staff” of his direct collaborators (47 men in all, according to the figures given in the Babylonian version,¹³ who follow him in his destiny of death), using autonomous and separate expressions, i.e. respectively Bab. *uqu* (LÚ.ÉRIN MEŠ) *ša itti-šu*¹⁴ and Bab. *mār banē-šu*¹⁵ (in correspondence with OP *martyā tayai-šai fratamā anušyā*). It seems fairly clear to me, therefore, that this passage provides the proof that the expressions *mār banē-šu* (present only in DB Bab. line 61) and *mār banē ša itti-šu* (which appears in all other passages) are perfectly equivalent, and that the intention of the author of the original text was not so much to point out that, during the military events described, each group of *mār banē* rebels were with their chief because they were physically close to him, as it was to say that they were with him in the sense that they had not stopped supporting him; in the same way, *uqu ša itti-šu* should not be interpreted as ‘the troops which

¹⁰ Differently from subsequent interpretations such as those in Widengren 1968, 524 and Frye 1972, 87 fn. 7.

¹¹ Cf. CAD 256-257, AHW 2.615-616; cf. also Eilers 1955, 233 fn. 2; on the relationships between Iranian and Semitic categories for ‘nobility’ see now de Blois 1985, 8; on *mār-banūtu* ‘status of a free person’ in the Achaemenid Mesopotamia cf. finally Weisberg 1993 (with literature), Briant 2001, 185 fn. 396.

¹² With the Babylonian version – as far as we can judge from the fragmentary Aramaic version of the Elephantine papyri (this “was prepared in close conjunction with the Akkadian version”, Greenfield–Porten 1982, 21; cf. also *ibid.*, 16: “The Aramaic text does not bear merely ‘a superficial resemblance’ to the Babylonian (contra von Voigtlander, p. 67) but resembles it quite closely”) – the Aramaic version seems to agree (the only readable passage has *whr zy m[h . . .*, cf. Greenfield–Porten 1982, 40-41 and 44-45, not *whr zy m[h hwh*, as appears in Gnoli 1981, 279: *hwh* is restored).

¹³ The figures provided in DB (available only in the Babylonian version and in fragments of the Aramaic version, patterned on the Babylonian) agree with the interpretation which sees in the *mār banē* – no matter which categorisation (politico-military or socio-political) this term conceals – a numerically reduced size.

¹⁴ ‘[S]es partisans’ (Malbran-Labat 1994, 114), ‘die Soldaten die bei ihm (waren)’ (Schmitt 1980, 115 letter i), ‘les soldats qui étaient avec lui’ (Lecoq 1997, 199). Malbran-Labat 1994, 114 fn. 143 rightly remarks that “LÚ.ÉRIN est ici précisé par *ša itti-šu*; dans cette désignation assez générale doivent sans doute être inclus les LÚ.DUMU.DU dont il est dit ensuite qu’ils sont mis à mort, mais aussi d’autres personnages assez importants pour être distingués du reste des combattants mais de rang moindre que les seigneurs, chefs de clans, qui partagent le sort du chef rebelle”. One should remember that the fact that the present passage is enlarged in the Babylonian version makes it impossible to verify the concepts used in the other languages (Schmitt 1980, 115, letter i).

¹⁵ ‘[S]es seigneurs’ (Malbran-Labat 1994, 114); “des ‘seigneurs’, c’est à dire probablement, dans la société aristocratique perse, des chefs de clan” (*ibid.*, 121 fn. 165).

were with him' (at the time of the events being narrated), but 'the troops that were on his side, that sided with him', as has been suggested by Malbran-Labat.¹⁶

4. As far as the Elamite versions¹⁷ of the passages discussed above are concerned, they contain the sequence RUHMEŠ *appa* (or *akkap*) *hatarrimannu dami hupape*, occurring with the same repetitive stereotypicality that we noted above for the Old Persian counterparts. However, for a correct understanding of it, we should solve two problems: (1) the meaning of the term *hatarimannu* or *hatarrimannu*; (2) the right interpretation of the phrase *dami hupape*.

Apart from its being confined to the DB Elamite passages we have been concerned with so far, the main difficulty in recovering the exact meaning of *hatarimannu* derives from the circumstance that we do not know whether it "corresponds" to OP *anušyā* or not. This depends on the answer one gives to the more general question of whether the Elamite version should be considered a word-to-word correspondence of the Old Persian text in the passages where respectively *hatarimannu* and *anušyā* occur ("die Beziehung der elamischen und altpersischen Wörter aufeinander", according to the refined wording of Eilers 1955, 234. Eilers assumes that 'aus dem Altpersischen ins Elamische' is the direction of the translation [my emphasis – A. V. R.], which is a fairly obvious attitude, considering the period in which Eilers' article was written). While at the beginning of the twentieth century Hüsing, Bork and Weissbach, who took for granted the correspondence *hatarimannu/anušyā* as the intention of the "translator", confined themselves to attributing suitable meanings to each Elamite morpheme composing *hatarrimannu*,¹⁸ Herzfeld¹⁹ and Hinz²⁰ suggested it may have been an Old Persian loanword in Elamite, and looked inside Iranian for evidence which could guarantee the meaning of 'follower, ally', the meaning attributed to OP *anušya-* in the scientific literature preceding the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*.²¹

¹⁶ Malbran-Labat 1994, 121 fn. 165; 140 s. v. *itti*.

¹⁷ In the following, the priority of the Elamite text (as against the OP and Bab.) is presumed, on the basis of the reasons widely discussed in Rossi 2000 (particularly on pp. 2077 ff., 2086); the expressions "OP version", "Elamite version" and "Babylonian version" should not be understood in their modern, translational meaning (version into language B of any text, done moving from a language A version) but as general synonyms of "text", in any language used in the royal Achaemenid epigraphy (theoretical problems involved are partially discussed in Rossi 1981 *passim* and Rossi 1985, 202 ff.).

¹⁸ The history of the whole question is summarised in Eilers 1955, 234 fn. 1; reference should be made in any case to Hüsing 1910, 12 fn. 1, Bork 1910, 573, Weissbach 1913, 314-318, Bork 1933, 17-18.

¹⁹ Herzfeld 1932, 133 fn. 2, 1938, 330-331.

²⁰ Hinz 1973, 55; Hinz 1975, 119; Hinz-Koch 1987, 646. Eilers (as remarked by Hinz 1973, 55) seems to waver between an explanation inside Elamite and the acceptance of a borrowing from Iranian: "läßt sich . . . bei einer Bildung wie *ha-tar-ri-man-nu* (trotz Fehlens eines Determinativs) der Verdacht iranischer Entlehnung nicht völlig unterdrücken. E. Herzfeld, der ihm nicht hat widerstehen können, ist mir mit seiner Rückführung auf air. **adari-manah-* (o.ä.) 'von niedriger Gesinnung' > mp. *adarmān*, *ērmān* 'diener' (Chr. Bartholomae, ZAIRWb, 1906, S. 225) zugekommen" (Eilers 1955, 234 fn. 1; but cf. also Eilers 1957, 137 fn. 11); Cameron 1948, 42-43, while putting **ādarimaniš* in Table 3 ("Old Persian loan words in Elamite texts"), compares, in fn. 6 of p. 43, Herzfeld's explanations from an Iranian perspective with Hüsing's and Bork's Elamite etymologies, with no further comments.

²¹ Bartholomae 1904, 130; but cf. previously Spiegel 1881, 205, attributing to Hübschmann (but without bibliographic quotation) the reconstruction **anutya-*. The current interpretations assume an etymology

Investigating the historical background which could explain the expression *mār banē* occurring in DNb Bab. line 6, Herzfeld came across the Bab. versions of the DB passages discussed here (“Beweisend ist akk. *mār-banī* in *Beh.* §§ 13, 43, 47 u. 50 für ap. *fratamā martiyā anušyā* ‘die vornehmsten anhängen’, wobei das eng zu *martiyā* gehörige *anušyā* buchstäblich mit *ša ittišu* ‘die bei ihm’ übersetzt wird, und *mār-banī* für *fratamā martiyā* ‘die vornehmsten männer, die fürsten’ bleibt”). The correspondence in DB of OP *fratamā martiyā* with “das Lw. *ḫatarrimanni*” led Herzfeld to think that this latter must refer to a high status or a high social function. He pointed to the Indo-Ir. base **adhari-* (‘inferior, subordinate, follower’) which had been postulated by Bartholomae in order to explain the lexical family of OIr. *a’ryaman-*, Mlr. *ērmān*,²² and reconstructed OP **ādarimani-* ‘obedient, subordinate’ which he felt should underlie the Elamite form: the “subordinate” next to the king, as may be inferred by Herzfeld’s reasoning, should be a close assistant of his, therefore a “noble” of the royal entourage.

Hinz, for his part, combining his own interpretation of *dami* (‘superior’) with Hallock’s interpretation of *hupape* (analysed as *hupap-e* ‘his followers’),²³ regards *hatarrimannu* as an Iranian (and particularly “Median”)²⁴ loanword behind which was hidden a compound **haθra-manyā-* ‘vereinten Sinnes = Anhänger’.²⁵ From this perspective, RUH.MEŠ *appa* (or *akkap*) *hatarrimannu dami hupap-e* (as a whole corresponding to OP *martyā tayai-šai fratamā anušyā*) would then mean ‘die Männer, welche als Anhänger [seine] obersten Gefolgsleute [waren]’.²⁶

anu-tya-* (< OP *anu* ‘along, according with’), cf. Meillet–Benveniste 1931, 154 (§ 262: “De l’adjectif *an’šiy*, *anušiya* ‘allié’, dérivé de *anuv* ‘à la suite de’, se dégage un suffixe ancien **-tya-*, devenu *-šiya-* en perse”), Kent 1953, 168 (who also gives the Pre-Iranian form **anu-tjo-*, cf. Kent 1953, 32 § 80); a different derivation < **anut-ya-* first advanced by Henning on the basis of Sogd. *nwt* ‘support’ (*apud* Gershevitch 1954, 250, §1136) is accepted by Gershevitch 1959, 298 fn., Brandenstein–Mayrhofer 1964, 103, Szemerényi 1967, 201 (“it is assumed that *anušiya-* represents an earlier *anutyā-* which is then interpreted as a derivative of the preposition *anu* ‘along, according to’ with the suffix *-tya-*”) and Hinz 1973, 123. Szemerényi’s remark (*ibid.*): “There is also *general agreement* [my emphasis – A. V. R.] on the derivation of the word . . .” does not fully reflect the real state of the present literature; Gnoli 1981, 267 mentions both interpretative lines, with an evident preference for the traditional proposal (“L’ant.-pers. *anušiya-* . . . va avvicinato al sogd. *nwt* ‘supporto, aiuto’ . . . o, meglio, alla preposizione *anu* più il suffisso *-tya-*”; cf. also Gnoli 1981, 280). A possible occurrence of the reconstruction **anut-ya-* (as suggested by Henning *apud* Boyce 1954, 182) in Man. Pth. *’m’nwd* ‘sharing in support’ (ham-anud-*) would have been an important confirmation but it has turned out to be a false reading (Boyce 1956, 321, where “IIIb 2a” is to be read as “IIIb 2b”).

²² Bartholomae 1906, 223–226. As a consequence of the repeated references made by Herzfeld (1932, 133 fn. 2; 1938, 331) to Bartholomae’s **adhari-*, an assumption arose in the scientific literature (erroneously repeated by Cameron 1948, 43 and Hinz 1973, 55) according to which Bartholomae 1906, 223–26 had explicitly mentioned *hatarrimannu* (to which the scholar, in fact, had never referred). On Mlr. *ērmān* cf. recently Kellens 1977, Sundermann 1979, 103 fn. 246 and EWA 121.

²³ Hallock 1969, 698.

²⁴ Evidently Hinz had to resort to the concept of “Median” to explain the preservation of the *-θr-* cluster (“Median” according to the *communis opinio* quoted e.g. in Schmitt 1989, 89), which in principle could have been rendered by the Elamite transcript <tar-ri>.

²⁵ Hinz 1973, 55; 1975, 119; Hinz–Koch 1987, 646.

²⁶ Hinz 1973, 55.

5. Neither Herzfeld nor Hinz (nor even Cameron)²⁷ felt the need to account for the motivations that led them to recognise an Iranian word in the Elamite versions of the mentioned passages.²⁸ Nevertheless, a striking analogy is found in an argument recently advanced by Skjærvø in order to explain the Old Persian words that we occasionally find “quoted rather than translated”²⁹ in the Elamite version of the royal Achaemenid inscriptions: according to Skjærvø, it is possible that they were kept as we read them through the filter of the Elamite script “because they were regarded as quotations from Avestan in Old Persian” (1999, 59). Passing over Skjærvø’s further examples of these kinds of “quotations” which may seem less than convincing,³⁰ his proposal on *hatarrimannu* appears to be of remarkable interest in the light of our search of echoes of religious language at Bisotun.

Skjærvø suggests considering Hinz’ reconstruction **haθra-mani-* as “a *vyddhi*-formation of the common Old Persian type . . . **hāθramani-* ‘he whose thought is in one and the same place; constant; loyal’ < **haθra-manah*”³¹ and quotes two Avesta passages (*Yašt* 28.4 and *Yašt* 30.9), where actually *haθra-* and *manah-* follow each other in contexts whose syntactic structure as a whole does not give rise to doubt, even if many difficulties remain when looking at the details.

In fact, however alluring this may be at a phonic level, it is difficult to consider the mere occurrence of these two terms in a syntagmatic juxtaposition as sure and direct evidence of a lexicalisation process which could underlie our *hatarrimannu*. In the Avestan passages already mentioned, *haθrā* is an adverbial adjunct acting both as a predicate and as the head of a prepositional phrase governing the instrumental,³² and may therefore only by chance be situated near *manah-*. Is there sufficient evidence to claim that a particular sequence of words was subsequently lexicalised starting from actual Av. formulations? I continue to be rather sceptical on this question, but I have to admit that a theoretical possibility of such a composition remains, as further compounds containing Av. *haθrā-* (all Late Avestan,³³ and not mentioned by Skjærvø in support of his argument) could suggest. While noting, however, that Skjærvø’s evidence is too thin for us to think of a nominal composition directly deriving from a particular religious text, nevertheless one should observe that a word in which basic Mazdaic concepts such as ‘stability’ (*haθra-*) and ‘thinking’ (*manah-*) co-occur, would have too strong a linguistic evocative power for its

²⁷ Cameron 1948, 42 and fn. 6 (on p. 43).

²⁸ Were they influenced by the final signs of the Elamographic sequence, which could contain a transcript of the Iranian morpheme **-man-?* Eilers 1955, 234 fn. 1 and Grillot-Susini–Herrenschmidt–Malbran-Labat 1993, 44 fn. 119 recall the Elamite derivative morpheme *-ma(n)nu* (cf. *ú-el-man-nu*, ‘belonging to the Royal Palace’, Hinz-Koch 1987, 1201). According to Eilers’ highly subjective wording, Herzfeld “could not refrain from” suspecting that *ha-tar-ri-man-nu* be an Iranian borrowing in Elamite, and this would have upset Eilers himself (“läßt sich . . . bei einer Bildung wie *ha-tar-ri-man-nu* . . . der Verdacht iranischer Entlehnung nicht völlig unterdrücken. E. Herzfeld, der ihm nicht hat widerstehen können, ist mir mit seiner Rückführung auf air. **adari-manah-* (o. ä.) . . . zugekommen”, cf. Eilers 1955, 234 fn. 1).

²⁹ Skjærvø 1999, 59.

³⁰ Skjærvø 1999, 59–60.

³¹ Skjærvø 1999, 59.

³² Kellens–Pirart 1990, 4 (§ 1.1.3), 325.

³³ Bartholomae 1904, 1763–1764.

appearance to be credible as simply casual and with no correspondences in the linguistic-religious background underlying the Achaemenid texts, whether or not the views advanced by Skjærvø (1998, 104) on the influence of oral religious literature on the contents of the royal inscriptions are demonstrable. An argument similar to that proposed by Skjærvø for *hatarrimannu* could tentatively be adopted in order better to understand the repeated appearances in the Bisotun inscription of its OP “correspondent” *anušya-*, and this is what I intend to do in the remaining paragraphs of the present paper.

6. What is the semantic content enabling *anušya-* to designate both the collaborators of the rebel chiefs and the supporters of Darius and Hystaspes?³⁴

It is appropriate to set off from a starting point on which, as we have already seen, most scholars have found agreement: OP *anušya-* is to be etymologically connected to the OP adverbial adjunct *anu*. On OP *anu* we are not in a position to say more, except that its only occurrence with a locative function in DB OP i, 92 (*Zāzāna . . . anu Ufrātuwā* ‘Zāzāna on the Euphrates’) and its three occurrences in DNb OP 16, 18, 25 (e.g. *anu taumani-šai* ‘according to his powers’ etc., with the three corresponding passages in XPl 18, 20 and 28) with a modal function fit well enough with what we know of Av. *anu* and OInd. *anu*; all this fully substantiates Mayrhofer’s choice in his *EWA* to classify OInd. *anu* among the items of certain Indo-Ir. origin;³⁵ and in Indo-Aryan a series of compounds containing *anu-* are attested, which refer to the dependence relationship among leaders and their supporters, ranging from Ved. *anuṣṭhā-* (*RV* 1.54.10 *abhiṃ indro nadyò vavriṇā hitā viśvā anuṣṭhā pravaṇēṣu jighnate*)³⁶ to Buddh. Skt. *anuśaya*.³⁷ The semantics of OInd. *anu* has been examined most recently by Bodewitz in connection with the Vedic adverbial compounds *anuṣṭhu* and *anuṣṭhuyā* (for them, as assumed by Scarlata, a direct derivation from *anuṣṭhā-* must be rejected, while “eine gemeinsame Quelle ist hingegen sicher anzunehmen”).³⁸ Highlighting the prototypical semantics of *anu-* rather than analysing the lexical elements with which it is combined from time to time (“in our approach the interpretation of *anu-* . . . is of fundamental importance”, 1975, 6), Bodewitz drew the convincing conclusion that if the basic meaning of *anu-* as a prefix and as a preposition is ‘following, going after or along’, when combined with bases which do not express factual movements, but abstract actions, *anu-* normally conveys the notion of ‘following an example’, but also that of ‘being in accordance with’ (e.g. *anu-man-* ‘to think in accordance with, to consent’), and, viewed in a normative context, that of ‘conforming to the standard norm’. For further details I refer the reader to Bodewitz’ paper. What I want to stress here as relevant to our reasoning is the fact that com-

³⁴ On ascribing OP *anušya-* to a particular sublexicon, cf. the following remarks (partially divergent): “Die anderen Belege des Wortes *anušiya* . . . zeigen, daß der Ausdruck nicht auf das rechtliche Band, sondern auf das tatsächliche Verhalten Bezug hat” (Gschnitzer 1977, 23 fn. 26); “le terme *anušiyā* lui-même n’est pas spécifique, puisqu’il qualifie également les membres de l’entourage immédiat des rois menteurs” (Briant 1996, 929).

³⁵ *EWA* 74 advances doubts on a possible confluence between Ir. *ana* (attested through Late Av.) with an exclusively spatial meaning (cf. Gk. ἀνά) and the Indo-Ir. family of *anu* (attested since *RV* with spatial meanings).

³⁶ Scarlata 1999, 644.

³⁷ Edgerton 1953, 35.

³⁸ Scarlata 1999, 645.

pounds with and derivatives from *anu*-³⁹ in Vedic and Sanskrit denote primeval acts, cosmic processes, ritual precepts for which an antithesis is expected, a clear opposition between a support/adhesion to the event/order/process (*anu*-compounds, 'conforming to') and no support/adhesion to it (*apa*-compounds, 'away from'). OP *anušya*- should therefore mean something like 'who thinks/acts in accordance with (an ethic norm, a moral leader etc.)'.

7. The conviction that at least some semantic connotations of OP *anušya*- in the Bisotun inscription may echo ethico-religious contents and allow traces of the corresponding formulaic background to be glimpsed is strengthened by the analysis of a further passage in the Bisotun inscription, namely DB OP iv, 82. In this passage *anušya*- occurs in a syntactic structure different from those discussed so far, where the reference is not simply to the 'loyalty' of the troops (Darius' troops or the troops of the rebel leaders). I quote it here below, followed by its Elamite and Babylonian versions:

DB OP iv, 80-83: *imai martyā tayai adakai avadā āhatā yātā adam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam haya Bardya agaubatā; adakai imai martyā hamataxšantā anušyā manā*: [followed by the list of the Six]

DB Elam. iii, 93-94: [preceded by the list of the Six] *appi 'RUH.MEŠ 'u tahuip kuiš 'u 'Gamata 'akka 'makuš ir halpia akka nanri 'u 'Birdya DUMU kurašna ak hamer 'RUH.MEŠ 'appi 'u taumanlip*

DB Bab. 109-110: *LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ agannūtu ša itti-ya itturu adi UGU ša anaku ana Gumati agašu LÚ.magušu adduku ša iprušu umma anaku Barzya DUMU-šu ša kuraš; LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ agannūtu ša kitru-ya illiku*: [followed by the list of the Six].

According to the Old Persian text, we read: 'these are the men who were there (*avadā āhatā*) during the time when I destroyed Gaumāta, the *Maguš* – who called himself Bardya; during this time these men *hamataxšantā* my *anušyā*⁴⁰: . . . (the list of the Six follows)'. With a different topicalization of the relative (*appi 'RUH^{mes} / 'RUH^{mes} 'appi*), in the Elamite version the same claim is placed after the list of the Six '(the list of the Six precedes) . . . *these are the men* who helped me (*'u tahuip*) throughout the time when I destroyed Gaumāta the *Maguš* – who had said: "I am Bardya, the son of Cyrus"; *these are the men* who helped me (*'u taumanlip*) in this time (*hamer*)',⁴¹ while the Babylonian version, where the list of the Six follows, as in the Old Persian version, focuses on the nature of the support function carried out by the Six ('men who were at

³⁹The specific nature of the composition/derivation implied in OP *anušya*- is not relevant to our argument (this problem seems destined to remain open in consideration of the restricted documentation in our possession); a nominal derivation appears as more probable in Iranian, while the involvement of the verbal base *stihā*- is not certain for all Indo-Aryan forms mentioned above (cf. Bodewitz 1975, *passim*, Scarlata 1999, 644-645, *EWA* s. v. *anu*).

⁴⁰The assumption that *anušyā* is directly governed by *ham-taxš*- allows us to explain (in the hypothesis of a parallel government relationship) also the form *viθyā* (not convincingly explained so far) in the sentence DB OP iv, 65-66 *hamataxšatā manā viθyā* 'who *ham-taxš*- the members of my *viθa*-' (*viθyā* = 'members of a *viθa*-'; I will return to this elsewhere). A further analogy links DB OP iv, 65-66 to DB OP iv, 82-83: the concept of 'the sovereign's support' appears (*kitru-ya*) in the Babylonian versions of both passages.

⁴¹On Elam. *hamer* in DB cf. Grillett-Susini-Herrenschmidt-Malbran-Labat 1993, 48 fn. 133.

my side (*ša itti-ya itturu*)' and 'men who came in my support (*ša kitru-ya illiku*)'.⁴²

The main substance of the statement that precedes the list of the Six is evidently contained in the semantics of the verb *hamtaxš-*, which in the translation offered in the preceding paragraph I preferred to leave provisionally in its OP form in order to emphasise the relationship with its object *anušyā manā*.

The usage of the verb *hamtaxš-*,⁴³ which in the OP inscriptions indicates specific and connoted relationships between the sovereign and his supporters, cannot be casual in a passage of this significance.⁴⁴ The OP contexts⁴⁵ and the inter-linguistic textual comparisons of the passages in which the verb appears, tell us that the prototypical action marking *par excellence* the sovereign's supporters is '*hamtaxš-* the royal *viθa-*';⁴⁶ *hamtaxš-*'s antonym, *vi-naθ-* 'to harm', documented in the three parallel attestations DB OP iv, 65-66, DNb OP 16-17 and XPl 17-19, and belonging to the same level of solemnity with ethico-religious character, shows that the right translation is not merely 'to cooperate', 'to strive'.⁴⁷ One could add that the subject of this verbal action is never expressed by low level connoted human actors: and this is clearly reflected in the careful usage of the Babylonian equivalents for *martya*⁴⁸ (which, barring the isolated case of *kāra* at DB OP iv, 92, is the typical subject of *hamtaxš-*).

Moreover, the fact that this verb may be used to indicate an action accomplished by the sovereign himself emphasises the high-level, ethico-religious connotations which seem to be entailed by the semantics of *hamtaxš-*. We have only two occurrences of this usage in the whole corpus, both contained in the DB passage OP i, 68-71, which is quoted here in its entirety:

⁴² Cf. Malbran-Labat 1994, 121 fn. 165.

⁴³ To *hamtaxš-* Herzfeld 1938, 322-325 devoted a specific article where a series of comments on Av. *taš-/θwaxš-/θwars-*, MPrs. *tuxš-* and Bab. *paqādu*-formations is included; on Av. *taš-/θwaxš-/θwars-* and the corresponding IA stems, the most recent treatment is Mayrhofer 1964.

⁴⁴ Windfuhr 1988, 266-270 rightly draws attention on the fact that the textual analysis and structural reconstruction leads us to presume that §§ 68-69 were probably extraneous to the first version of the text. Cf. Rossi 2000, 2099 letter g; also Briant 1996, 142 speaks of "l'ajout du paragraphe 68".

⁴⁵ DB i, 68-69; i, 70-71; iv, 65-66; iv, 82-83; iv, 92; DNb 16-17; XPl 1-19.

⁴⁶ If one accepts the present interpretation, in DB OP iv, 82-83; iv, 92; DNb OP 16-17; XPl 1-19 'the royal *viθa-* (or *viθya-*)' as the direct object of *hamtaxš-* should be understood; this was already realised by Harmatta, although in a different interpretative line (1966, 282, cf. Rossi 2000, 2100, with a view here partially modified).

⁴⁷ As Kent 1953 and Schmitt 1991 translate. The only other occurrence of *hamtaxš-* is DB OP iv, 92 *kāra hamātaxšatā* translated 'the people strove (to use it)' by Schmitt 1991, 74, 'the people unitely worked upon it' by Kent 1953, 132, 'l'armée y a collaboré' (with the note "La traduction du verbe n'est pas sûre. Il faut comprendre, ou bien que le *kāra* a été chargé de répandre le texte dans l'empire, ou bien que l'assemblée populaire l'a solennellement approuvé") by Lecoq 1997, 212-213; on the whole question (and on the interpretation of the Elamite verb *sapi-*, more difficult for the wanting of a Bab. version of this paragraph) cf. Rossi 2000, 2099-2100.

⁴⁸ Cf. Malbran-Labat 1994, 121 fn. 165: "L'idéogramme LÚ.ÉRIN est ici employé quatre fois: ces hommes qui aidèrent Darius et furent les artisans de ce qu'il a accompli ne sont pas désignés comme les Serveurs (*qallā*) auxquels Darius confia des opérations militaires", and Briant 1996, 929: "le terme *anušyā* . . . Gnoli 1981 . . . pense que le terme est très proche dans sa signification de celui de *bandaka*: voir également la remarque très intéressante de Malbran-Labat 1994: 121, n. 165 sur le vocabulaire babylonien: le rédacteur n'a pas utilisé *qallu*, 'équivalent' de *bandaka* dans DB bab."

vašnā Auramazdāha ima adam akunavam. adam hamataxšai yātā viθam tayām amāxam gāθavā avāstāyam yaθā paruvamci. avaθā adam hamataxšai vašnā Auramazdāhā yaθā Gaumāta haya maguš viθam tayām amāxam nai parābara ‘By the favour of Ahuramazda this I did. I *hamataxšai* until I had put our royal house in its proper place, just as it was previously. So I *hamataxšai* by the favour of Ahuramazda that Gaumāta the *Maguš* did not take away our royal house’.⁴⁹

As already observed by Malbran-Labat,⁵⁰ the DB passage OP i, 70 *avaθā adam hamataxšai vašnā Auramazdāhā yaθā Gaumāta* . . . is one of the very few (but not the only one) in the whole corpus in which *vašnā Auramazdāhā* is collocated within a statement (and not in an initial position): this collocation – symmetrically repeated in the Elamite and Babylonian versions⁵¹ – appears to complete the verbal semantics through the formal expression of a specific modality (so as to suggest that it is not a generic *hamtaxš-* that is involved here, but a specifically connoted *hamtaxš- vašnā Auramazdāhā*). This circumstance, linguistically and ideologically significant, does not seem to be without connections with another factor, to which Briant has recently drawn attention: Darius’ statement demanding protection for the Six’ lineage from future kings – differently from other promises of rewards and punishments – “ne sont pas mises sous l’invocation d’Ahura-Mazda”;⁵² and this could be easily explained if *hamtaxš-* were to recall to the addressee of the message some sort of warrant descending from a sacral background (*hamtaxš- vašnā Auramazdāhā* in DB OP i, 70, on which see above), secured by the sovereign’s “divine condition” substantiated by the particular, direct connection between the King and Ahuramazda outlined by Gherardo Gnoli.⁵³ The semantics of MPrs. *tuxšīdan* (if the interconnection between Av. *θwaxš-*, MPrs. *tuxš-* and OP *ham-taxš-*⁵⁴ is correct) as observed in the MPrs. texts and particularly in *Dēnkard*, with its traits centred on the “reli-

⁴⁹This translation follows Schmitt 1991, 53, with slight modifications (note that the original OP form has been put in place of ‘strove’ as proposed by Schmitt).

⁵⁰Malbran-Labat 1994, 110 fn. 111: “il est remarquable que dans cette phrase le syntagme *ina* GIŠ.MI *ša d’uramazda* (‘sous l’égide d’Ahuramazda’, ‘par la volonté d’Ahuramazda’) n’est pas placé en tête: c’est le seul cas où ce complément est intégré à la construction. Ce qui importe ici est l’adéquation de l’oeuvre accomplie par Darius avec la volonté du dieu. C’est ce qu’exprime *libbū* qui est repris au début du paragraphe suivant: la proposition ainsi introduite reflète ce qui était à la fois la volonté divine et la motivation profonde de Darius”.

⁵¹DB Elam. i, 54: *ú balikme za[mma za]jumin d’uramazdana*; DB Bab 27: *anaku upteqid ina* GIŠ.MI *ša d’uramazda libbū ša* etc. For the Babylonian version, besides the translation ‘j’ai effectivement accompli cette oeuvre sous l’égide d’Ahuramazda’ (Malbran-Labat 1994, 110), see also von Voigtlander 1978, 55: ‘I repeatedly acted effectively under the protection of Ahura Mazda’; the corresponding Elamite expression, damaged both on line 53 and line 54 (and hapax in the Elamite corpus), has been variously rendered by the different authors (Hallock 1969, 64 and 773 ‘I exerted effort (?)’, Hinz 1987, 1286 ‘mit Anstrengung bemühte ich mich’, Grilhot-Susini–Herrenschmidt–Malbran-Labat 1993, 44–45 ‘j’ai mis en [oeu]vre mes efforts, j’ai mis en oeu[vre] des efforts’.

⁵²Briant 1996, 143 (Briant seems to be the only author to have noticed this detail).

⁵³Gnoli 1974, 168.

⁵⁴*EWA* 683–684.

gious zeal”,⁵⁵ would seem to confirm this reasoning: the action illustrated at DB OP iv, 82, perceived by the author of the Babylonian text⁵⁶ as a generic ‘to stand by the King’ is connoted by OP *hamtaxš-* as a work of religious zeal; on the other hand, in the syntactic position of the patient of the action, the sovereign’s *anušyā/hatarimannu* appear, ie. those ‘who think/act in accordance with’, in the last analysis his ‘believers’.

In conclusion, this is a tentative, revised translation of the passages mentioned earlier:

DB OP iv, 80-83: ‘these are the men who were there during the time when I destroyed Gaumāta, the *Maguš* – who called himself Bardya; during this time these men exerted their religious zeal with my believers: . . . [the list of the Six follows]’;

DB OP i, 68-71: ‘By the favour of Ahuramazda this I did. I exerted my religious zeal until I had put our royal house in its proper place, just as it was previously. So I exerted my religious zeal by the favour of Ahuramazda that Gaumāta the *Maguš* did not take away our royal house’.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHW = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1972).
 Bartholomae, C., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Straßburg).
 Bartholomae, C., 1906. *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch. Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten* (Straßburg).
 Benveniste, E., 1945. Etudes iraniennes, *TPS* [1946], 39-78.
 de Blois, F., 1985. “Freemen” and “nobles” in Iranian and Semitic languages, *JRAS* 1985, 5-15.
 Bodewitz, H. W., 1975. Vedic *anuṣṭhū* and *anuṣṭh(u)ṛā*, *IJ* 16, 1-17.
 Bork, F., 1910. Nochmals das Alter der altpersischen Schrift, *ZDMG* 64, 569-580.
 Bork, F., 1933. Elamische Studien, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 7, iii, 1-31.
 Boyce, M., 1954. *The Manichaean Hymn cycles in Parthian* (Oxford).
 Boyce, M., 1956. Some remarks on the present state of the Iranian Manichaean MSS. from Turfan, together with additions and corrections to “Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4, 314-322.
 Brandenstein, W., Mayrhofer, M., 1964. *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden).
 Briant, P., 1996. *Histoire de l’empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris).
 Briant, P., 2001. *Bulletin d’histoire achéménide*, vol. 2 (Paris).
 CAD = *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vol. 10, pt. 1 (Chicago 1977).
 Cameron, G., 1948. *Persepolis treasury tablets* (Chicago).
 Edgerton, F., 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, vol. 2, *Dictionary* (New Haven).
 Eilers, W., 1955. Altpersische Miscellen I., *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 51, 225-236.
 Eilers, W., 1957. Review of K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien. I. Die Sprache der Kassiten* (New Haven 1954), *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 135-138.
 EWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg 1992).
 Frye, R. N., 1962. *The heritage of Persia* (London).
 Frye, R. N., 1972. The institutions, in G. Walser (ed.), *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (Wiesbaden), 83-93.
 Gershevitch, I., 1954. *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford).
 Gershevitch, I., 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge).

⁵⁵ Cf. e.g. Nyberg 1974, 197; and the interesting passage in *Dēnkard* vii, 4, 6 *ō-š ōš tuxšid hēnd* ‘vouèrent sa mort’ (Molé 1993, 42-43).

⁵⁶ As far as the Elamite text is concerned, the isolation of the corresponding items in Achaemenid Elamite does not allow us to state anything with any certainty.

- Gnoli, G., 1974. Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides, in *Hommage universel*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 2, Téhéran-Liège), 117-190.
- Gnoli, G., 1981. Antico-persiano *anušya-* e gli Immortali di Erodoto, in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, vol. 1 (Acta Iranica 21, Leiden) 266-280.
- Greenfield, J. C., Porten, B., 1982. *The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great. Aramaic version* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 1.5.1, London).
- Grillot-Susini, F., Herrenschildt, C., Malbran-Labat, F., 1993. La version élamite de la trilingue de Behistun: une nouvelle lecture, *JA* 281, 19-59.
- Gschnitzer, F., 1977. *Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios* (Heidelberg).
- Hallock, R. T., 1969. *Persepolis fortification tablets* (Chicago).
- Harmatta, J., 1966. The Bisitun inscription and the introduction of the Old Persian cuneiform scripts, *AAASH* 14, 255-283.
- Herzfeld, E., 1932. Xerxes' Charta von Persepolis, *AMl* 4, 117-139.
- Herzfeld, E., 1938. *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin).
- Hinz, W., 1973. *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden).
- Hinz, W., 1975. *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden).
- Hinz, W., Koch, H., 1987. *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin).
- Hüsing, C., 1910. Die elamische Sprachforschung, *Memnon* 4, 5-40.
- Kellens, J., 1977. Un "ghost-god" dans la tradition zoroastrienne, *III* 19, 89-95.
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1990. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden).
- Kent, R. G., 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Conn.).
- Lecoq, P., 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris).
- Malbran-Labat, F., 1994. *La version akkadienne de l'inscription trilingue de Darius à Behistun* (Roma).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1964. Über Kontaminationen der indoiranischen Sippen von ai. *taks-*, *tvaks-*, **tvars-*, in *Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Wiesbaden), 141-148.
- Mayrhofer, M., 1978. *Nachlese altpersischer Inschriften. Zu übersehenen und neugefundenen beschrifteten Objekten und zur Schriftproblematik im persischen Weltreich* (Innsbruck).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1979. Überlegungen zur Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift, *BSOAS* 42, 290-296.
- Meillet, A., Benveniste, E., 1931. *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, 2nd ed. (Paris).
- Molé, M., 1993. *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi* (Paris).
- Nyberg, H. S., 1974. *A manual of Pahlavi*, pt. 2, *Glossary* (Wiesbaden).
- Pagliaro, A., 1954. Riflessi di etimologie iraniche nella tradizione storiografica greca, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie viii, 9, 133-153.
- Rossi, A. V., 1981. La varietà linguistica nell'Iran achemenide, *AIÖN*, sez. ling., 3, 1981, 141-196.
- Rossi, A. V., 1985. Competenza multipla nei testi arcaici: le iscrizioni di Bisotun, *AIÖN*, sez. ling., 7, 1985, 191-210.
- Rossi, A. V., 2000. L'iscrizione originaria di Bisotun: DB elam. A+L, in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* (Napoli), 2065-2107.
- Scarlata, S., 1999. *Die Wurzelkomposita im Rg-Veda* (Wiesbaden).
- Schmitt, R., 1980. Zur babylonischen Version der Bisutün-Inschrift, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27, 106-126.
- Schmitt, R., 1989. Andere altiranische Dialekte, in Schmitt, R. (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden), 86-94.
- Schmitt, R., 1991. *The Bisitun inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian text* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 1.1, Texts 1, London).
- Schmitt, R., 2000. *The Old Persian inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 1.1, Texts 2, London).
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1998. Royalty in early Iranian literature, in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, pt. 1, *Old and Middle Iranian studies* (Wiesbaden), 99-107.

- Skjærvø, P. O., 1999. Avestan quotations in Old Persian? Literary sources of the Old Persian inscriptions, in Sh. Shaked, A. Netzer (ed.), *Irano-Judaica IV. Studies relating to Jewish contacts with Persian culture throughout the ages* (Jerusalem), 1-64.
- Spiegel, F., 1881. *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* (Leipzig).
- Sundermann, W., 1979. Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos, *AoF* 6, 95-133 (repr. in C. Reck et al. (ed.), *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften* (Roma 2001), 121-159, with *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 160-163).
- Szemerényi, O., 1967. Iranica II (Nos. 9-31), *Die Sprache* 12, 190-226.
- von Voigtlander, E. N., 1978. *The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian version* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 1.2.1, London).
- Weisberg, D. B., 1993. A *Mār Banūtu* text from the town of Hubat, *Nabu* 83.
- Weissbach, F. H., 1913. Zur Kritik der Achämenideninschriften, *ZDMG* 67, 271-341.
- Widengren, G., 1968. Über einige Probleme in der altpersischen Geschichte, in *Festschrift für Leo Brandt* (Köln-Opladen), 517-533.
- Windfuhr, G., 1988. Saith Darius. Dialectic, numbers, time and space at Behistun (DB Old Persian version), in *Achaemenid history, III. Method and theory* (Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop, Leiden), 265-281.

Gianroberto Scarcia

La querelle paracoloniale, che ogni tanto torna a divampare, tra i sostenitori di un Firdusi *antropologico*, diciamo così dumeziliano, sorta di *biḥār al-anwār* (ma meglio sarebbe dire, ove mai, *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*) entro cui pescare a piene reti iranismi a diverso livello di coscienza emergenti o sommersi, e i sostenitori di un Firdusi squisitamente *letterario* ha in fondo ragion d'essere relativa. Come Firdusi, infatti, uno Shakespeare (che a sua volta ha pur saputo sollevarsi attorno una sorta di “questione omerica”) può essere autorità di riferimento poco adatta alla ricostruzione delle risorse portuali della Verona medievale e non solo (per Firdusi si tratterebbe delle coordinate geografiche di Kang-dež, e non solo) ma resta il divulgatore più felice di *certa* storia patria, o quantomeno retorica patria. Con le relative proiezioni nel futuro che nell'un caso (di supposti vincenti pour cause, oltre che indubitati *ahl al-kitāb*) possono iterare l'immagine escatologica della guerra delle Due Rose – l'ultima e definitiva guerra prima del nuovo ordine interinsulare – sino al conclamato pacifismo universale di dopodomani caro al presente secolo, nell'altro (di supposti perdenti sans cause e per giunta senza documentabile *kitāb*) rimodellano secondo attuali certezze, spesso negazionistico-revansciste, il duello archetipale tra Fereydun e Žaḥḥāk.

Certo è comunque che, nel rimodellare il passato, si possono dare in Firdusi forme di rimozione palesemente deliberata che sarebbe autentica dabbenaggine scambiare per varianti di tradizione, per di più particolarmente autorevoli. Un caso clamoroso riguarda l'appartenenza religiosa di Shirin, la celebre, e tutto sommato storica, moglie cristiana di Khosrow Parviz. Dove peraltro, accanto alla rimozione cosciente e predeterminata, c'è anche, meno cosciente, un altro autocondizionamento.

Se infatti Firdusi sembra inserire pianamente la donna in un rituale e come scontato contesto “mazdeo”, senza alcun accenno alla sua eventuale diversa fede – anzi “mazdeizzando” elementi ambigui, dubbi o sospetti – va osservato che la “religione dei padri” è, per l'islamico ancorché, forse, non del tutto ortodosso “poeta nazionale dell'Iran”, una forma sublimata e depurata di (mono)teismo profetico alla musulmana, semplicemente *adorno* di iranismi estetici che sono i meri atavici orpelli applicati a una religione tipo, a una religiosità paradigmatica di stampo naturale qual è per eccellenza l'islam. Si confronti, per un lampante esempio, la formula “di compromesso” usata da Firdusi quando, suggerendo l'idea del fuoco come mera *qibla* dei seguaci di Zoroastro, cioè come fisico orientamento nelle loro orazioni, vorrebbe far giustizia di un diffuso “pregiudizio antimazdeo”:

... Ma tu, che il fuoco
Adorasser cotesti, oh!, non pensarti!
Ché la sua vampa era a quei giorni il segno
A cui si rivolgea l'uom supplicante
Con occhi lagrimosi; ecco, se lungi

Arriva il tuo pensier, vedi che senza
Bisogno di Dio santo unqua non sei (IV, 468).¹

E invece, quantomeno per i meno remoti tra gli eventi ricordati, le fonti vere di Firdusi, pur non mai menzionate con orgoglio accanto ai pretesi archetipi “pahlavici” (che eventualmente si trovano accompagnati, qua e là, da qualche esotico e immaginifico spunto “cinese”), sono spesso e probabilmente più consistenti, più di sostanza, e d’ambito più storicamente cristiano, di quelle di un Nezāmi. Anche con Firdusi, infatti, sebbene in misura diversa che non con Nezāmi o altri espliciti, dichiarati “romanzieri”, e sebbene in una paradossale opposta direzione verso cui orientare la diffidenza esegetica, bisogna sempre adoperarsi in atti di prudenza: quando, dopo l’islam, “i neopersiani” rievocano il proprio passato, attingono spontaneamente, e Firdusi con loro, agli ebrei e ai cristiani, nestoriani soprattutto, e alla loro produzione (Grignaschi 1973, 155). Cautela, grande cautela, richiedono allora sia certe “coincidenze” sia certe contrapposizioni, considerate magari fondamentali in quanto registrate nel confronto, poniamo, Teofilatto-Firdusi: è sospettabile che Firdusi sia spesso anche o solo eco, per quanto autorevole, di notizie “occidentali”, filtrate, adattate, forse stravolte, forse già viziate all’origine, certo addomesticate secondo le linee di una tradizionalità iranica nazional-imperiale e che tuttavia retroattivamente islamizza il passato in questione con moduli i quali potrebbero essere addirittura illuminanti circa molte altre forme, anche più recenti e più nostrane, di invenzione della tradizione.

Credo di aver mostrato con sufficiente chiarezza, in altra sede (Scarcia 2000), come il testamento platealmente “mazdaico” della Shirin firdusiana costituisca addirittura involontaria ma precisa testimonianza di un’iranica “accultuazione” (senza una *r* che tuttavia non sarebbe, neppure essa, fuori luogo) di fine secolo VI al “cristianesimo di San Sergio e della Croce”, ovvero sia a un cristianesimo “barbaro” (arabo) dell’epoca e della regione che sarà più accorto definire apofaticamente “non calcedoniano” piuttosto che, affermativamente, “nestoriano” o altro (ma la definizione di “Chiesa di Persia”, preferita da quei “nestoriani”, coglieva probabilmente più nel segno). Né basta. Non solo Shirin, in quei pretesi annali per eccellenza dei re di Persia, non è mai presentata come cristiana, ma le sue ultime volontà ne fanno in positivo, e non per resipiscenza, una devota della “chiesa di stato” (una chiesa che ha però curiosamente e paradossalmente bisogno – elemento più che sospetto quanto a consistenza effettiva di quegli audaci legati – di una solenne garanzia scritta da parte del potere regio perché si possa agire in tale patriottico senso). E la vicenda terrena e giuridica di Shirin si chiude proprio con un tale atto, che sembra quasi riparazione e catarsi per quel passato piuttosto torbido di maliarda e di avvelenatrice in cui si è forse tradotta con Firdusi la memoria di una certa qual estraneità della donna alla “nazione”. Memoria, chissà, non del tutto gratuita, anche se difficilmente districabile: sta di fatto che un’immagine negativa e ominosa – esattamente agli antipodi di quella

¹ Qui, e di seguito, riproduco Pizzi, cioè l’edizione di Calcutta: deliberato, quindi, è l’omaggio all’ipotesi antropologica, per cui anche eventuali interpolazioni, superfetazioni e incrostazioni varie potrebbero costituire bocconi ghiotti.

nezamiana – addirittura foriera del disastro finale della dinastia sasanide, sopravvive anche in ambiente arabo – ma intorno all’iranico Ṭabarī – nella leggenda di una Shirin stabilmente sterile, in ciò non graziata da alcun santo o patriarca, né da alcun medico dagli oscillanti principi, e matrigna o madre adottiva di mostri. Racconta infatti, quella leggenda – appartenente a una tipologia fenomenologica che la porterà a segnare in analoga maniera anche la fine della dinastia omayyade (Ṭabarī II, 1044-1045; cf. in particolare Sprengling 1939, 214-220) – che la catastrofe era stata annunciata al secondo Cosroe dagli astrologhi (quelli in regolare servizio a corte, o i suoi compagni di giovanili “stravizi”, o non piuttosto, per caso, la “romana” profetessa Maria? Cfr. Peeters 1944, 89): un suo figlio avrebbe messo al mondo un bambino caratterizzato da un grave difetto fisico, da una menomazione che si sarebbe trasferita sull’impero stesso, trascinandolo alla rovina. Di qui il tentativo del sasanide di non far conoscere donna a nessuno dei suoi “diciotto” figli. Sennonché Shirin, che ha adottato Shahryār, non resiste alle lagnanze di lui, pur procurandogli solo una compagnia femminile aristocratica ma ripugnante, che ella detesta e che pare ricattare avallando il sospetto di suoi personali maligni intendimenti “disfattisti” in tutta l’operazione. Tale donna, effettivamente, partorirà con Yazdgard III, l’ultimo della casata, un “aborto” (arabo *mukhdaj*). Ed è curioso che la menomazione in oggetto (una lussazione o artrosi dell’anca) sia poi quella “sacra” di Giacobbe in seguito alla lotta con l’angelo, o più tardi in Occidente quella di Enrico II in seguito alla visione di San Michele (un Mithra garganico!), o più tardi in Oriente la marca della fatale possanza di Tamerlano. Il ribaltamento del motivo par quasi di specularità (*aratro* che traccia il solco della città in apertura e città che diviene terra *arata* in chiusura) rispetto all’altrettanto e più diffusa leggenda della principessa persiana che, sposando il fondatore del nuovo potere “barbarico”, questo potere nobilita e civilizza (è occorso, fra gli arabi, sia agli alidi sia agli omayyadi! Cfr. sempre Sprengling, *loc. cit.*); ma il motivo medesimo può essere connesso anche con l’altro stereotipo universale del frutto mostruoso di unioni innaturali: in varianti non per nulla centrasiatriche l’“aborto” si trasferisce infatti su di un “postumo” di Yazdgard, facendo slittare di una generazione, come è ovvio in terra di Marv (o in quella Sogdiana che diede rifugio al figlio dell’ultimo sasanide Firuz) la fine della dinastia; in materia, la regola (*sic*) è che i mostri siano “*parti postumi*” (Harff-Lancner e Polino 1988). Tuttavia, con l’occhio a una Shirin devota alla ritualità solstiziale invernale, viene anche da pensare al tema dell’*ultimo* e più *gracile* giorno dell’anno solare, *dies natalis* del Portatore di Sventura in una tenace superstizione iranica con addentellati egizi, allo stesso modo che il giorno seguente sarà invece il Natale di un Redentore.

Sta di fatto che assolutamente minima è la distanza “teologica” tra l’islam di cui Firdusi è obiettivamente portatore e le posizioni che Firdusi *vuole* siano quelle dell’entourage intellettuale di Khosrow Parviz nella discussione che si accompagna agli onori di casa (appena turbati da qualche rapidamente superato scatto di esuberanza in un nazionalismo religioso pro forma) resi ai rappresentanti del romano impero, rivale ma omologo, giunti nel momento critico ad assistere militarmente e, cogliendo la fortunata occasione, a predicare un po’. Nel che sarebbe poi da riflettere ulteriormente intorno a quel “monaco Sergio” che secondo tante tradizioni avrebbe fatto da “consigliere” al Profeta dell’islam (cfr., ancora oggi, Nau 1913, 214-223, con il recente Gero 1992). Si direbbero

addirittura, quelle posizioni (tra l'altro "cristologicamente" interessanti) un ben plausibile punto di sutura tra un nestorianesimo di destra e un mutazilismo di sinistra confluenti in un'idea della storicità del Logos con correttivo docetico (e qui si ricordi l'altro Sergio "sosia" di Gesù Cristo, in fondo un suo didimo come il Giuda Tomaso caro proprio alla Chiesa d'Oriente) cui è perfettamente funzionale l'introduzione del motivo della richiesta (non accolta nonostante gli onori di casa e la criticità del momento) della restituzione a Roma di una croce definita "un pezzetto di legno qualunque" (forse conservato dai tempi della tentata evangelizzazione di Ardashir, cfr. Grignaschi 1973, 104). Io non credo si tratti qui di un peccato di "flagrante anacronismo" (Goubert 1951, 181) da parte di Firdusi, fronte a un tema di risonanza universale come quello del trafugamento, della cattività persiana e del riscatto della croce medesima, che è anche in quel Ṭabarī di cui Firdusi è spesso un amplificatore immaginifico e romanzesco ma talora anche un censore di tutto quanto sa di "anti-mazdaico", compresa la solidarietà tra *kitābī* in opposizione alla Persia illetterata. Credo piuttosto che si tratti, e con pertinenza perfetta del momento indicato, di "notizia", dissimulante una tendenziosa cancellazione – al tempo stesso equivalente a una sorta di giustificazione ideologica – delle successive malefatte di Khosrow Parviz in tema di croci sottratte ai legittimi proprietari e da svilire a irresponsabili e incoscienti "asini di Cristo": "notizia" di un'effettivamente occorsa sollecitazione "alleata" a restituire a Rusāfa/Sergiopoli una preziosa croce sottratta dal primo Cosroe di cui è parola negli ex-voto del secondo (Goubert 1951, 149-150; Peeters 1944). Quel bottino è così meticolosamente valutato da destare almeno il sospetto di costituire una qualche gradita contropartita materiale alle grazie ricevute e da ricevere, ad opera del santo di Rusāfa, per intercessione del suo devoto, e rappresentante imperiale per eccellenza, quel Domiziano di Melitene, cugino di Maurizio (un cugino-fratello "all'aramaea", si direbbe, secondo le migliori tradizioni evangeliche, nel caso rovesciate), che in Firdusi è il valente e focoso zio della cesarea Maria. Ma questa non è l'unica cesura imperfetta, ovvero con evidenti smagliature, che troviamo in Firdusi a proposito di San Sergio e dei suoi interventi. Si pensi che in Ṭabarī (II, 999) il quartetto militar-diplomatico-edificante cui è affidata la politica persiana di Maurizio è costituito da Domiziano appunto (BTYĀDWS, ma – n. b del De Goeje – "puncta variant"), da una Maria, che egli e altri cronisti arabi "se sont mis en tête" (Peeters 1947, 27-28 n. 3) sia figlia dell'imperatore (e sulla cui trasparente anche se apparentemente "enigmatica" identità mi trattengo in altra sede ancora, più specificamente bizantino-iranica), e da "tal Sargīs", sdoppiato in un Sergio e in un portentoso guerriero che "vale per mille", il quale occupa la posizione a rigore spettante a Gregorio di Antiochia (e sì che proprio a Antiochia mette capo in Ṭabarī la fuga del sasanide!), cioè al battezzatore di Khosrow Parviz secondo la tradizione che, inevitabilmente in quel torno d'anni, raggiunse lo pseudo-Fredegario (cf. Goubert 1951, 174-175) per poi arrivare a Paolo Diacono (*Hist.* IV, 50). Risulta evidente che la memoria del taumaturgo di Rusāfa – in certo senso, almeno metaforico, il più vero ed efficace catechizzatore del Re dei re – era ben viva e presente in terra persiana. E se Ṭabarī lo degrada da santo a campione delle milizie alleate, la "svista" o lapsus calami, in un musulmano, e dei suoi tempi, è in fondo meno singolare di quella, analoga, di un Minorsky (1944, 93).

Ciò posto, l'assenza in Firdusi di un adiuvante Sergio purché sia (forse perduto nella folla di teologi rumi che predicano, e "richiedono" croci) appare già di per sé clamorosa. Sennonché il clamore si intensifica oltre misura dinanzi alla levitazione firdusiana della diceria *majūsī*, cui Ṭabarī (II, 1000) accenna solo vagamente e di sfuggita parlando di "inconsistenza" (chissà se della "notizia" o della "visione" ivi contenuta), dell'assistenza portata a Khosrow Parviz, nella campagna contro Bahrām Čubin che finirà col vederlo vincitore, da una controfigura di San Sergio molto più "ortodossa" quale l'angelo Sorush. Più iranicamente ortodossa, sembra ritenere Firdusi, in realtà anche più islamicamente tale, oltre che nella veste di turchese adatta a Khidr, nella tipologia – è appunto il condizionamento dello stesso Firdusi – perché è già di pubblico dominio, nella patria pietà (Ṭabarī II, 1013-1014), che il sasanide sia stato visitato tre volte, purtroppo invano, dall'angelo che l'invitava alla professione del monoteismo autentico e definitivo. Una visione meridiana, tra l'altro (cfr. Caillois 1936-1937), e di matrice costantiniana anche nei tratti iconografici del segno, che paiono proprio inseguire l'evoluzione numismatica, in terra araba, di una croce reinterpretata come bastone di comando (cfr. Favaro 2001; Fontana 2001): bastone che sarà quindi spezzato dal rifiuto.

Di una singolare visione di Khosrow nelle nostre contingenze abbiamo più di una testimonianza nelle pur avarissime fonti autorevoli. Quella dell'*Anonimo Guidi* (p. 15), con tutta la sua tendenziosità clericaleggiante, è in fondo la più laica: "Narrant senis speciem apparuisse Chosroi, frenum equi regenti et ad bellum proficiscenti; quam rem post reditum a bello, cum Širin uxori narrasset, hic est, inquit ipsa, Sabrišo' episcopus Lašum; Chosroes animum rei intendit et taquit".

Sempre in connessione con Shirin, ma con maggiore coinvolgimento soprannaturale, è la testimonianza dello stesso Re dei re, che da Roso(n)chosron "eut une apparition de Saint Serge. Avec plus de respect pour la morale chrétienne, qui est en cause, disons que Khosrau eut un rêve assez en rapport avec les idées riantes auxquelles il était retourné. Il crut voir Saint Serge et entendre de lui par trois fois que Shirin lui donnerait le fils qu'il souhaitait" (Peeters 1947, 29). C'è sempre di mezzo Shirin, dunque, e avendosi a che fare con un santo taumaturgo molto venerabile, è probabile che anche in questo caso si trattasse di un senex.

Firdusi si pone su di un terzo e più sublime livello, reiranizzando ad arcangelo – sia pur islamicamente percepito – e conseguentemente, immaginiamo, ringiovanito, le virtù soprannaturali che calano a suo soccorso.

Poi che stato del prence alla distretta
 Era venuto e gli era dietro un ferro
 E una rupe dinanzi, a Dio si volse
 E così disse: Almo Fattor del mondo,
 Tu che mutar della fortuna avanzi,
 In questo loco di distretta sii
 Proteggitor; non io le stelle in cielo
 Volgomi a supplicar! – Come levossi
 La flebil prece da quel monte, apparve
 Sul ripido sentier Seròsh beato,
 Verdi le vesti tutte e sotto a lui
 Candido palafren. Deh! che a tal vista

Alma riprese re Khusrèv! D'accanto
 Come gli fu, la man del prence iranio
 L'angiol si prese (meraviglia questa
 Per Dio santo non è); poi che dinanzi
 Tolto l'ebbe al nemico, agevolmente
 Lungi l'addusse e lasciò andar la mano.

Khusrèv diss'egli allor: Quale il tuo nome? –
 E dicea questo e lagrimava. E l'angelo
 Gli rispondea: Seròsh è il nome mio.
 Lungi dal lagrimar, poi che ottenesti
 Sicurezza da me! Tu d'ora in poi
 Sara' prence del mondo, e non t'è d'uopo
 Che saggio addimostrarti ed avveduto.

Disse cotesto e via da lui disparve,
 Né alcun pel mondo mai tal meraviglia
 Giunse a veder. Meravigliando stette
 Behràm che ciò vedea. Molto invocava,
 Fattor del mondo, Iddio, quando gli cadde
 Per la persona un tremito improvviso,
 Ratto al veder del fuggitivo prence
 L'opra e il desio già compiuto. Ei disse:

Con uomini finché sarà la guerra,
 Deh! mai non sia che in me valor si scemi!
 Ma poiché la battaglia è con alate
 Peri vaganti, sulla mia fortuna
 Che già s'infosca, lagrimar fa d'uopo.

E Niyatùs di contro, in su la cima
 Della montagna, grazia a Dio chiedea
 Giusto e verace, e le sue belle gote
 Graffiavasi Maria nella distretta
 Del dolce sposo, re del mondo. Ancora
 Stavan sul monte le falangi ed erano
 Alle sue falde e alla pianura, e pieno
 Era d'ansia e di duol de' Greci il core.

Deh! qui t'assidi, Niyatùs diceva
 A Maria dolorosa; io temo assai
 Ch'estinto giaccia dell'Irania il prence.

Ma in quell'istante, da l'opposta parte
 Della montagna, pel dirotto calle,
 Da sue genti lontan, mostrossi in vista
 Prence Khusrèv, e ratto la sua schiera
 Inclita in guerra giubilò, disciolto
 Andò il cor di Maria dal fiero duolo (VIII, 152-154)

(fors'anche dal duolo della sterilità, visto che Maria, sensibilmente più tardi, partorirà).

Non credo si tratti soltanto, in questa interpretazione di Sargis come Sorush, della vaga assonanza tra nomi taumaturgici. Anzitutto, l'excusatio non petita dell'esordio, con

cui Khosrow (tra le cui “birbanterie” adolescenziali, guarda caso, c’era anche un eccessivo interesse per i *nujūm*, cfr. *Cronaca di Se’ert*, 465) si premura di allontanare da sé la nomea, evidentemente non implausibile, di un adoratore delle stelle, fa pensare proprio a un irreprensibile Sorush che si sovrapponga piamente a un’entità stellare, quale Sergio effettivamente è nelle sue radici fenomenologiche: cioè la Zuhra di Nu’mān (*Cronaca di Se’ert*, 468), lucente stella Diana che appare innanzi il giorno prenda albore, la quale ha giustappunto preso forma di figura umana (Cristoforetti 1996). In secondo luogo, Sorush si adatta, in maniera troppo puntuale per essere casuale, a rappresentare, sub specie iranica, autoreferenziale, quel che nella tradizione cristiana è penetrato come il gallo del singolare tema della parodistica Trinità di Cosroe, il quale sedeva “in trono come Dio Padre, tenendo la croce alla sua destra al posto del Figlio e un gallo a sinistra al posto dello Spirito Santo”. Così, per non parlare delle testimonianze iconografiche, nel *Mitrato* di Giovanni Beletth raccolto dalla *Legenda aurea* nella sede materiale dell’*Esaltazione*, ma con una ben nota trafila che, seppur non mette capo a fonti coeve a quei “fatti”, raggiunge, oltre Cedreno, Teofane e il patriarca Niceforo (Saxl 1923), cioè quegli inizi del secolo IX cui appartiene, se vogliamo ipotizzare suggestioni crucifere nel timone o ascia del carro-trono raffiguratevi, il celebre piatto di Klimova.

Quale sarà dunque la parte di questo gallo che insistentemente si affaccia in fonti cristiane, ai tempi e nei luoghi del cristianesimo di San Sergio, e ai tempi e luoghi della succitata apparizione di Sorush? Quale insomma, anche da questo punto di vista, il rapporto tra Sergio e Sorush? Se fin nell’opposta periferia iranica (cioè in quella Sogdiana che ha poi gli stessi angeli emeronimi dell’Armenia), il gallo e il solare sacrificio del gallo sono solidamente attestati, è un fatto che il Crescente Fertile e la Transcaucasia dell’epoca che ci interessa, ma con prosecuzione – cose di ieri – fin nella plausibile fonte azerbaigiana di una celebre *skazka* di Puškin (Trevisan 1981), sono pieni di galli, autentici o in forme umane anch’essi. Fondamentale è, in proposito, la ricerca di Meier (1977), che tutto sommato ridimensiona molto H. Gressmann, il quale s’era dato tanto da fare “pour rechercher tout que l’on connaît de coqs, non seulement dans le symbolisme religieux de l’antiquité, mais encore dans les rituels de tous les cultes, dans les mystères des religions helléniques et orientales et dans les superstitions populaires” (Peeters 1943, 287). A parte che lo stesso San Sergio risulta gradire, a Rusāfa, *gallorum pullos* (Gregorio di Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, 96), della cosa ci sono tracce nella *Cronaca di Se’ert* (463-465) e nell’*Anonimo Guidi*, oltre che nel gallo di Hierapolis sviscerato da Peeters. Ricordiamo l’*Anonimo* (p. 17): “Quidam autem diaconus, qui cognomine Bar Tale (filius Vulpium) appellabatur, deprehensus est gallum album sacrificans in luco qui est extra urbem”. E se è vero che nella *Cronaca di Se’ert* (464) un “ministro di Dio” che ha “commercio con i demoni”, ma che tra l’altro è un poliglotta, ed è stato a Harran, sembra sacrificare piuttosto “due galline” (*daja-jatāni*), ricordiamo l’equivalenza terminologica, a indicare “gallinacei”, testimoniata da Bar Bahlūl (Peeters 1943, 299). Allora, potrebbe non essere un caso neppure che la *dajāja* metta capo in ambiente arabo a un Cigno celeste, cioè ai *nujūm* cari a Cosroe fra cui un certo Sergio primeggia. Nella porosità reciproca dei culti, se non delle religioni, all’epoca determinante, che un Re dei re si inizi a qualunque rito a portata di mano e di moda non è certo in contraddizione con le sue funzioni ufficiali di mazdeo e protettore della Chiesa

mazdea più di quanto il titolo di Pontefice Massimo, in uso a Roma a tutt'oggi e sempre caro a ogni interessato, non protegga chi di dovere da tutti i fruttuosi contagi che ben conosciamo. Detto questo, c'è però sempre il forte sospetto di un tentativo cristiano ortodosso di liberarsi di qualche non calcedoniano, ma pur sempre cristiano, gallo infetto attribuendolo a una parodia persiana che potrebbe essere anche una forma di locale aberrante cristianesimo simile a quello della regina Shirin quando si mostra incerta se il profeta Daniele sepolto a Susa sia un personaggio di questa o di quella storia sacra: Key Khosrow parodia di Daniele o Daniele parodia di Key Khosrow (Sebēos, *Storia*, 65-66)? Ma l'identificazione fra personaggi sacri a questa e a quella tradizione religiosa non è certo cosa rara. Più interessante e più intrigante è la chiamata in causa in chiusura dell'*Esaltazione della croce*, da parte di Jacopo da Varazze, della celeberrima "testimonia" di Epifanio sulla festa del 6 gennaio; anch'essa dichiarata blasfema replica di motivi cristiani quando potrebbe essere viceversa e anch'essa, guarda caso, con croci e galli: le prime, certo, croci antico-egizie, i galli, probabilmente, misuratori del tempo, "allertatori", come sempre in fenomenologia. Sta di fatto che abbiamo galli e croci proprio in un rito solstiziale invernale, quello che sempre incombe sul "cristianesimo di Cosroe e Shirin". Si può notare inoltre che la vittorialità verdazzurra del Firuzkuh/Qāf, esprimendosi nell'amuleto per eccellenza "dei re persiani" ("un anello di turchese al dito di un ucciso non si è mai visto", Tifashi: 104), sembra tradursi in Occidente nella pietà di Gregorio di Tours (*Historia Francorum*, VII, 31) nel motivo fortemente analogo del "pollice di San Sergio . . . innestato nel braccio destro" di un "certo re d'Oriente".

D'altra parte, come escludere che quel gallo sia alla fin fine lo stesso gallo che gli agareni, forse consigliati da un certo monaco Sergio, si figurano accanto al trono del "loro Dio"? Lo pseudo-cufico che si accompagna a Braunschweig alla Majestas blasfema del Cosroe/Anticristo, immaginata a scorno dell'altrettanto empio casato di Svevia da certa romanica "arte guelfa" (Brenske 1998), permette di attribuire alla frustrata cristiana prole di Eraclio pensieri del genere, anche se proprio in questo caso, al posto del gallo, troviamo un fanciullo: il figlio cristiano del re pagano, o un angioletto o – come forse avrebbe potuto pensare Grabar (1983, 142-143) – uno Spirito Santo? Certo, in questo caso, dovrebbe trattarsi più di un Bahman che di un Soroush, ma saremmo sempre in un milieu mithraizzante.

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

- Anonimo Guidi = Chronicon anonymum, in *Chronica minora*, pars I, interpretatus est I. Guidi (Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, Series III, 4, Parisiis 1903), 13-32.
- Brenske, S., 1998. *Braunschweiger Werkstücke. Der hl. Kreuz-Zyklus in der ehemaligen braunschweiger Stiftskirche St. Blasius (Dom)* (Braunschweig).
- Cailliois, R., 1936-1937. *I demoni meridiani*, 2a ed. italiana (Torino 1999) [edizione originale in riviste].
- Cristoforetti, S., 1996. San Sergio a Perugia, *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, ser. 3, 35, 433-438.
- Cronaca di Seert* = *Histoire nestorienne* (Patrologia Orientalis 13.4, Paris 1918), 433-639.
- Favaro, R., 2001. Inseguendo Ponzio di Melgueil tra Cluny e Terrasanta, comunicazione tenuta al convegno "L'Albero della Croce: prima, dopo nell'esilio, nell'islam", Venezia (Ca' Foscari), 31 maggio 2001.
- Fontana, M. V., 2001. Albero-croce-albero nell'iconografia islamica, comunicazione tenuta al convegno "L'Albero della Croce: prima, dopo nell'esilio, nell'islam", Venezia (Ca' Foscari), 31 maggio 2001.
- Gero, S., 1992. The legend of the monk Bahira, the cult of the cross and iconoclasm, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'islam*, VII^e-VIII^e siècles (Damas), 47-57.

- Goubert, P., 1951. *Byzance avant l'islam*, t. 1 (Paris).
- Grabar, A., 1983. *Le vie della creazione nell'iconografia cristiana. Antichità e Medio Evo* (Milano).
- Grignaschi, M., 1973. La Nihāyatu-l-'Arab fi aḥbāri-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab et les Siyaru mulūki-l-'Ağam du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffā', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 26, 83-184.
- Harff-Lancner, L., Polino, M.N., 1988. Le gouffre de Satalie: survivances médiévales du mythe de Méduse, *Le Moyen Age* 1, 73-101.
- Meier, F., 1977. Nizāmi und die Mythologie des Hahns, in *Atti del colloquio sul poeta Nizāmi e la leggenda iranica di Alessandro Magno (Roma 25-26 marzo 1975)* (Roma), 55-115.
- Minorsky, V., 1944. Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene, *BSOAS* 11, 243-265 [ripubblicato in V. Minorsky, *Iranica. Twenty articles* (Publications of the University of Tehran 775, Tehran 1964), 86-109].
- Nau, F., 1913. *L'expansion nestorienne en Asie* (Annales du Musée Guimet 40, Paris).
- Peeters, P., 1943. Encore sur le coq sacré d'Hiérapolis, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres* 10-12, 274-310.
- Peeters, P., 1944. Sainte Golindoucht, martyre perse, *Analecta Bollandiana* 62, 74-125.
- Peeters, P., 1947. Les ex-voto de Khosraw Aparwez à Sergiopolis, *Analecta Bollandiana* 65, 5-56.
- Pizzi IV = Firdusi, *Il libro dei re*, poema epico recato dal persiano in versi italiani da I. Pizzi, vol. 4 (Torino 1887).
- Pizzi VIII = Firdusi, *Il libro dei re*, poema epico recato dal persiano in versi italiani da I. Pizzi, vol. 8 (Torino 1888).
- Saxl, F., 1923. Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16, n. 2, 102-121.
- Scarcia, G., 2000. Cosroe secondo, San Sergio e il sade, *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 4 (= *Miscellanea Metreveli*), 171-227.
- Sebeōs. *Storia*, trad. dall'armeno, intr. e note di C. Gugerotti (Eurasistica. Quaderni del Dipartimento di studi eurasistici dell'Università degli studi di Venezia 4, Verona 1990).
- Sprengling, M., 1939. From Persian to Arabic, *American journal of Semitic languages* 66, 175-224.
- Ṭabari II = *Annales quos . . . edidit M. J. De Goeje. Prima series, II* (Lugduni Batavorum 1881-1882).
- Tifāshi = Aḥmad al-Tifāši, *Il libro delle pietre preziose*, a c. di I. Zilio-Grandi (Venezia 1999).
- Trevisan, A., 1981. Motivi "azerbaigiani" in Puškin?, in *La bisaccia dello Sheikh* (Venezia), 339-346.

Rüdiger Schmitt

Nach der monographischen Behandlung der avestischen Personennamen durch Mayrhofer 1977b sind im Avesta-Corpus 422 Personennamen bezeugt. Mehr als zwei Drittel dieser Namen begegnen ausschließlich im zweiten Teil des *Fravardīn Yašt*, der eine listenförmige Aufzählung von 249 (oder 250)¹ Männern und 27 Frauen enthält, teilweise mit Vaters- bzw. Herkunftsangabe oder sonstiger Spezifizierung. Diese Passage *Yašt* 13, 95-142² hat die Verehrung der sog. Fravašis, der Schutzgeister der gläubigen Zarathustrier zum Gegenstand. In einer langen Litanei werden die Namen von Zarathustras frühesten Schülern und von um die Verbreitung seiner Religion verdienten Gemeindemitgliedern aufgezählt, von teils historischen, teils der Sagentradition angehörenden Personen, gewöhnlich jeweils eingebettet in die Formel

NN (im Genetiv) *ašaonō*³ *frauuašīm yazamaide* ‘wir verehren die Fravaši des rechtgläubigen NN’.

Es handelt sich dabei, wie es in *Yašt* 13, 142-145 ausdrücklich heißt, um eine Liste der Fravašis aller rechtgläubigen Männer und Frauen aller Länder, nicht nur der als “arisch” bezeichneten Länder, obgleich die Personennamen selbst ausnahmslos iranischen Ursprungs zu sein scheinen. In dieser Liste haben wir den umfangreichsten Namenkatalog vor uns, der aus der Frühzeit der alten arischen Sprachen bekannt ist, so daß sich hier die beste Möglichkeit bietet, die tatsächliche Verwendung der Personennamen im Avestischen zu studieren.

Das Ziel der folgenden Ausführungen ist es daher, diesen Namenkatalog einmal speziell aus onomastischer Sicht zu untersuchen, was bislang erstaunlicherweise niemals erfolgte.⁴ Die mit diesem Namenkatalog verknüpften allgemeineren religions- und literaturgeschichtlichen Fragen⁵ der Fravaši-Verehrung und der Entstehungsgeschichte dieses umfangreichsten, aus den verschiedensten älteren und jüngeren Traditionen zusammengewachsenen *Yašts* bleiben dabei ebenso ausgeklammert wie die systematische Diskussion der sprachlichen Besonderheiten (etwa der ungrammatischen Kasusformen)

¹ Der dritte Namenseintrag in § 119 (*Uxšānō* usw.) bleibt unentscheidbar; vgl. unten.

² In diesem Aufsatz beziehen sich Zitate mit bloßem “§” auf diese Passage *Yašt* 13, 95-142.

³ Je nach syntaktischem Erfordernis steht statt Gen. Sing. mask. *ašaonō* bei der Nennung der Frauennamen in §§ 139-142 Gen. Sing. fem. *ašaoniā*, bei dualischer Nennung von zwei Personen Gen. Du. *ašaonā*. Dieser Dualgebrauch in sechs Fällen (vgl. unten) hat im übrigen keinen Einfluß auf den Numerus von *frauuašīm*, das sich in der Überlieferung ausnahmslos in dieser Form findet.

⁴ Am ehesten haben auf die rein onomastischen Gesichtspunkte geachtet Darmesteter 1892, 529-553 sowie zum Teil auch Hertel 1924, 25-36, dem es jedoch primär um anderes ging, und Mayrhofer 1977a.

⁵ Hierzu vgl. Boyce 2001a bzw. 2001b sowie die dort zitierte Literatur, ferner Christensen 1928, 12-20, für den die Liste “remonte aux plus anciens temps de la période des *Yašts*” (S. 15), weil sämtliche Namen der Welt des Altavestischen angehören und sich z. B. nicht ein einziger *Miθra*-phorer Name darunter findet.

und der etymologischen Deutung der Namen selbst.⁶ Zugrunde gelegt wurden die Textausgaben von Geldner 1889 und Malandra 1971 (die leider zahlreiche Druckfehler enthält), durchgehend verglichen auch die Übersetzungen von Darmesteter 1892, 529-553 und Lommel 1927, 124-128.

In den ältesten indogermanischen Sprachen⁷ ist bekanntlich Einnamigkeit mit nur einem einzigen obligatorischen Namen hinreichend: dieser eine Name, der Individualname,⁸ genügt vollständig zur Identifizierung eines Individuums. Zu ihm können aber im Hinblick auf eine eindeutige(re) Identifizierung und auf die Unterscheidung von anderen Trägern desselben Namens fakultative Zusätze hinzutreten. Der am weitesten verbreitete derartige Zusatz ist die Vatersangabe durch Beifügung des Vatersnamens im Genetiv oder durch ein (vom Vatersnamen deriviertes) Patronymikon (bzw. Propatronymikon, wenn statt der Vatersangabe die Abstammung von einem früheren Ahnen bezeichnet wird). Alternative Namenszusätze sind die Angabe der Sippenzugehörigkeit (mittels Pluralgenetiv der Sippenbezeichnung) oder die der lokalen Herkunft (etwa des Wohn- oder Geburtsortes). Daß sich die Dinge auch in der Avestasprache genau so verhalten, wie wir dies am deutlichsten im Griechischen mit seiner besonders reichen onomastischen Überlieferung beobachten können, zeigt gerade der Namenkatalog des *Fravardīn Yašt* recht deutlich. Der Befund stellt sich im einzelnen folgendermaßen dar:

1. Bloßes Idionym, also den ursprünglichen Zustand des Ein-Namen-Systems wie in § 96 *Asmō.xʾanuuatō ašaonō frauuašīm yazamaide* 'wir verehren die Fravaši des rechtgläubigen *Asmō.xʾanuuant*', findet man in der hier besprochenen Passage insgesamt 140mal.

In dieser Zahl sind einige Fälle berücksichtigt, bei denen nicht-onomastische Ergänzungen zu dem Namen hinzutreten, und zwar

ein Titel, vorangestellt wie in § 99

kauuōiš Vištāspahe a. f. y. '... (des) Fürsten (Kavi) *Vištāspa*',

ein Epitheton, vorangestellt wie in § 103

taxmahe Spəntōδātahe a. f. y. '... (des) tapferen *Spəntōδāta*' oder in § 141

kaniā Vādutō ašaoniā [ašaonō⁹] f. y. '... der rechtgläubigen Jungfrau *Vādut*',¹⁰ oder

⁶ Die hierfür grundlegende Behandlung wird Mayrhofer 1977b verdankt.

⁷ Schmitt 1995 (= 2000, 1-31) hat die "Entwicklung der Namen in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen" skizziert; vgl. dort insbesondere §§ 6.1-6.6 S. 627b-631a (= 2000, 19-24).

⁸ Zu der sonst vorwiegend griechisch-sprachigen Terminologie der Anthroponomastik paßt besser "Idionym".

⁹ In §§ 140 und 141 ist an insgesamt elf Stellen das dem erwarteten Femininum *ašaoniā* in den meisten Handschriften folgende ungrammatische *ašaonō* (Gen. Sing. mask., wie in ca. 90% der Belege richtig) zu tilgen.

¹⁰ Daß in diesem und den vier folgenden, genau entsprechenden Fällen nicht die Namen dieser Jungfrauen vorliegen, sondern diese nur nach ihren Vätern benannt seien ('der Jungfrau/des Mädchens des *Vādut*-'), wie Humbach 1978a, 81 meint, kann aus onomastischen Gründen nicht überzeugen, da die Benennung als 'Tochter' (aber warum nicht mit dem erbten Wort für 'Tochter', *duydar*-?) zwar als Zusatz zum Idionym, aber jedenfalls in einem solchen Namenkatalog nicht als Ersatz für das Idionym denkbar ist.

die Spezifizierung *aparazāta*- ‘der jüngere’, nachgestellt wie in § 127

Jāmāspahe aparazātahe a. f. y. ‘... (des) jüngeren *Jāmāspa*’.

Ferner gehören hierher die drei nicht deklinierbaren “Zitatnamen” in § 120 (*Ašəm.yeñhe. raocā* usw.), denen als Ergänzung *nama* ‘mit Namen’ beigegeben ist, das den altpersischen Belegen von *nāma* entspricht, das sich zumindest an Stellen wie A²Hc 14 f., A³Pa^a 19, 20 am besten als ‘ein gewisser’ übersetzen läßt.

Dagegen sind in die obige Zahl nicht mit eingeschlossen folgende Belege:

- § 118 [⁺*Yūištahe*?]¹¹ *Gaoraiianahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Yūišta*, des *Gaori*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’, wo in Teilen der Überlieferung, nämlich im Iranischen *Khorda Avesta*, vor der deutlich als Patronymikon erkennbaren Form *Gaoraiiana*- ein Name gestanden hat, so daß diese nicht – entgegen Darmesteter 1892, 542; Justi 1895, 113a s. v. Gaurwi – mit Bartholomae 1904, 484 s.v. und Malandra 1971, 97, 141 als das Idionym aufgefaßt werden muß; die Auffälligkeit, daß von den acht in § 118 Genannten nur dieser *Yūišta* durch das Patronymikon näher charakterisiert ist, findet leicht ihre Erklärung dadurch, daß der Vatersname *Gaori* unmittelbar vorher genannt wird;
- § 131 *Aošnarahe Pouru.jirahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Aošnara*, (des Sohnes) des *Pouru.jira*’, da ich entgegen Darmesteter 1892, 549; Bartholomae 1904, 899 s. v.; Malandra 1971, 146; Mayrhofer 1977b, 72 Nr. 265, aber mit Justi 1895, 18b; Lommel 1927, 127 *Pouru.jira* als Name des Vaters und nicht als Beiwort betrachte, weil es dem Idionym *Aošnara* nachgestellt ist und allen anderen Namen in § 131 entsprechende Vatersangaben beigegeben sind; die appellativische Verwendung von *pouru.jira*- ‘vielverstündig’, wie sie in *Yašt* 5, 93 vorliegt, ist immer möglich, folglich als Gegenbeweis untauglich, und für die Belegstelle *Āfrīn ī Zartušt* 2 wird man ernsthaft fragen dürfen, ob *pouru.jirō yaθa Aošnara* ‘vielverstündig wie *Aošnara*’ nicht erst aus dem Vatersnamen durch ein Mißverständnis herausgesponnen ist;
- § 137 *Haoštiānhahe Taxmahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Haoštiānha*, (des Sohnes) des *Taxma*’, wo mir die Interpretation von *Taxma* als Vatersname wegen der Wortstellung – die parallel ist zu § 98 *Daēuuō.tbōiš Taxmahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Daēuuō.tbōiš*, (des Sohnes) des *Taxma*’ und kontrastiert mit § 103 *taxmahe Spəntōdātahe a. f. y.* (vgl. oben) – plausibler erscheint als die appellativische Auffassung der *Communis opinio*,¹² die mit *taxma*- ‘tapfer’ rechnet; und ganz entsprechend
- § 111 *Hqm.barəθrō.vanjhūuqm Taxmahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Hqm.barətar-vanjhuuqm*, (des Sohnes) des *Taxma*’, worin ich Justi 1895, 125b folge.¹³

Die doppelten Attribute in Feminin- und Maskulinform (*ašaoniiā ašaonō*), auf die Humbach, a. a. O. verweist, sind meines Erachtens anders zu erklären (vgl. oben Anm. 9). Problematisch bleiben allerdings, wie ich einräumen muß, die in vier Fällen nicht als Feminina charakterisierten Namenstämme.

¹¹Die genaue Form des Namens ist unklar: vgl. Mayrhofer 1977b, 47 Nr. 156, im übrigen die Handschriftenlesarten selbst. Schon Darmesteter 1892, 542 Anm. 238 (vgl. Christensen 1932, 92 Anm. 2) vermutete, daß hier eigentlich der aus *Dēnkard* 9, 23, 2 bekannte *Haoiš* gemeint sei.

¹²Vgl. Darmesteter 1892, 551; Lommel 1927, 128; Malandra 1971, 147; Mayrhofer 1977b, 50 Nr. 168; implizite auch Justi 1895, 126a.

¹³Als Alternative erwägt dies auch Mayrhofer 1977b, 50 Nr. 170 bzw. 80 Nr. 304.

2. Namenformeln aus Idionym und Vatersangabe im Genetiv (ohne explizite Verwendung des Wortes für ‘Sohn’) wie zu Beginn dieses Namenkatalogs in § 95 *Maiḏiiōi.māṇhahe Ārāstīiehe ... aṣaonō ... f. y.*¹⁴ ‘... des *Maiḏiiōi.māṇha*, (des Sohnes) des *Ārāstīia*’ finden sich in insgesamt 71 Fällen.

Diese Zahl schließt neben den drei am Ende von Punkt 1. schon besprochenen Belegen der §§ 111, 131 und 137 auch zwei Namen ein, zu denen nicht-onomastische Ergänzungen hinzutreten, nämlich:

§ 105 *Mqθrauuākahe Sāimužōiš ... a. f. y.* ‘... des *Mqθrauuāka*, (des Sohnes) des *Sāimuži*, des ...’, wo dem Vatersnamen zwei religiöse Titel folgen (bei denen man darüber streiten mag, ob sie auf den Vater oder auf den Sohn zu beziehen sind), und

§ 108 *Vanḥēuš Aršīiehe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Vohu*, (des Sohnes) des *Aršīia*’,¹⁵ wo nach der üblichen Formel der Vatersname nochmals aufgenommen und durch Epitheta näher charakterisiert wird.

Ebenso lassen sich hier zwei Namenformeln anschließen, bei denen der Vatersangabe noch eine doppelte Ethnos- bzw. Herkunftsangabe folgt:

§ 125 *Parō.dasmahe Dāštāṇōiš + Mužahe Mužaiiā daḥhēuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Parō.dasma*, (des Sohnes) des *Dāštāṇi*, des Mužers aus dem Mužerland’ sowie

§ 125 *Gaomatō Zauuanō Raoždiiehe Raoždiiaiiā daḥhēuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Gaomaṇt*, (des Sohnes) des *Zauuan*, des Raoždiers aus dem Raoždierland’.

In diese Gruppe eingereiht sind auch drei Namenformeln, bei denen die Textüberlieferung gewissen Zweifeln ausgesetzt ist:

§ 101 *Nījarahe Sauuanḥō a. f. y.* ‘... des *Nījara*, (des Sohnes) des *Sauuah*’, wo ich dem Vorschlag von Humbach 1978a, 80 nicht folgen kann, *Nījarahe Sauuanḥō* als einen zweigliedrigen Namen ‘Herabsinger des Heils’ zu interpretieren, da sich hierfür engere Parallelen nicht beibringen lassen; und das von Humbach, a.a.O. vorgebrachte zusätzliche Argument, daß in § 101 sonst keine Vatersangaben vorkommen (was mir auch sofort aufgefallen ist), verliert dadurch wieder an Gewicht, daß dieser ganze Satz in Teilen der Überlieferung (im Iranischen *Khorda Avesta*) überhaupt fehlt;¹⁶

§ 124 *Aruuaoštrahe* (oder eher¹⁷ *Auuaraoštrahe*) *Ṛəzauuatō daḥhēuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Auuaraoštra*, (des Sohnes) des *Ṛəzauuaṇt-daḥhēuš*’, worin der Vatersname sehr auffällig und kaum plausibel deutbar ist, so daß mir alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür zu sprechen scheint, daß hier der Text – jedenfalls hinsichtlich *daḥhēuš*, vielleicht aber auch *Ṛəzauuatō* – nicht in Ordnung ist; sowie

§ 120 *Usmānarahe-ca Paēšataṇḥō* usw. ‘und des *Usmānara*, (des Sohnes) des *Paēšatah* ...’, das auffälligerweise – und ganz singulär! – durch *-ca* ‘und’ mit dem voran-

¹⁴ Hier findet sich noch nicht das ab § 96 verwendete formelhafte *aṣaonō frauuāšim yazamaide*, sondern ein etwas umfangreicherer Text.

¹⁵ Darmesteter 1892, 537 und Malandra 1971, 136 fassen *vanḥēuš* als Appellativum auf, und Justi 1895, 347b versteht “*Waṇhu-aršya*” zusammengekommen als Idionym.

¹⁶ Deshalb sucht man diesen Namen bei Darmesteter 1892, 532 und Justi 1895, 229b vergebens.

¹⁷ Dieser überzeugende Vorschlag ist Humbach 1978b, 83 zu verdanken.

gehenden Satz verbunden ist, deshalb dann der üblichen Formel *ašaonō frauuašīm yazamaide* entbehrt und im übrigen eine Dublette zu § 97 darstellt, wo dieselbe Namenformel in ganz anderem Kontext schon einmal begegnet, so daß hier offenbar mit einem späteren Einschub zu rechnen ist; aus diesem Grund scheint mir auch völlig offen bleiben zu müssen, was es mit dem in einigen Handschriften des Iranischen *Khorda Avesta* (zum Teil aber *secunda manu*) auf *Paēšataṇhō* folgenden *paiti.srīrahe* alias *Paiti.srīrahe*¹⁸ tatsächlich auf sich hat und ob man dies wirklich als den Namen von *Paēšatahs* Vater verstehen darf, wie zuerst Justi 1895, 238a vermutet hat.¹⁹

Von seiner Bildung her problematisch ist schließlich das gewöhnlich (vgl. zuletzt Mayrhofer 1977b, 64 Nr. 230) als Patronymikon zu einem Stamm **Naru-* interpretierte *Narauua-* in § 131, das aber seine morphologische Besonderheit verliert, wenn man der Vermutung von Humbach 1978b, 84 folgt, der darin *⁺-guua-* sieht:

§ 131 *Ayraēraθahe* *⁺Naraguuahe* a. f. y. '... des *Ayraēraθa*, (des Sohnes) des *Naraguua*'.

3. An die Stelle des Genetivs des Vatersnamens tritt alternativ die Vatersangabe mittels eines Patronymikons (ursprünglich: patronymischen Adjektivs), für dessen Bildung im Avestischen verschiedene, jedenfalls mehrheitlich aus dem Indoiranischen ererbte Möglichkeiten (mit den Suffixen *-Ø-*, *-a-*, *-i-*, *-āna-*, *-āni-* [in § 131 *Āθβiiāni-*], *-ina-*,²⁰ *-iiāna-*,²¹ *-āiiana-*)²² zur Verfügung stehen. Solche patronymische bzw. – wie es immer als Möglichkeit erwogen werden muß²³ – propatronymische Vatersangaben sind in 37 Fällen bezeugt.

Dabei sind auch die folgenden Formen miteinbezogen, für die also explizite mit Patronymika gerechnet wird:

§ 98 *Θrimiθbatō Spitāmahe* a. f. y. '... des *Θrimiθbant*, eines *Spitāmiden*', wo *Spitāma-* meines Erachtens als Singulativum zur pluralischen Sippenbezeichnung zu verstehen ist, als die der Plural des Patronymikons (vgl. unten Punkt 4.) gebraucht wird (wie er in altavest. Vok. Plur. *Spitamāñhō Yasna* 46, 15 bezeugt ist);²⁴

¹⁸ Als Beiname des *Paēšatah* scheint Darmesteter 1892, 543 dies verstanden zu haben.

¹⁹ Vgl. jetzt v.a. auch Mayrhofer 1977b, 67 Nr. 243.

²⁰ Das Suffix *-ina-* ist nach der Herstellung der ursprünglichen Form für § 106 *Zbauruuaitinahe* durch Mayrhofer 1977a, 31 f.; 1977b, 107 Nr. 419 anzusetzen.

²¹ Ein Suffix(konglomerat) *-iiāna-* ist nur in § 102 *Naotairiāna-* zu erkennen, das am besten als Verdeutlichung von *Naotairiia-* erklärt werden mag, das seinerseits von dem Familiennamen *Naotara-* abgeleitet ist.

²² Nicht ganz klar ist die Entstehung von § 130 *Vīuuāñhana-* (genauer: *Vīuuāñhana-*) aus *Vīuuāñhant-* (= ved. *Vivásvant-*); und bei dem ganz isolierten *Xštāuuaēniia-* in § 111 (zweimal) ist eigentlich nur sicher, daß darin ein Patronymikon vorliegt (vgl. Bartholomae 1904, 556; Debrunner 1954, 285 § 172; Mayrhofer 1977b, 101 Nr. 398).

²³ Vgl. Schmitt 1995, 629ab (= 2000, 20 f.) §§ 6.3–6.3.1.

²⁴ Für das Nebeneinander von eigentlichem Patronymikon (im Singular), pluralischem Familiennamen und hieraus gebildetem Singulativum vergleiche man Beispiele wie *ṛgved. Kānva-* neben *Kānvá-* und Debrunner 1954, 50 f. § 14a (β-ε).

- § 106 *Buδrahe Dāzgrāspōiš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Buδra*, des *Dāzgrāspa*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’, wofür allein Mayrhofer 1977b, 36 Nr. 105 – entgegen der *Communis opinio* – die Interpretation der Form *Dāzgrāspōiš* als Vatersname (gemäß oben Punkt 2.) und nur im etymologischen Sinn patronymisches Adjektiv vorgezogen hat; ein Idionym *Dāzgrāspi-* findet jedoch höchstens in dem in § 114 deutlich so, als Idionym gebrauchten *Siiāuuāspi-* eine Stütze;
- § 113 *Frānanhō Frāīiazəntanahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Frānah*, des *Frāīiazənta*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’ und
- ebenda *Jarō.vanhēuš Frāīiazəntanahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Jarō.vohu*, des *Frāīiazənta*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’, wo ich, wiederum der *Communis opinio* folgend, mit dem Patronymikon zu dem unmittelbar vorher genannten Idionym *Frāīiazənta-* rechne,²⁵ obwohl die handschriftliche Überlieferung eine solche Interpretation nicht unbedingt stützt; die Überlieferung bestätigt aber immerhin das Vorkommen beider Namenformen, des kürzeren Idionyms und des abgeleiteten Patronymikons, in dieser Passage – die dann in sinngemäßer Verteilung einzusetzen sind – und kann in einer solchen Aufzählung später leicht infolge von Perseveration oder Antizipation durcheinandergeraten sein;
- § 113 *Vohu.raocanhō Varakasānahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Vohu.raocah*, des *Varakasa*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’, wo für das ganz vereinzelt *Varakasāna-*, das offensichtlich ein patronymisches Adjektiv ist, patronymische Verwendung a priori größere Wahrscheinlichkeit besitzt als idionymischer Gebrauch, obgleich dieser selbstverständlich nicht kategorisch ausgeschlossen werden kann;
- § 118 [⁺*Yūištahe?*] *Gaoraiianahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Yūišta*, des *Gaori*-Sohnes/Nachkommen’, das bereits unter Punkt 1. diskutiert wurde.

Einen Sonderfall bildet wegen der Nachstellung des Idionyms die Nennung des *Kərəsāspa* in

- § 136 *Sāmahe Kərəsāspahe* ...²⁶ *a. f. y.* ‘... des *Sāma*-Nachkommen *Kərəsāspa* ...’. Dabei kann hinsichtlich des korrekten Verständnisses der prosopographischen Verhältnisse kein Zweifel sein, da *Kərəsāspa* der Sohn des *Ōrita* ist, der in *Yasna* 9, 10 als ‘der stärkste der *Sāmas*/*Sāma*-Nachkommen’ (*Ōritō Sāmanəm səuuištō*) bezeichnet wird.

4. Was durch das Propatronymikon ausgedrückt wird, nämlich die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Ahnenreihe, kann noch viel deutlicher bezeichnet werden durch die Verwendung der Sippenbezeichnung im Pluralgenetiv. Diese Ausdrucksweise, die ein Individuum als ‘einen von den ... (-Nachkommen)’ benennt, findet sich bei verschiede-

²⁵ Der vorliegende Namenkatalog bietet in §§ 104, 106, 111, 118 und 119 eine Reihe von Beispielen dafür, daß ein Vater und sein Sohn oder seine Söhne unmittelbar nacheinander genannt werden – so wie auch wiederholt Brüder in direkter Aufeinanderfolge genannt werden.

²⁶ Es folgen hier die beiden auch sonst als solche bezeichneten *Kərəsāspa*-Epitheta *gaēšu-* ‘lockig’ und *gaδauuara-* ‘Keulenträger’.

nen indogermanischen Völkern gleichermaßen, z.B. im Griechischen, wo Herodot 5, 44, 2 einen elischen Seher Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων 'Kallias von den Iamiden/Iamos-Nachkommen' erwähnt. In dem *Fravardīn-Yašt*-Katalog gibt es fünf derartige Beispiele.

Völlig unproblematisch sind dabei die ersten drei Belege:

- § 120 *Yōištahe Friiānanəm a. f. y.* '... des *Yōišta* von den *Friiānas/Friia*-Nachkommen/aus der *Friiāna*-Sippe';
 § 127 *Hufrauūāxs*²⁷ *Kahrkananəm a. f. y.* '... des *Hufrauūac* von den *Kahrkanas/Kahrka*-Nachkommen/aus der *Kahrkana*-Sippe';
 § 127 *Akaiiadahe Puḍanəm a. f. y.* '... des *Akaiiada* von den *Puḍas/Puḍa*-Nachkommen/aus der *Puḍa*-Sippe'.²⁸

Die Kombination von Sippenbezeichnung und Vatersangabe im Genetiv (gemäß Punkt 1.), also eine Verbindung, die der für das Keltiberische typischen Namenformel (bis auf die Wortstellung)²⁹ entspricht, begegnet in

- § 126 *Frō.hakaḥrahe Mərəzišmīiehe Saēnanəm a. f. y.* '... des *Frō.hakaḥra*, (des Sohnes) des *Mərəzišmīia* von den *Saēnas/Saēna*-Nachkommen/aus der *Saēna*-Sippe'.

Einen weiteren Sonderfall, der neben *Saēnanəm* einen zweiten Pluralgenetiv aufweist, der gewöhnlich als der Name eines Zweiges der *Saēna*-Sippe interpretiert wird, enthält dieser § 126 an erster Stelle; daß innerhalb einer Sippe verschiedene Zweige onomastisch voneinander geschieden werden, ist jedenfalls aus dem Lateinischen wohlbekannt, wo die *Cornēlii Scīpiōnēs* einen berühmten Zweig der *gēns Cornēlia* bilden. Der einschlägige avestische Beleg lautet:

- § 126 *Tīrō.nakaḥḥahe Uspaēšatanəm Saēnanəm a. f. y.* '... des *Tīrō.nakaḥḥa* von den *Uspaēšata-Saēnas*'.

5. Eine weitere Möglichkeit, die Abstammung einer Person genauer anzugeben, besteht darin, außer dem Vater auch den Großvater (und gegebenenfalls weitere Aszendenten) namentlich zu nennen, so wie etwa Dareios I. sich in seiner großen Inschrift vom Berg Bisutūn vorstellt als (altpers.) *Dārayavauš* . . . *Vištāspahyā puça Ršāmahyā napā* 'Dareios, . . . , des Hystaspes Sohn, des Arsames Enkel' (DB I 1-3). Ein deutliches Beispiel dieser Art scheint mir vorzuliegen in

²⁷ Die Form *Hufrauūāxs* ist ungrammatisch (Nom. statt Gen.) und erklärt sich am einfachsten daraus, daß die Form aus einem anderen (nicht erhalten gebliebenen) Text in Avestasprache, in dem die Nominativform vorkam, übernommen worden ist. Mangelnde Sprachbeherrschung des Redaktors bzw. Kompilators des Namenkatalogs und sein Unvermögen, den Nominativ richtig in den Genetiv umzusetzen, mag (wie insbesondere Caland 1896, 374 und Mayrhofer 1977a, 24 betonten), muß aber nicht notwendigerweise der Grund für die falsche Kasusform sein.

²⁸ In diesem Fall dient anders als in den beiden zuvor genannten Beispielen (wo ein durch *-āna*-charakterisiertes Patronymikon vorliegt) die einfache Pluralform des Idionyms als Sippenbezeichnung; vgl. oben anläßlich *Spitāma*- samt Anm. 24.

²⁹ Vgl. Schmitt 1995, 630b (= 2000, 23) mit dem Beispiel *tīrtanoš abulokum letontunoš* 'Tritanos von den Ablō-Nachkommen, (Sohn) des Letondō'.

§ 126 *Utaiiūtōiš Viṭkauuōiš Ziyrōiš Saēnahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Utaiiūti*, (des Sohnes) des *Viṭkauui*, (des Sohnes) des *Ziyrī*, (des Sohnes) des *Saēna*’, wo eine solche Interpretation, die *Saēna* als den Urgroßvater des *Utaiiūti* auffaßt – und seit Bartholomae 1904, 386 hat sie sich offenbar durchgesetzt³⁰ –, deshalb am nächsten liegt, weil die direkt davor und darnach Genannten (*Tīrō.nakaθβa* bzw. *Frō.hakafra*) als zur *Saēna*-Sippe gehörig bezeichnet werden und weil im übrigen *Saēna* in § 97 als einer der um Zarathustras Lehre besonders verdienten Männer näherhin mit der Charakterisierung eingeführt wird: *yō paoiriō satō.aēθriō fraxštata paiti āiia zāmā* ‘der als erster mit hundert Schülern auf dieser Erde aufgetreten ist’.

Strukturell völlig gleich gebaut ist der eingangs als unentscheidbar bezeichnete dritte Namenseintrag in

§ 119 *Uxšānō Viḍisrauuahō Dūraēsrūtahe Bərəzuuatō a. f. y.*, wo nach meiner Kenntnis allein Justi 1895, 333a eine solche Vier-Generationen-Interpretation ‘... des *Uxšān*, (des Sohnes) des *Viḍisrauuah*, (des Sohnes) des *Dūraēsrūta*, (des Sohnes) des *Bərəzuuaṇt*’ vorgeschlagen hat, für die sich allerdings, anders als im Falle *Saēna*, stützende Argumente nicht beibringen lassen. Dies dürfte der Grund dafür sein, daß schon Darmesteter 1892, 542 – so wie er es dann auch in § 126 bei *Utaiiūti* machte (vgl. oben Anm. 30) – die vier Namen in zwei Gruppen aus Idionym mit Vatersangabe gliederte und mit deren asyndetischer Aneinanderreihung rechnete.³¹ Auffällig bleibt dabei allerdings, daß entweder beim zweiten Idionym *-ca* (anders als bei dem Einschub in § 120) oder nach der ersten Vatersangabe das formelhafte *ašāonō frauuašīm yazamaide* fehlt beziehungsweise anderenfalls am Schluß dessen dann zweimal syntaktisch erforderliche Anpassung (und Umsetzung in den Dual) unterblieben ist. Nur einen Teil der Schwierigkeiten kann die Annahme von Malandra 1971, 141 beseitigen, daß *dūraēsrūta*- appellativisch und als Beiwort von *Bərəzuuaṇt* zu verstehen sei. Dann darf man sich natürlich auch gleich fragen, warum nicht auch *bərəzuuaṇt*- Appellativum sein soll: Dem überlieferten Text wäre mit einer Auffassung als ‘... des *Uxšān*, (des Sohnes) des *Viḍisrauuah*, des weithin berühmten, erhaltenen’ aufs beste Genüge getan.

Daß die Darmestetersche Interpretation, die mit zwei asyndetisch aneinandergereihten Idionymen rechnet, nicht an den Haaren herbeigezogen ist, zeigt die gleich zu besprechende erste Belegstelle einer Folge von drei Idionymen, bei der uns die Kenntnis der prosopographischen Zusammenhänge beweist, wie die Dinge liegen. Und daß hier – sollte tatsächlich mit der Anrufung der Fravašis von *Uxšān* und *Dūraēsrūta* zu rechnen sein –

³⁰ Justi 1895, 336b weicht nur darin ab, daß er *Saēna* nicht als Idionym von *Utaiiūtis* Urgroßvater ansieht, sondern als Sippenbezeichnung. Abzulehnen ist die Interpretation von Darmesteter 1892, 546, der die vier Namen in zwei Zweiergruppen (einerseits *Utaiiūti*, Sohn des *Viṭkauui*, andererseits *Ziyrī*, Sohn des *Saēna*) zerlegt, was mit *Utaiiūti*, Sohn des *Viṭkauui* ohne expliziten Bezug zur *Saēna*-Sippe allerdings einen auffälligen Fremdkörper in diesem § 126 bilden würde.

³¹ Ebenso faßten später Bartholomae 1904, 751 (vgl. Wolff 1910, 249) und Mayrhofer 1977b, 37 Nr. 111 bzw. 94 Nr. 366 diese Folge von Namen auf.

nicht die insgesamt sechsmal bezeugte Konstruktion mit doppeltem Dual (vgl. unten Punkt 6.) gewählt wurde, findet seine ebenso naheliegende wie überzeugende Erklärung wohl darin, daß diese auf einen hier nicht vorliegenden Spezialfall, nämlich den Ausdruck eines natürlichen Duals bei der Nennung eines Bruderpaares beschränkt war.

Der Gedanke, daß bei der Aufeinanderfolge dreier Idionyme dann in entsprechender Weise mit der Nennung von Sohn, Vater und Großvater zu rechnen sei, drängt sich auf. Eine solche Interpretation stellt seit Bartholomae 1904 wohl die *Communis opinio*³² dar für

§ 125 *Auuarəgəuš Frəzauuatō Ōiymatasturahe a. f. y.* ‘... des *Auuarəgu*, (des Sohnes) des *Frəzauuant*, (des Sohnes) des *Ōiymatastura*’ und

§ 125 *Ōritō*³³ *Aēuuō.sarəδō Fiiuštahe Taniiehe Taniiaiiā darjhəuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Ōrita*, (des Sohnes) des *Aēuuō.sarəda*, (des Sohnes) des *Fiiušta*, des Taniers aus dem Tanierland’.³⁴

Diese Drei-Generationen-Interpretation scheidet allerdings für den formal ganz gleich gearteten letzten Beleg dieser Art aus. Vielmehr heißt

§ 113 *Ašauuazdanhō Ōritahe Sāiiuždrōiš a. f. y.* korrekt ‘... des *Ašauuazdah* (und) des *Ōrita*, (der Söhne) des *Sāiiuždri*’,³⁵ wie sich aus dem diesbezüglich eindeutigeren Zeugnis von *Yašt* 5, 72 ergibt, wo die beiden *Sāiiuždri*-Söhne mit doppeltem *-ca -ca* ‘und’ sowie Dual *puθra* ‘die beiden Söhne’ genannt sind: *Ašauuazdas-ca Ōritas-ca Sāiiuždrōiš puθra* ‘*Ašauuazdah* und *Ōrita*, die beiden Söhne des *Sāiiuždri*’. Die Zitierweise in § 113 beruht also offensichtlich auf einer Verkürzung des in *Yašt* 5, 72 bezeugten Ausdrucks, wobei eine Verderbnis im Laufe der Überlieferung nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann.

6. Es wurde oben schon darauf hingewiesen, daß Brüderpaare auch durch eine Konstruktion mit doppeltem Dual³⁶ bezeichnet werden konnten. In dem hier untersuchten Namenkatalog sind weitere zwölf Personen durch sechs Belege für solche Doppelduale³⁷ benannt, wobei dreimal die bloßen Idionyme auftreten sowie ferner einmal zusätzlich ein Patronymikon (natürlich kongruierend im Dual) erscheint und zweimal eine Herkunftsangabe beigelegt ist. Strenggenommen kann also nur in dem einen Fall mit Patronymikon nachweislich von Brüdern gesprochen werden. Gleichwohl habe ich bei der gesamten Gruppe dieser Doppelduale keinen Zweifel daran, daß wirklich Brüder gemeint sind:

³²Darmesteter 1892, 545 f. hatte *Frəzauuant*- appellativisch und *Aēuuō.sarəδō.fiiušta*- als Einheit interpretiert; beides ist jedoch nicht haltbar.

³³Bei den Namen von Sohn und Vater ist am ehesten mit ungrammatischer Nominativform zu rechnen (vgl. Mayrhofer 1977b, 83 Nr. 315 und 17 Nr. 3).

³⁴Zur Frage der Lokalisierung der verschiedenen in §§ 125–127 genannten Länder- und Völkernamen sind die grundlegenden Ausführungen von Gnoli 1980, 59 f. heranzuziehen.

³⁵Falsch sind die Übersetzungen von Justi 1895, 279a und Malandra 1971, 138.

³⁶Das wohl berühmteste Beispiel solcher Namensnennung durch Doppeldual, Homers (Λ 750) Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίωνε ‘Aktorion und Molion’ (für zwei Söhne Poseidons), bezieht sich nachweislich auf ein Zwillingsspaar!

³⁷Außer den jeweils zwei Idionymen steht auch *ašaonā*, wie es die Regeln erfordern, im Dualgenetiv.

- § 115 *Ǝrəzuuā Srūtō.spādā ašaonā frauuašīm* (!) *yazamaide* ‘... des *Ǝrəzu* (und) des *Srūtō.spādā*’;
- § 115 *Zraiaṇhā Spəntō.xratuuā a. f. y.* ‘... des *Zraiaṇha* (und) des *Spəntō.xratu*’;
- § 124 *Huuarəzā Aṇkasaiiā a. f. y.* ‘... des *Huuarəza* (und) des *Aṇkasa*’;
- § 125 *Fraturā Asrutā Baēšatastūrā a. f. y.* ‘... des *Fratura* (und) des *Asruta*, der beiden *Baēš°/Bišatastūra*-Söhne’;
- § 127 *Aša.nəmaṇhā Vīdaṭ.gauuā Aṇhuiiā daṇhəuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Aša.nəmah* (und) des *Vīdaṭ.gu* aus dem *Aṇhuuī*-Land’;
- § 127 *Paršaṭ.gauuā Dāzgrō.gauuā Apaxšīraiiā daṇhəuš a. f. y.* ‘... des *Paršaṭ.gu* (und) des *Dāzgrō.gu* aus dem *Apaxšīrer*-Land’.

Dieses letzte Beispiel zeigt zugleich Identität des zweiten Namenbestandteils (hier des Stammes *°gu*- ‘Rind’) in *Paršaṭ.gu* und *Dāzgrō.gu*, ganz entsprechend der verbreiteten Sitte, bei Brüdern die Familienzusammengehörigkeit durch teildentische Namen zu unterstreichen. In diesem Namenkatalog gibt es mit *Vohu.raocah*, *Ašō.raocah*, *Varəsmō.raocah* (den Söhnen des *Frāniia* in § 97), *Aiiō.asti*, *Vohuuasti*, *Gaiiaḍāsti* (den Söhnen des *Pouruḍāxšti* in § 112) und *Vohu.nəmah*, *Vohuuazdah* (den Söhnen des *Katu* in § 114) eindeutige Zeugnisse³⁸ für diesen Namengebungsbrauch (vgl. Christensen 1928, 17 f.).

7. Die letzten sechs Namen, die noch zu erörtern sind, gehören den sechs in § 140 genannten Frauen, die dort außer mit ihrem Idionym noch durch einen gamonymischen Zusatz als Ehefrauen ihrer Gatten bezeichnet werden:

- (a) *Frāniīā nāiriīā Usinəmaṇhō ašaoniīā [ašaonō]*³⁹ *frauuašīm yazamaide* ‘... der *Frānī*, der Gattin des *Usinəmah*’;
- (b) *Frāniīā nāiriīā Frāiiazəntahe*⁴⁰ *ašaoniīā [ašaonō] f. y.* ‘... der *Frānī*, der Gattin des *Frāiiazənta*’;

³⁸ Da der Vater oder die Abstammung nicht expliziert worden ist, läßt sich Entsprechendes in anderen Fällen nur vermuten: vgl. §§ 101 (dreimal), 102 (zweimal), 103, 108, 116, 118 und 121.

³⁹ Hinsichtlich der aufeinanderfolgenden *ašaoniīā* (Gen. Sing. fem.) und *ašaonō* (Gen. Sing. mask.) erscheinen mir Zweifel an der Ursprünglichkeit dieses Textes berechtigt, zumal da die handschriftliche Überlieferung sehr uneinheitlich ist. Nimmt man den längeren Text ernst, so müßte er übersetzt werden als ‘wir verehren die Fravaši der *Frānī*, der Gattin des *Usinəmah*, der rechtgläubigen, (der Gattin) des rechtgläubigen’. Plausibler als diese etwas gezwungene (und von der Wortstellung her bemerkenswerte) Interpretation – man mag sich im übrigen fragen, wieso ausgerechnet bei diesen Frauen auch für deren Männer der rechte Glaube betont wird, aber nie bei den vielen Männern, die durch Vatersangaben charakterisiert sind, der rechte Glaube des Vaters der Erwähnung wert ist – erscheint mir deshalb die Vermutung, daß mit Perseveration des formelhaften *ašaonō* zu rechnen, dies also zu tilgen ist.

⁴⁰ Ich schließe mich hier – entgegen Mayrhofer 1977b, 43 Nr. 139 – der Textgestaltung durch Bartholomae 1904, 1018 an, weil mir die Benennung des Ehemannes nicht durch sein Idionym, sondern durch ein (Pro-)Patronymikon äußerst zweifelhaft vorkommt. Die Überlieferung (vgl. Mayrhofer 1977b, 43 Anm. **) läßt schwache Reste von *°zəntahe* (neben *°zəntanahe*) noch erkennen. Im übrigen sei verwiesen auf die in § 113 unmittelbar nacheinander bezeugten Formen des Idionyms *Frāiiazənta* und des Patronymikons *Frāiiazəntana* (vgl. oben Punkt 3.).

- (c) *Frēniiā nāiriiā Xšuiiṽrāspahe*⁴¹ *ašaoniiā* [*ašaonō*] f. y. '... der *Frēnī*, der Gattin des *Xšuiiṽrāspa*';
- (d) *Frēniiā*⁴² *nāiriiā Gaiiaḍāstōiš ašaoniiā* [*ašaonō*] f. y. '... der *Frēnī*, der Gattin des *Gaiiaḍāsti*';
- (e) *Asabanaiiā nāiriiā Pouruḍāxštōiš ašaoniiā* [*ašaonō*] f. y. '... der *Asabanā*, der Gattin des *Pouruḍāxšti*';
- (f) *Uxšiiēintiiā nāiriiā Staoθrō.vahištahe.ašahe ašaoniiā* [*ašaonō*] f. y. '... der *Uxšiiēintī*, der Gattin des *Staoθar-vahištahe-ašahe*'.

Der Überblick über die verschiedenen Formen der Personenbenennung, über die tatsächliche Namenverwendung also, die in diesem Namenkatalog zu beobachten ist, zeigt deutlich, daß auch für das Avestische die in den älteren indogermanischen Sprachen bestehenden Möglichkeiten und Freiheiten bestanden haben und ausgeschöpft worden sind. Wir finden nebeneinander die Benennung von

- (1) 140 Personen mit dem bloßen Idionym,
- (2) 71 Personen mit Vatersangabe im Genetiv,
- (3) 37 Personen mit patronymischer Vatersangabe,
- (4) 5 Personen mit der Sippenbezeichnung,
- (5) 5 Personen mit (Ur-)Großvatersangabe (einschließlich strukturgleicher Formeln),
- (6) 12 Personen im Doppeldual und
- (7) 6 Frauen mit Angabe des Ehegatten.

Eine feste "Namenformel" etwa nach Art der römischen *tria nōmina*, die es je nach Sprachregister, Textart usw. mehr oder weniger streng zu befolgen gilt, ist dem Avestischen jedenfalls völlig fremd.

Die Forschung ist sich seit jeher darin einig, daß diese langen Namenlisten des *Fravardīn Yašt* nicht gleich alt sind, sondern im Laufe der Zeit zusammengewachsen sind und die Gestalt angenommen haben, die uns überliefert ist. (Und selbst da haben sich in den einzelnen Überlieferungszweigen kleine Unterschiede herausgebildet.) Es lassen sich also ganz deutlich verschiedene Teile voneinander abheben – Darmesteter 1892, 505 etwa unterscheidet sieben Teile, die genau einzelnen Gliederungsabschnitten der Handschriften (Karde 24-30) entsprechen – und spätere Zufügungen zu dem ursprünglichen Kern der Liste erkennen (vgl. Lommel 1927, 110 f.). Als jüngere Einschübe hat Lommel 1927, 111 f. aufgrund textimmanenter Kriterien (nämlich des gleichartigen Abschlusses der §§ 110, 117 und 128) insbesondere Karde 26 und 27 (§§ 111-117 und §§ 118-128) betrachtet.

⁴¹ Auch hier stellt sich wieder die Problematik der Überlieferung und Interpretation der Namensform *Xšuiiṽrāspahe* oder **rāspanahe*, weitgehend analog zu *Frāiiāzānta* alias *Frāiiāzāntana* (vgl. Bartholomae 1904, 563; Mayrhofer 1977b, 101 Nr. 399).

⁴² Daß hier gleich vier Trägerinnen des Namens *Frēnī* genannt sind, mag beim ersten Hinsehen überraschen; erklären läßt sich dies am einfachsten als Nachbenennung nach einem berühmten Vorbild – wenn es denn ein solches gibt. Dies ist nun in der Tat der Fall, da wir nämlich von einer Tochter des Zarathustra wissen, die ebendiesen Namen trug; sie ist in dem vorangehenden § 139 genannt, wenn dort auch ohne Vatersangabe (vgl. Mayrhofer 1977b, 44 Nr. 145 mit weiterführenden Hinweisen).

Es liegt deshalb nahe, zum Schluß die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob der onomastische Befund zur Klärung dieser Probleme etwas beiträgt. Hier muß man dann allerdings sehr rasch feststellen, daß die Namenverwendung eigentlich nur zweierlei erkennen läßt: Zum einen sind die 27 in §§ 139-142 aufgelisteten Frauen nur mit ihrem bloßen Idionym oder mit zusätzlicher Angabe ihres Ehegatten benannt (vgl. Punkt 7.). Und zum anderen sind die seltenen Benennungstypen mit Sippenbezeichnung, Großvatersangabe oder Doppeldual (vgl. Punkte 4.-6.) auf die von Lommel, a. a. O. als Einschübe verdächtigten Parteien beschränkt. Sippenbezeichnungen kommen in §§ 120, 126 und 127, Großvatersangaben und dergleichen in §§ 113, 119, 125 sowie 126 und Doppelduale in §§ 115, 124, 125 sowie 127 vor. Aber die 22 Belege derartiger Namenszusätze machen zusammengekommen nicht einmal den zehnten Teil der gesamten Liste aus.

LITERATUR

- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg; 2. Aufl., Berlin 1961).
- Boyce, M., 2001a. Fravaši, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 10 (New York), 195b-199a.
- Boyce, M., 2001b. Frawardin Yašt, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 10 (New York), 199b-201a.
- Caland, W., 1896. Rezension von Justi 1895, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 158, 370-375.
- Christensen, A., 1928. *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse antique* (København).
- Christensen, A., 1932. *Les Kayanides* (København).
- Darmesteter, J. (tr.), 1892. *Le Zend-Avesta: traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique*, vol. 2 (Paris; reproduction photographique, 1960).
- Debrunner, A., 1954. *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. II, 2, *Die Nominalsuffixe* (Göttingen).
- Geldner, K. F. (ed.), 1889. *Avesta: the sacred books of the Parsis*, vol. 2, *Vispered and Khorda Avesta* (Stuttgart).
- Gnoli, G., 1980. *Zoroaster's time and homeland: a study on the origins of Mazdeism and related problems* (Naples).
- Hertel, J., 1924. *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Irans* (Leipzig).
- Humbach, H., 1978a. Rezension von Mayrhofer 1977a, *Kratylos* 22 (1977 [1978]), 79-82.
- Humbach, H., 1978b. Rezension von Mayrhofer 1977b, *Kratylos* 22 (1977 [1978]), 82-85.
- Justi, F., 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg; Nachdruck, Hildesheim 1963).
- Lommel, H. (tr.), 1927. *Die Yäšt's des Avesta* (Göttingen-Leipzig).
- Malandra, W. W., 1971. *The Fravaši Yašt: introduction, text, translation and commentary* (dissertation, University of Pennsylvania).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1977a. *Zum Namengut des Avesta* (Wien).
- Mayrhofer, M., 1977b. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Bd. 1, *Die altiranischen Namen*, Fasz. 1, *Die avestischen Namen* (Wien).
- Schmitt, R., 1995. Entwicklung der Namen in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen, in *Namenforschung: ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, hrsg. von E. Eichler et al., 1. Bd. (Berlin-New York), 616a-636b (nachgedruckt in Schmitt 2000, 1-31).
- Schmitt, R., 2000. *Selected onomastic writings*, ed. W. Breidbach and Ph. Huyse (New York).
- Wolff, F., 1910. *Avesta: die heiligen Bücher der Parsen, übersetzt auf der Grundlage von Chr. Bartholomae's Altiranischem Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).

Martin Schwartz

I am very pleased to contribute to this celebration of Professor Gherardo Gnoli with a paper related to some themes in his own illuminations of the world of Zarathushtra and early Zoroastrianism.

The present study will investigate the Gathic passages attesting derivatives of the root **wrāz* 'be joyous, be happy, feel bliss', which expresses a major eschatological value-concept. This investigation will also treat the most interesting varieties of the encryptive exploitation of linguistic forms, which constitutes an important aspect of Zarathushtra's poetic preaching.

The root in question is spelled *uruuāz* in our Gathic vulgate text.¹ The monosyllabic scan shows that the *u-* is a later addition, representing the usual Young Avestan (YAv.) prothesis before *ruu-* (**/rw-/*), itself the YAv. outcome of **wr-* with metathesis of a banal type encountered later on e.g. within Pashto, *wrēza* > *rwēza* 'female member of a wedding procession' < **wrāzyā* 'rejoicing', from our root (Morgenstierne 1927, 88).² Etymologically *√wrāz* is obviously related to the closely synonymous *√wrād* (*uruuād-*) 'be happy', etc.; the roots can be reconciled by a Proto-Indo-Iranian **wrādh-s(a-)* > *wrāz(a-)*. The Indo-Iranian etymology involves the Vedic root *vrādh*. Its meaning is (approximately) 'be great, feel oneself great', which is supported by the formulaically related collocations of the verb with 'great(ness)', *RV* 5.6.7 *māhi vrādhanta* (3rd pers. pl.), and of the pres. participle, *RV* 1.135.9 *māhi vrādhantaḥ* (nom. pl.). Further connection is with Vedic *ūrdhvā-* 'high' < Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **w_ṛHdh-wó-*, **√wreHdh*.³ Accordingly, Indo-Iranian **√wrādh* may be defined as 'to swell, to expand'. The Iranian development to 'be happy, be blissful' would parallel Arab. *√b-s-t* 'to expand': *inbasāṭa* 'became expanded or expansive, became joyful'; *baṣṭ* 'expansion; feeling happy' (in Sufi mysticism, a state of elation contrasting with *qabḍ* 'contractiveness').

The semantic development 'bliss' < 'expansiveness' proposed for Ir. *√wrāz* is paralleled by OAv. *hu²āθra-* (YAv. spelling *x²āθra-*) 'comfort, ease' < 'spaciousness'.⁴ *√wrāz* and *hu²āθra-* are collocated in 50.5 (to be examined below), and a Young Avestan passage which exemplifies the eschatological value of both *x²āθra-* and *uruuāzman-* 'bliss'

¹ For Old Avestan (OAv.) I use a reconstructive transcription essentially in accord with Beekes 1988. In the few cases where vulgate Gathic spellings are quoted, they are explicitly indicated as such (Vulg. = vulgate spelling).

² Cf. further Yaghnobi *ruwōn* < Sogdian *w(a)rān* 'lamb'.

³ Perhaps formed with "stative" suffix **-dh-* from root **wreH* ~ **werH*, whence Vedic *urí-*, Avestan *vouru-* 'broad, wide' < **w_ṛHú-* etc.

⁴ < **good (hu-) breathing (-āθra-)*. Note especially *Y* 8.8 *rauauasca x²āθrəmca* 'roominess and *good-āθra-' vs. *qazasca dužāθrəm* 'constriction and *bad-āθra-'. To Bartholomae's connection with Vedic *āniti* 'breathes' I add **-āθra-* < PIE **-H₂nH₁tló-*, compound form of **H₂énH₁tló-*, whence Welsh *anadl*, Old Irish *ánál* 'breath'.

< *wrāz-man-*: *Purs.* 38 *aoi urune uruuāsmā daēsaīeni vahištām ahūm anayrāca raocā⁵ afrasā^hhamca xāθra* ‘I [the Lord Wisdom] shall show the soul bliss, the best existence (= paradise), the infinite lights, and the easefulness of the blessed ones’. Cf. *Y* 9.19 and *S* 1.27, in which ‘the best existence’ (*vahišta- ahū-*) is called ‘luminous’ (*raocan^ha-*) and ‘having every ease’ (*vīspō.xāθra-*), and already Gathic 31.7a” *raucahbiš . . . hu²āθrā* ‘the easeful spaces with lights’.

Y 30 provides a fitting start for the examination of the Old Avestan manifestations of $\sqrt{wrāz}$. Its first stanza shows the paradisiac aspect of $\sqrt{wrāz}$ in a context of luminosity (30.1c” *raucahbiš . . . wrāzā*), which, together with the collocation in 32.1-2 of *wrāzma* ‘bliss’ and *artā hu²anwatā* ‘Rightness the sunny’, led F. B. J. Kuiper (1960, 96-129) to posit an Iranian contemplative mysticism with roots in Indo-Iranian thought.⁵ I hope to show that the latter passage does attest a contemplative mysticism paralleled by a crypticism of linguistic devices in the narration of the relevant concepts. This will be explained after some remarks on the overt meaning of 30.1 *seq.* Here $\sqrt{wrāz}$ is attested as *wrāzā*, loc. of *wrāzi-* ‘bliss’ (whose instr. is *YH* 36.2 *wrāziyā*, see below):

- 30.1 a *at tā waxšyā išantah yā mazdāθā yat-cit widušai*
 b *stautā-ca ahurāi yasniyā-ca wahauš manahah*
 c *humanzdrāi artāya-ca yā raucahbiš darsatā wrāzā*
 30.2 a *srauta gaušāiš wahištā ā wainata sucā manahā*
 b *āwarnā(u) wiciθahya naram naram hwahyāi tanu²ai*
 c *parah mazah ya²ahah ahmāi nah sazdyāi baudayantah pati*
 30.1 ‘Lo! I shall tell, O ye who seek, the things to be understood indeed by the knower, with Good Mind’s praise, and worshipfulness for the Lord Who is very wise, and for Rightness: the things to be seen with the lights in bliss.
 30.2 Listen to the best things with your ears; look, with bright mind, at the two options of decision/discernment, man by man, (each of you) for himself, that it be declared to Him by us, before the great race’.

As required by Gathic concentric ring-composition, the opening, middle, and concluding portions of the text are connected lexically and/or thematically. Here, this applies to the motifs of choice and racing. In the central stanza, 30.6, these motifs are exemplified negatively by the *daiwas*, the godlings: ‘They did not decide (*nait . . . wi šyata* [*wi* $\sqrt{ci}$, cf. 30.2b *wiciθahya*]) rightly . . . they opted (*warnata* [$\sqrt{war}$, cf. 30.2b *āwarnā(u)*]) for Worst Mind, so that they all scampered helter skelter into wild wrath, whereby they afflict(ed) mortals’. The last stanza concludes the racing theme in a dualistic allusion to mortals’ right or wrong choices:

- 30.10 a *adā-zi awā drujah buwati skandah spāyaθrahya*
 b *at āsištā yaujantai ā hušitaiš wahauš manahah*
 c *mazda²ah artahya-ca yai zazanti wahau srawahi*
 30.11 a *yat tā wratā sašyaθa yā mazdāh dadat martiyāhah*

⁵ Kuiper’s thesis proceeds from his view of Vedic cosmogony, and involves *ṛsis*’ mystical visualization of the sun in the breached primordial rock, the otherworldly source of *ṛta*.

- b *hu²itī anitī yat-ca dargam drugwadbyah rašah*
 c *sawā-ca artāwabyah at api tāiš ahati uštā*

- 30.10 'For then will occur the breakage of Wrong's (chariot)-shaft(ing), but the swiftest will (still) be yoked at the fine dwelling of Good Mind and of Wisdom and Rightness, and they will win in good renown.
 30.11 When you have learned the asseverations which Wisdom has delivered, O mortals – good passage and impasse, whence for the wrongsome long destruction but promotions for the righteous, thereby then will all be as is wished'.

The underlying conception is the Indo-European 'chariot of Rightness' (Vedic *ṛtasya rātha* = Gr. *hárma dikēs*, "and Old Irish thematic congeners" are mentioned by Watkins 1995, 16 with lit.; for the chariot race and dualistic eschatological rewards, note especially *Y* 43.5c-e, with *wraisa*- 'turning point of race course'). The chariot of Rightness is reflected by the opposite notion at 30.10a', cf. 49.9c 'to/with Rightness in the race', to be discussed presently. My translation of 30.10a' *spāyaθra*- (Vulg. *spaiiaθra*-) as '(chariot)-shaft(ing)' fits the context, since it was the shaft (pole) whose strain and breakage during turns in races most frequently caused chariot crashes. I analyze the word as a secondary derivative in *-θra*-, suffix of agency (of devices, etc.). The root, $\sqrt{spā}$, gives root-stem *spāt*-, which, with preverbs *ā*, *wi*, and *awa*, yields Sanglechi, Yidgha, and Wakhi words for the plowshaft (i.e. the pole which connects plow and yoke), and with *upari* yields YAv. *upairi.spāt*- *Yt* 10.125 'chariot shaft'.⁶ The form *spāyaθra*- may refer to the shaft with its attachments. I take OAv. *ya²ah*- (as at 30.2c) as 'race'; cf. the Vedic verb *yāti* 'races, courses', YAv. *yāh*- 'agon'.⁷ For OAv. *ya²ah*- 'race' three other passages should be cited, two of which also attest $\sqrt{wrāz}$:

- 49.8 a *fraša²auštrāi wrāzištām artahya dāh*
 b *saram tat θwā mazdā yāsā ahura*
 c *mabya-ca yām wahāu θwahmi ā xšaθrai*
 d *yawai wiswāi fra²ištāhah ahāma*
 49.9 b *nait ršwacāh saram dadans drugwatā*
 c *yat dayanāh wahištai yujan miždai*
 d *artā yuxtā ya²ahi djāma²aswa*

- 49.8 'For Frashaoshtra establish Thou Rightness' most blissful connection – this do I entreat Thee, O Lord Wisdom – and for me, too, (the connection) which is in Thy good Dominion. For all eternity will we be (Thy) envoys'.
 49.9b-d 'The rightly-speaking one does not establish connection with the wrongsome one, for they yoke their envisionment to the best prize who are yoked with Rightness in the race, O Jamaspa!'

⁶ Morgenstierne 1938, 194, 550, Appendix *68*; Gershevitch 1967, 275.

⁷ Cf. YAv. *Yt* 11.3 *yāhi vərəθrajestamō* 'most victorious in the contest'; *Yt* 13.14 *yāhham ... qazāhham* 'of *agonies ... of anxieties'. For *ya²ah* (*yāh*-) as racing term, cf. Schmidt 1968, 178, and for '(verbal) contest' Kuiper 1960, 250-251; possible eschatological term Kuiper 1973, 186. Differently Narten 1986, 149-155, defending 'Bitte'. [See also the detailed survey on *yāh*- in Kellens 1987, 249-250, with tentative conclusion 'hailing, challenging'.]

The word play on *ya²ahi* ‘in the race’ and the name *djāma-aswa-* (*-aswa-* ‘horse’) has its precedent in 46.14c, whose larger context parallels 30.10c’’ with renown as reward:

- 46.13 a *yah spitāmam zaraθuštram rādahā*
 b *martaišu xšnāuš hau nā fra srudyāi rθwah*
 46.14 a *zaraθuštra kas-tai artāwā wraθah*
 b *mazai magāi kah-wā fra srudyāi wašti*
 c *at hau kawā wišta²aswah ya²ahi*

- 46.13a-b ‘Whoever among mortals solicitously treated
 Spitamid Zarathushtra with hospitality, he is fit to be famed’.
 46.14a-c ‘Zarathushtra, who is thy righteous ally
 for great patronage? Or who wishes to be famed?
 Now that’s Kawi Vishtaspa in the race!’.

Collocation of $\sqrt{wrāz}$ and *ya²ah* occurs again in YH 36.2:

wrāzištah hau nāh
yātayā pati jamyāh
ātar mazda²ah ahurahya
wrāzištahya wrāziyā
nāmištahya namahā nāh
mazištāi ya²aha²am pati jamyāh

‘Mayst Thou, the most blissful, come over to us for (Thy) share, O Fire, of the Lord Wisdom, with the bliss of the Most Blissful One, with the reverence tendered by the tenderest one; mayst Thou come over to us for the greatest of contests’.

The passage conflates: (1) 30.1-2, in which *maz- ya²ah-* ‘the great race/contest’ is collocated with the sun-like luminosity of bliss (*wrāzi-*: loc. *wrāzā*, instr. *wrāziyā*); and (2) 49.8 *wrāzišta-* . . . 49.9 *ya²ah-*. Note that the sequence of the phonically similar 49.7d *wrzanāi*, 49.8a *wrāzištām* is duplicated by YH 36.1 *wrzanā*, YH 36.2 *wrāzištah*, and that YH 36.1 *ahya* . . . *wrzanā* echoes 32.1a *ahya wrzanam*.⁸

Before considering the other examples of Gathic forms from $\sqrt{wrāz}$, a second look at Y 30 will bring us to Zarathushtra’s cryptic devices of language. Interpretation of 30.2a *srauta gaušāiš wahištā* as ‘hear with your ears (the word *wahištā* =) *the best things*’ goes with the fact that the sounds of *WAHIŠTĀ* are found with compact scrambling in the words of the opening hemistich, 30.1a’ *at TĀ WAXšyĀ IŠanTAH*, and in its closure, 30.1c’’ *yā rauCAHbiŠ darsaTĀ WrāzĀ*, as well as in the last two stanzas, (e.g.) 30.10b-c *ĀsIŠTĀ* . . . *Ā huŠITAIŠ WAHauš* . . . *WAHau srawAHI* and in the finale, 30.11c *saWĀ-ca artaWAbYAH at Apl TĀIŠ AHATI uŠTĀ*. I shall henceforth employ a term *mixophonism* for the technique, exemplified by Gathic passages discussed hitherto, in which a targeted word/name of textual importance is encrypted through the compact repetition of its sounds, in any order, as part(s) of the other words favored for purposes of this device. This technique was rightly suspected by Saussure (Starobinski 1971) in his now influential “anagrammatic” speculations, as a characteristic of early literatures in Indo-European languages.

⁸ Possibly there is a phonic (but not semantic) association in YH 36.2 between *yātayā pati jamyāh* and *ya²aha²am pati jamyāh*; cf. 36.2 *wrāziyā nāmištahya* . . . 36.3 *nāmana²am wāzištām*.

The same technique is found for 31.1-2, which take up motifs of the first and last stanzas of *Y* 30: speech ($\sqrt{wac}$); asseverations (*wrata-*); hearing ($\sqrt{guš}$); visibility ($\sqrt{drs}$); choice ($\sqrt{war/wrā}$, PIE $\sqrt{welH}$); knowing ($\sqrt{wid}$); and a focus on the overt word *wahištā* itself.

- 31.1 a *TĀ WAH WrATĀ marantah* *AguŠTĀ WAcāh sanhamAHI*
 b *aibyah yai wratāiš drujah* *artahya gaiθāh wi mncatai*
 c *at-cūt aibyah wahištā* *yai zrazda²ah ahan mazda²ai*
 31.2 a *yazi āiš nait wra²anai* *adwā AbIdrŠTĀ WAHIyāh*
 b *at wāh wiswanh ā ayai* *yaθā ratum ahurah waida*

- 31.1 'Remembering those asseverations of Yours, we pronounce words unheard by those who destroy, through avowals of Wrong, Rightness' life-realms, but (words) which are indeed *the best things* for those who are faithful to Wisdom.
 31.2a-b If through these things the better road for choosing is not in sight, then let me come to you all, in accord with the arbitration/arbitrator which/whom the Lord knows'.

The mixophonism of *WAHIŠTĀ* also appears at the end of *Y* 31. Closing the thought of 31.21 that the Lord Wisdom gives the 'fatness/solidity' (32.21c *wazdwār*) of His Dominion's connection (*sarah*) as reward to whoever is His ally (31.21c'' *wraθah*) in spirit and actions, the poem's last hemistich, 31.22c'', has: *WĀZIŠTAH AHAH ASTIŠ* 'he will be Thy most nourished/strengthened guest'.

Mixophonism is again found in 49.8, which, as we have seen, also deals with a connection for the righteous in the Lord's Dominion (49.8b-c'' *saram xšaθrai*): *frašA²uŠTrĀi WrĀZIŠTĀm artAHya WAHāu θWAHmi Ā frA²IŠTĀhah*. Like 49.8, the final stanza of *Y* 49 features Zarathushtra entreating (*yāsa-*) Wisdom. Its finale virtually decrypts the scrambled representation of *WAHIŠTĀ*:

- 49.12 a *kat tai artā* *zu²ayantai aWAHah*
 b *zaraθuštrāi* *kat tai WAHū manahā*
 c *yah WAH stauTĀIŠ* *mazdā frīnāi ahura*
 d *awat yāsans* *yat WAH IŠTĀ wahištām*
 49.12 'What help hast Thou, O Lord Wisdom, with Rightness, what with Good Mind, for me, Zarathushtra, who, invoking You, mean to gain Your friendship through praises, entreating for that which is *best in Your might/sending*'.

The latter stanza is, in effect, continued by 50.1, which again opens with *kat* . . . *awahah* 'what help?', and again concerns invoking ($\sqrt{zū}$) the divine triad:

- 50.1 a *kat mai ru²ā* *īsai cahya awahah*
 b *kah mai pasauš* *kah mana θrātā wistah*
 c *anyah artāt* *θwat-ca mazdā ahura*
 d *azdā zūtā* *wahištāt-ca manahah*
 50.1 'What help of anyone can my soul have? Who has been found as my cattle's, and my, protector, other than Rightness, and Thee, O Lord Wisdom, – when my invocation is made – and Best Mind?'

The technique of *WAH IŠTĀ wahištam*, in which the targeted word is paronomastically broken up into its successive syllables, has a parallel of sorts in 46.14a-c, where (after *KAs-tai artāwā wraθah* ‘who is thy righteous ally?’) we have *KAh-Wā* anticipating the targeted title *kawā*.⁹ It is a similar word-play that supplies *Y 50* with the concatenation required between the first and central stanzas. 50.1b’ *MANA θRĀTĀ* ‘my protector’ links up to 50.6a’ *manθra²ā* ‘manθramaker, sacred poet’, Zarathushtra’s title for himself (thus also 50.5b’ *manθrānai*). Otherwise the middle part of *Y 50* is linked to the beginning only by the line-end word *awah-* ‘help’ in the stanzas 50.5 and 50.7, which flank the central 50.6. The word play *manθra²ā* : *mana θrātā* encapsulates the reciprocal relationship between poet-priest and divinity, which is expressed in the poem’s overall structure.¹⁰

We now come to yet another Gathic example in which *√wrāz* (again with chariot-race imagery) figures in phonic encryption. At 50.5b’ *wawrāzaθa* ‘you are delighted’, phrasally

⁹ *KAh-Wā frA Sruḍyāi WAŠTI* also contains the name (*kawā*) *wišta²aswah* in scrambled form; cf. 46.14d-e ‘I invoke, with utterances of Good Mind, those whom Thou minglest (*mināš* < *√mis* = Vedic *√miś*) in Thy residence’ as referring both to hospitality (cf. Gr. *meignumi*) for the patron in the divine house, and to the scrambled sounds of his name. In 51.11-12a, the negative counterpart to 46.14, the questions *KAH WRAθAH KAH-Wā* . . . *KAh-Wā* is answered by *nait* . . . *waipi²ah KAWinah* ‘not that kawian bugger!’. Cf. Schwartz 1986, 335-336 and 1991, 131.

[I have just (July 1, 2002) received from Prof. Stephanie W. Jamison a typescript of a paper “An anagram in the Gāthās: *Yasna* 51.4-5”, to appear in an honorary volume for Prof. Stanley Insler published by the American Oriental Society. Here Jamison suggests that Vulg. 51.5a *vispā tā* contains an incomplete “anagram” of the name *Vištāspa*. She notes that such an “anagram” would provide motivation for the marked syntax, against usual *tā vispā*. She builds her case textually by comparing the wording of 51.5 with 51.16, 51.11, and 46.13, which contrast with 51.12. I would recast Jamison’s putative “anagram” by seeing it as part of a complete mixophonism for *WIŠTA²ASWA* : 51.5a’ *WISWĀ TĀ* + 51.5b’ *waŠTriyah šyauθnāiš ršWah* ‘the pasturer lofty through actions’ (*šyauθnāiš* ‘through actions’ as at 51.3a’’).

One may also note that 51.3b’ ‘with utterances (*uxθāiš*) of Good Mind’ probably indicates cryptic language, as does the same phrase at 46.14e’. 51.5 also indicates that cryptic language is involved, since the allusion to the pasturer “finding the cow” is a variant of the Vedic motif of “finding the hidden tracks of the cow”, which (as discussed by Watkins 1995, 72-73 and cf. 107-108) refers to linguistic crypticism or encryption. (In the Gathas the Cow, as at 51.7a, symbolizes the good envisionment [*dayanā*], which figures at 51.16-19 and contrasting with 51.13. See Schwartz 2003, 220-244 on *Y 29* and confirmation of H.-P. Schmidt’s views on Gathic bovine symbolism.))

¹⁰ This structure is duplicated in the completion of *Y 28*: in both *Y 50* and *Y 28* the name *zaraθuštra-* is at the precise centerpoint (at caesura or line-end) of the poem, collocated with double mention of *manθra-*, and further collocated with the word for ‘help’ or ‘support’ at line-end, concatenating with such a word at the end of the first line. The last stanza requests divine assistance for Zarathushtra’s goal as poet-priest to restore the original perfection of the world. *Y 28* originally consisted of 28.1-8, a complete composition, as shown by the systematic lexical concentric concatenations, and connection of central stanza-pair to outer stanzas: 28.1 and 28.8, *yāsā*; 28.2 and 28.7, *√dā* (*dāwail/dādi dās-*) + *āyafā*; 28.3 and 28.6, *√rap* (*raθrāil/rafnah*), *√gam* (*jasatal/gadi*); 28.4c-28.5a, continuous declaration of quest for vision of Rightness; 28.4, beginning, and 28.1, end, *ru²ānam*; 28.5a and 28.8a, 3 syll. + *θwā*. By contrast, the final version of *Y 28* (28.1-11) shows lexical concatenation only precisely for the outer stanzas and the inner triad, with details imitating the corresponding stanzas of *Y 50*. During the period between the two stages of *Y 28*, there was completion of the series *Y 46*, *Y 32*, *Y 48*, *Y 49*, and *Y 50*. Cf. Schwartz 1998, 138 seq., 188-193. 28.6 was a model for the central stanza 43.8, *zaraθuštrah* . . . *dwaišāh* . . . *rafnah* . . . *aujahwat*.

collocated with *manθrānai*, immediately precedes another mixophonism of *WAHIŠTĀ* at 50.5c-d (cf. 50.7).

- 50.5 a *arai-zi xšmā mazdā(h) artā ahura*
 b *yat yušmākāi manθrānai wawrāzaθa*
 c *AbidrŠTĀ ĀWIŠTĀ aWAHĀ*
 d *zASTĀ²ISTĀ yā nāh hu²āθrai dāyāt*
- 50.6 a *yah manθra²ā wācam barati*
 b *wraθah artā namahā zaraθuštrah*
 c *dātā xratauš hizu²ah raθi²am stai*
 d *mahya rāzanh wahū sāhūt manahā*
- 50.7 a *at-WAH yaujah zAWIŠTiyanh arWatah*
 b *jayāIŠ prōuš WAHmahya yušmākahya*
 c *mazdā arTĀ ugranh WAHū manahā*
 d *yāIŠ azāθa mahmāi hyāta aWAHāi*

- 50.5 'So may there be a rewarding through You, (who are) Wisdom, O Lord, with Rightness, – if You are delighted as to Your *manθramaker* – with visible, patent help of potent hands, which will put us at ease.
- 50.6 This *manθramaker* who gives voice is an ally with/via Rightness, reverently: Zarathushtra. May the Creator of intellect, via Good Mind, instruct my tongue's chariot-course to be that of my direction.
- 50.7 And I shall yoke for You the swiftest chargers, who are expansive with victories of eulogies for You, and who are strong, O Wisdom(,) with Rightness and Good Mind, and through these (chargers) will You drive forth. Be You for my help!'

50.6c-d serves as a model for the use in 34.6 of *awah-*, *zastā²išta-*, and *(-)drštā* in rendering the scrambled syllables of *WAHIŠTĀ*.

- 34.6 a *at-tai ātrm ahura aujAHWAntam arTĀ usMAHI*
 b *ĀsiŠTam amaWAntam stai rapantai ciθrā²aWAHAM*
 c *at mazdā dbIšyantai zasTĀ²ISTĀIŠ drŠTĀ²ainaham*
- 34.6 'And we wish Thy Fire, O Lord, which is mighty with Rightness, and is swiftest and strong, to be of clear help for Thy supporter, but, O Wisdom, for Thy enemy, violence one sees/has seized'.¹¹

Note that the correlation in use of *āsišta-* 'swiftest' with 30.10b', of *drštā* with 31.2a' as well as 50.5c' *abidrštā*, and the 1st pl. ending of *usmahi*, like that of 31.1a' 'sanhamahi', indicates the phonic motivation in the choice of these words.

¹¹ Word-play on *dršta-* 'seen' (√*drs*) or 'seized' (√*drz*). The passage shows influence of 46.7b *mā . . . didaršata ainahai* 'wishes to hold (√*dar*) or seize (√*drz*) me for violence' and 46.7c' *θwahnāt āθras-ca* ' . . . and Thy Fire'; cf. also 46.7d'' and 34.3b'' *θraušta* 'fostered'. However, the overwhelming influence of Y 50 on Y 34 is shown e.g. by 50.9a > 34.6c; 50.1b'' > 34.5b and 34.7c; 50.6c > 34.12a' and b''-c'; and, as finale, 50.11c-d > 34.15c.

50.5b'' *wawrāzaθa*, representing $\sqrt{wrāz}$, not only introduces the encryption of *WAHIŠTĀ* in 50.5-7, but it also has a prominent role in the simultaneous emphasis of the centrally placed name 50.6b'' *zaraθuštra(h)* through the embedding of its rearranged sounds, e.g. *yUŠmĀkāi manΘRānai wawRĀZAΘA abidrŠTā . . . Zastā²iŠTā . . . bARati . . . wRAΘAh ARTā . . . (zaraθuštrah) . . . xRataUŠ . . . hiZU²Ah . . . RAΘ²AH . . . RAZAnh . . . ZAWiŠTiyah . . . ARWAtah . . . pRΘUŠ . . . yUŠmĀkahya*, etc. Cf. 33.1b'' *RATUŠ śyauΘnā RAZiŠTā* 'the arbitrator through straightforward action' (concatenated with 33.16a' *zaraθuštrah*) and 33.5c'-6a' *ARTāt Ā RZUŠ pAΘAh . . . yah ZAutā ARTā RZUŠ* 'I shall invoke [33.5a *zu²ayā*] . . . along the paths straight in accord with Rightness . . . who am the invocator straight with Rightness'.¹² More on the encryptive role of derivatives of $\sqrt{wrāz}$ in the Gathas will follow below, after broader discussion of encryption in the Gathas and in other Indo-European material.

The reality and persistence of mixophonism in Indo-European is illustrated by what has been recognized by Gerbstman 1968, 185-189 as a subgenre of riddles in the corpus which had been collected by the schoolmaster Sadovnikov from 19th century Russian peasant children. In this subgenre the answer to the riddle is encrypted through mixophonism in the words of the riddle itself. Many of the riddles are built around a number of stock answers; e.g. *kočerga* [kačirgá] 'a poker'. I offer in illustration an English adaptation of this riddle type:

This POny leaPs on OCHER land;
he KicKs uP smOKE but neVeR sand.

I translate these examples from Gerbstman (1968, 191-192 *seq.*):

1. *ČERNyj KON' pRYGAI v OGON'*
'The black horse jumps into the fire'.
2. *ČERNyj KON' sKACeI v OGON'*
'The black horse races into the fire'.
3. *ČERNaja GAGARA po polju sKAKAla zoloto sbirala*
'The black loon fled on the field (and) gathered gold'.
4. *polon zAseČEK KRASnyx OveČEK*
volk sivyj vsKOČit vsex RAZGONit
'Full is the little fold with little red sheep,
in does the grey wolf leap, and makes them all bolt'.

Like other two-theme riddles in the corpus, the following example has as answer both *KOČERGA* 'poker' and *UGLI* 'coals':

5. *LEžala GALIca po KRASnyx ULIce*
sČItala GALIca zolotye jajca
'Galitsa lay upon a red alley;
golden eggs did Galitsa tally'.

¹² Another kind of encryption of the name *zaraθuštra-*, through an elaborately extended allusion to its etymology, occurs in 44.17-8 (*zaram . . . uštram*); see Schwartz 1986, 376-379.

The two-theme mixophonistic riddles parallel in their technique *Y* 50.5-7 (*WAHIŠTĀ* and *ZARAΘUŠTRA-*) and *Y* 46.14 (*KAWĀ* and *WIŠTA²ASWA-*).

I now turn to mixophonisms in archaic Greek. In view, *inter alia*, of the riddle or riddle-like context, it will prove relevant to ground the exposition in some independent observations concerning the enigmatic aspect in the archaic Greek lyricist Pindar. G. Nagy has focused on Pindar's epinician poetry as illustrative of the medium or genre termed *aînos*, which, with its verbal derivatives *ainéō* and *ainízomai/ainíssomai* in archaic Greek refers to a special kind of utterance, ranging from praise to oracular response as well as to riddles. Nagy 1990, 148-149 describes the Pindaric *aînos* as a "code" which "presupposes a restricted audience who . . .

1. understand the message of the *code* that is the poetry.
2. have been raised on the proper ethical standards that are the *message* that the *code* of the poetry teaches.
3. are socially connected to the poet and to each other, so that the *message* of the *code* may be transmitted to them and through them . . .".

Nagy cites two Pindaric verses to illustrate the programmatic declaration about the *aînos* which the poetry itself makes:

1. . . . *phōnáenta sunetoîsin* . . .
' . . . having a sound for these who can understand . . . ' (*Olympian* 2.85);
2. . . . *epainéonti sunetoi*
' . . . those who can understand give praise ' (*Pythian* 5.107).

He goes on to comment, "Only 'those who can understand' (the *sunetoi*) can deliver or hear the message of praise", and that apart from hearers who can understand, the *aînos* of Pindar, "difficult in its form and enigmatic in its content", is "apt to be misunderstood, garbled" (Nagy 1990, 239-240).

Upon reading Nagy's analysis of the Pindaric *aînos*, I was struck by the parallels to the Gathic situation, and particularly to the passages in *Y* 30, *Y* 31, and *Y* 46, discussed above. As for Nagy's second category, the special audience with the proper ethical standards, in "the *agathoi*, those who are intrinsically 'noble'", we have the equivalent of the Gathic *artāwans*, the 'righteous'; and Nagy's third category, characterized by social connections, fits Zarathushtra's allies (*wraθa-*), who give him patronly hospitality (*√xšnu*). Most important is the first category, "those that can understand". Here Pindar's *O.* 2.85 parallels Zarathushtra's announcement in 30.1 'I shall speak . . . the things to be understood, indeed, by the knower'. For the wrong audience, the words/sounds are 'unheard' (31.1a) ' *aguštā*'. In fact, 31.1-2 (*seq.*) matches the situation of *O.* 2.85 (*seq.*), for in both at issue is a rivalry between poets. In *O.* 2.85-88, Pindar states that what is necessary is a *hermeneus* (in archaic Greek 'one who can make latent language manifest'; in this passage the words are latent in that they are [*O.* 2.83-84] 'swift missiles/arrows in the quiver' beneath Pindar's arm). Pindar then contrasts 'the wise one (*sophós*) knowing (*eidōs*) many things naturally', with poets who are disorderly (*labroî*) in their ineptitude (cf. *O.* 2.95-97: 'those who prattle ruin the *aînos*').

After I saw the parallelism between the Pindaric and Zarathushtrian texts, I wondered whether what was characterized for Pindar as “a code” by Nagy (employing the term in the very broad usage of Prague School linguistics) could indeed be encryptive. What I found for *O.* 2 was a mixophonistic relationship between the description of the disorderly and prolix poets, *O.* 2.87 *pAnGlōSSlAI korakes hōS AKRANTA GARUeTON* ‘in all manner of tongue, like a pair of ravens, they speak things which do not come into effect’, and the concisely expressed target of Pindar’s (*O.* 2.90) ‘arrows of good praise’, *O.* 2.91 *AKRAGANTI TANUSAIS* ‘stretching the bow toward Akragas’, i.e. aiming toward Agrigento, home of Pindar’s patron Theron.

The same poem *O.* 2 also encrypts the name of the patron, Theron, but as part of an overlapping three-theme mixophonism. We have the rhetorical question at *O.* 2.2:

tina theón, tin’ hērōa, tina d’andra keladēsomen
 ‘Which god, which hero, which man shall we celebrate?’,

the text (*O.* 2.2-8) then furnishes the three answers: Pisa belongs to *Zeus*; *Heracles* established the Olympiad, and *Theron* is to be proclaimed for his four-horse victory (etc.). The question itself gives, in reverse order of these answers, the three names as direct objects of ‘celebrate’:

Theon tin’ hērōa = THERŌNA
HERŌA . . . KeLAdēsomen = HERAKLEA (or the like)
*(tina . . .) tina D’ A(ndra) = DIA.*¹³

The introductory rhetorical question in *O.* 2.2 and Pindar’s further praise (*O.* 2.6-8) of Theron as a righteous guest-friend (*dikaion xénon*), of noble family, who distinguishes himself for civic accomplishments, parallel, in the praises describing his patron, *Y* 46.13-14 and *Y* 49.7-9, discussed above for their mixophonism and allusion to races.

As for *P.* 5.107, I found that here Pindar was introducing mixophonism for his patron’s name, *Arkesilās* (*P.* 5.103):

P. 5.109 *KRESSona men hĀLIKIĀS*
 ‘superior for his age’
P. 5.113-114 *Agōnlās d’, hERKos hoion sthenos*
en te moisaisi potānos apo mātros philās
 ‘In the contest, like a bulwark, strong;
 flying up to the Muses straight from his mother’

Note that in the mixophonism describing *Arkesilās*, *hérkos* ‘bulwark’ (which recalls Ajax’s Homeric epithet *hérkos Akhaiōn* ‘bulwark of the Achaeans’) is of a piece with the meaning of *Arkesi-la(o)s* ‘he who protects the people’.

¹³ Watkins (1995, 189 and 280) cites *O.* 2.2 as containing (only) *THERŌN*, and on the next page (and on p. 86) mentions *O.* 2.87 *AKRANTA GARUeton*: *O.* 2.91 *AKRAGANTI*. The latter encryption, as also that in Pindar *P.* 5.113-115, were discussed in great detail in my lecture “Pindaric puzzles, Russian riddles, and Zoroaster” at Harvard University, April 4, 1990. Prof. Watkins, who attended my lecture, has recently privately explained to me his lack of mention of my lecture as an accidental oversight (his book otherwise has several citations of my publications). In general, Watkins’ book serves as a valuable introduction to Indo-European poetic crypticism.

Other aspects of Pindaric *ainos* containing mixophonisms must await discussion elsewhere.¹⁴ I plan there to discuss how *O.* 2, in which lines 82 seq. follow a long eschatological digression, influenced by the Orphic mysteries. More importantly, I plan to show that *O.* 2.85 *phōnáenta sunetoîsin* 'having sounds for those who can understand' and similar formulaic introductions to linguistic crypticism in Pindar and other Greek texts (including material in Euripides) go back to the Orphic formula *aeidō ksunetoîsi* 'I sing for those who can understand' (*Frag.* 334 Kern), the latter representing an Indo-European formula introducing poetic mystagogy, of the type 'I speak for the knowing', reflected in Vedic with *vidvān* = OAv. *widwāh* (cf. Gr. *eidōs*) 'knowing (one), knower'.

Such a formula occurs in the Gathas not only at 30.1, but also at 31.17 and 51.8, in both of which the motif of speech to the knower signals the initiates that an encryption is occurring. 31.17 elaborates 31.1-2 and extends the reference of *widwāh* 'knowing' and *awidwāh* 'unknowing' from poet-priests to audience:

- 31.17 a *katāram artāwā-wā drugwāh-wā wrnuwatai mazyah*
 b *widwāh widušai mrautu mā awidwāh api dbāwayat*
 c *zdi nah mazdā ahura wahauš fradaxštā manahah*

- 31.17 'Which – is it the righteous or the deceitful one – shall one choose more to believe?
 Let Knowing One speak to knowing one; let not the unknowing one prattle!
 Be for us, Lord Wisdom, the revealer of *Good Mind*'.

31.18 continues with the warning 'let none hear the *manθras* and doctrines of the wrongsome one'. The 'wrongsome one', whose destructive effects are described at 31.18b-c, contrasts with (31.19) 'the healer of existence, the knower, has heard Rightness'. 31.17c'' gives the decryption; *fradaxštā*, in addition to 'revealer' (nom. of *fradaxštar*-), could simultaneously be 'at the revelation' (loc. of *fradaxšti*-), hence a punning reference to the decryption itself; cf. the collocation of words for 'clear, visible' with the mixophonisms.

31.17 and 51.8, with their surrounding stanzas, are lexically similar. 51.7c'', *manahū wahu sanhai* 'for the proclamation through *Good Mind*', furnishes the decryption of the three *w- m-* phrases in the immediately following 51.8:

- 51.8 a *at-zi tai waxšyā mazdā widušai-zi nā mryāt*
 b *yat akaya drugwatai uštā yah artam dādrai*
 c *hau-zi manθra²ā šyātah yah widušai mrawati*

- 51.8 'For I shall tell Thee, Lord Wisdom, since a man should speak to the Knowing One, that which comes as an evil for the wrongsome one, but is as is wished for him who upholds Rightness;
 for that *manθramaker* is content, who will speak to the knowing one.

In both passages the repeated initials *w- m-* encrypt *wahu manah* 'Good Mind'. Such encryption of targeted phrases through the foregrounding of their initials, put as the first sounds of other phrases, I call *acrophonism*.

¹⁴For now note e.g. Pindar, *Frag.* 47 Snell-Machler, which mixophonizes the name of the octopus (*POLUPOS*) in a description of the unnamed creature, as a parallel for giving *ainos* as an act of shrewdness.

The principle is shown again in 45.3. The introductory 45.1 begins much like 30.1:

- 45.1 a *at fra waxšyā nū gušadwam nū srauta*
 b *yai-ca asnāt yai-ca dūrāt išaθa*
 c *nū im wiswā ciθrah-zi mazdāhadwam*
- 45.1 'Now I shall speak out – now listen and hear,
 you who seek from near and far,
 for it all is clear (m.); understand it'.

The 'it' which is 'clear' (masculine gender) is the *manθra*- (m.) in 45.3:

- 45.3 a *at fra waxšyā ahauš ahya parwiyam*
 b *yam mai widwāh mazdāh waucat ahura*
 c *yai im WAH nait iθā MANθram waršanti*
 d *yaθā imam manāi-ca wauca²ā-ca*
 e *aibyah ahauš awai ahat apamam*
- 45.3 'And I shall speak forth (about) this existence's first thing,
 which the Lord Wisdom, the Knower, told me:
 Those who will not put this *manθra* into effect
 just as I think it and will speak it,
 for them will the word "woe" be their existence's last thing'.

Enclosed iconically between the line which ends with 'first thing' and its thematically echoic and alliterative closure, which ends with 'last thing', we have four phrases with initials *m-* *w-*, and, in the central line 45.3c, *WAH . . . MANθram*, making clearer the symbolism *m-* *w-* (= *w-* *m-*) = *manah wahu* = *wahu manah*. The symbolism is further decrypted in the next stanza:

- 45.4b'' *mazdāh waida yah im dāt*
 c *fiaram wahauš warzayantah manahah*
- 45.4b''-c '(it is) Wisdom, I know, who created this,
 (He), the Father of efficacious *Good Mind*'.

Here another *m-* *w-* phrase, 45.4b *mazdāh waida* 'Wisdom, I know', is the reciprocal counterpart of 45.3b *widwāh mazdāh* 'Wisdom the Knower', and the overt 45.4c *wahauš . . . manahah* corresponds to the encrypted 45.3c *WAH . . . MAN-*.

The *manθra* mentioned in 45.3 is characterized in 45.5b'' as *martaibyah wahištam* (*m-* *w-*) 'the best for mortals' and at 45.6a'' as *wiswāna²am mazištam* (*w-* *m-*) 'the greatest of all things'. The *manθra* itself is given in 45.7, which follows the acrophonisms for 'Good Mind' with mixophonism for 'the best things':¹⁵

- 45.6 d *yahya WAHmai WAHū fraši manahā*
 e *ahya xratū fra mā sāstu wahištā*

¹⁵The contents of 45.3-7 are concentrated in 31.6-8 in terms of visionary revelation and luminous comforts (*hu²āθrā*). As at 45.4, at 31.8 the Lord Wisdom is seen as 'Father of Good Mind' and creator. 31.6 decrypts 45.3 with similar phraseology, 'The best thing will be for him *who, knowing, will tell me* the . . . *manθra* . . .' (*yah mai widwāh waucat . . . manθram*) and then the denouement, 'For Wisdom dominion is such that one will increase it for Him *with Good Mind* (*wahū manahā*)'.

- 45.7 a *yAHya saWĀ IŠAnTi rĀdAHah*
 b *yai-zi jīwā āhar-ca bu²anti-ca*
 c *amrtāti artaunah ru²ā aišah*
 d *utayūtā yā nrnš sadrā drugwatah*
 e *tā-ca xšaθrā mazdāh dāmiš ahurah*

45.6d-e 'May He, in the eulogy for Whom I have consulted with Good Mind, reveal for me, with His intellect, *the best things*.

45.7 They will seek the benefactions of his solicitude, for those who are living, we were and will be – in immortality will the soul of the righteous be strong; in perpetuity will grief befall wrongsome men – and through this (act of) dominion is Wisdom, the creator, the Lord'.

We may now return to $\sqrt{wrāz}$ and the connection of 'bliss' with encryption. Acrophonism is brought to its fullest complexity in *Y 32*:

- 32.1 a *ahya-ca hwaituš yāsāt ahya wrzanam mat aryamnā*
 b *ahya daiwā mahmi mnai ahurahya wrāzma mazda²ah*
 c *θwai dūtāhah ahāma tanh dārayah yai wāh dbišanti*
 32.2 a *aibyah mazdāh ahurah sāramnah wahū manahā*
 b *xšaθrāt hacā pati mraut artā huš(h)axā hu²anwatā*
 c *swantām wah aramatim wahwīm warmadī hā nah ahat*
- 32.1 'And of Him did family entreat, of Him did community with clan, as did also the godlings, at my prompting, (entreat,) for His, the Lord Wisdom's, bliss: "May we be Thy messengers, to hold those inimical to You".
- 32.2 To those did the *Lord Wisdom*, Who is *connected with Good Mind* and is the *Boon Associate* of sunny *Rightness*, respond from (His) *Dominion*: "We have chosen your holy proper-mindedness; it shall be Ours!"

The word *wrāzman-* used here was the most common derivative of $\sqrt{wrāz}$; cf. *YAv. uruuāsman-* and Middle Persian (MPers.) *urwāhm*. As discussed in detail in Schwartz 1991, 166-168 and *passim*, the initials of the last four words in 32.1a, and their echoic correspondents, the last four words of 32.1b, encrypt the theological relationship stated for the divine triad in 32.2, with the overlapping (interconnection) of initials in 32.1a *a-w-m-a-* (i.e. *a w + w m + m a*) and again in 32.1b *m-a-w-m-* (i.e. *m a + a w + w m*), both series corresponding to the interconnectedness of the divine triad *Mazdā Ahura, Wahu Manah*, and *Arta Wahišta*, described in overt (and decryptive) terms in 32.2. The *daiwas* ('godlings') and their followers are duplicitous (32.3c'' *dbitānā*), representing themselves as those who would *hold back* the Lord Wisdom's enemies, but their real intention is to *hold on to, embrace, uphold* ($\sqrt{dar}$, cf. 46.3, 5, 7, and 49.2) such enemies, their own ilk. 32.2a-b *aibyah mazdāh . . . pati mraut* 'to these [honest ones] Wisdom answered' contrasts with two responses to the duplicitous *daiwas*: 32.3, and 32.12b¹⁶ *aibyah mazdāh akā mraut yai gauš*

¹⁶The original first stage of *Y 32* consisted of 32.1-32.13. This preliminary compositional state of *Y 32* is characterized by tight lexical concentric concatenations, in which 32.2 is concatenated with 32.13. The entire scheme of concatenations is as follows: 32.1 and 32.13, *dūta-*, quest for paradise; 32.2 and 32.12,

*mrndan wrāšuxti*¹⁷ *jyātum* ‘to them Wisdom said bad things, (to those) who with declaration of/for “bliss” skewed the life of the Cow (= the good *dayanā* [envisionment]; see n. 9, end)’.

The divine state of blissful interconnectedness is that which the righteous will enjoy; note that 32.1 > 49.7-8, with the series ‘clan, family, community’, is followed by ‘the most blissful connection [in the divine Dominion]’; note also the juxtaposed *wrzanāi* : *wrāzištām*.

The remarkable idea of the overlapping acrophonisms is developed in the original center of the poem, 32.7c’’ *mazdāh waidištah ahi* (*m- w- a-*) and 32.8c’’ *wiciθai api*, with *m- w-* (= *manah wahu*) overlapping with *w- a-* (= **wahišta- arta-*). These phrases are based on 46.19e’’ *mazdā waidištah* and 46.18e’’ *manahas-ca wiciθam*, with the finale 46.19d-e *manah-wistāiš mat wiswāiš . . . mazdā waidištah*, in the backwards recycling of phrases in 46.19-46.6 as 32.7-32.16 (Schwartz 1998, 138 *seq.*).

Finally, we see *a- w- / w- a-* for *arta- wahišta-* at 33.3, again with ‘family, clan, community’:

- 33.3 a *yah artāunai wahištah hwaitū-wā at-wā wrzanyah*
 b *aryamnā-wā ahura widans-wā θwaxšahā gawai*
 c *at hau artahya ahat wahauš-ca wāstrai manahah*

- 33.3 ‘Whoever is *best* to the *righteous* one, through family or as community member or through clan, Lord, or allotting diligently for the cow, he will be on the pasture of Rightness and Good Mind’.

Whereas in the series family, community (*wrzana-*), clan at 32.1a-b, we find *wrzanā* echoically juxtaposed with *wrāzma* in an adjoining line and (at the sequential 49.7e-8a) *wrzanāi* juxtaposed with *wrāzištām*, at 33.3a *wrzanyah* is juxtaposed with an *oral acrostic* of *wrāzma* ‘bliss’ (as reward for opposing evil and for giving hospitality):

- 33.2 c *tai wārāi rādanti ahurahya zaušai mazda²ah*¹⁸

- 33.2 ‘They will achieve the wish and be in the favor¹⁹ of the Lord Wisdom’.²⁰

aibyah mazdāh + (patī) mraut; 32.3 and 32.11, *maz-*; 32.4 and 32.10, *-jyātaiš/jyātauš* abl.; 32.6 and 32.7 and 32.8: *ainah-*, *√sraw* (*srawahyatai/srāwi/srāwi*). The final 16-stanza poem employs more thematic-semantic criteria in concentric concatenations; cf. the chart in Schwartz 1998, 134.

¹⁷The vulgate text’s *uruuāxš.uxtī* reflects confusion in transmission, *uruuāxš- < 44.8e’’ uruuāxšat = /wrāxšat/* ‘proceeds’ (for which some manuscripts have *uruuāšat*); cf. Y 62.10 *uruuāxš.āṇhuuā* against correct mss. *uruuāš.āṇhuuā* ‘with joyous mood’. The form *wrāš-uxtī-* is a nominative compound (like YAv. *āfš.ciθra-*); *wrāš- < root-stem wrāz-*, and *uxtī-* ‘solemn declaration’ (vs. *uxθa-* ‘utterance’), cf. YAv. *antar.uxtī-* ‘ban’, *yātūxtī-* ‘sorcerer’s spell’, Arm. *uxt* ‘oath’.

¹⁸For further details, see Schwartz 1998, 163-166, and for the encryptions in both 32.1(-2) and 33.2c, cf. Schwartz 1991, 140-145.

¹⁹*zaušai* can also mean ‘in the nature (**disposition, inclination*) [of the Lord Wisdom]’, implying that the righteous person will enter the shared nature (*hazauša-* 28.8a’’ and 51.20a’) of the divine triad. Thus the mystic message is that of 32.1-2 and 49.8.

²⁰The stanza related concentrically, 33.13, fulfills its obligatory concatenation with 33.2 thematically: (33.13a’’-b) ‘the rewards, the incomparable (? **a-dbiṣrā*) or transcendent (? **abi-frā*) things of the (divine) Dominion’. This is the virtual equivalent of the “blissful” connection (*sar-*) in the divine Dominion (49.8, cf. 49.5; and, by implication, 32.1c *wrāzma*). The imperative verb 33.13c *fra daxšaya* ‘reveal’ indexes the cryptic style of 33.2c; cf. above on 31.17c *fradaxštā* with acrophonism.

Conclusion: The Gathic theological doctrines – the interconnectedness and homogeneity of the divine triad (Mazdā Ahura with Arta Wahišta and Wahu Manah) – and his eschatology – the righteous soul's blissful connection or state of unity with the divine triad – were endowed by Zarathushtra with a mystical depth and resonance, through the cryptic, i.e. encryptive, techniques of his poetic revelations, which were particularly aimed at his patronly initiates. These techniques were especially applied to two important value-concepts of his doctrines: (1) *wahištā*, 'the best things' = 'paradise' (> MPers. *wahišt*, Persian *behešt*; cf. Avestan *wahišta-ahu-*), also = 'the Best Ones', the Mazdaic divine triad, poetically equated with *wahištā* 'the best things' (28.8a-b', reflected by 32.1a-b and 49.8, 12; cf. 33.7a-b'); (2) *wrāzma* (etc.) 'bliss'. The first term was encrypted through a traditional Indo-European technique, the quasi-anagrammatic mixophonism. The second term was, on the one hand, used (32.1) as part of an oral cabbalism culminating a symbolism of initial sounds and, on the other hand, was the focus of an oral acrostic (33.2c). The last two techniques demonstrate the astounding cognitive complexity of Zarathushtra's poetics, and the intellectual sophistication of the patronly milieu who were converted by his poetry.

ADDENDUM

I have recently found that Zarathushtra's focus on *wrāzman-*, *wrāz-* in Y 32 originates in his adversarial transformations of the lost Old Avestan Vorlage of the hymn to Haoma on which are based the present YAv. Y 9 and 10. Y 32.10-14 (and a substantial portion of Y 48) contain phraseological variations of the prototype of Y 9.28-10.21. Within these variations, 32.12 *wrāš-* textually goes back to **wrāzmanā* (Y 10.8 *uruuāsmāna*), as does then also 32.1 *wrāzma*. The latter (in tandem with *wrāš-*, stem *wrāz-*) in turn suggested 30.1 *wrāzā*, the first of a series of sequential lexical/phraseological influences of 32.1-8 on 30.1-8. The priority of 32.1-8 over 30.1-8 follows from the consideration that, inter alia, in addition to these sequential influences, 32.8 *yamah* (Yima, orig. '[the male] Twin'), itself reflects the prototype of Y 9.4-5 *yimō*, so that 32.8 suggested the adjective 30.3 *yamā* 'the two twinned {Spirits}'; note that the predicate verb of each of these Gathic instances of *yama-* is a passive past tense form of the root *sraw-/sru-* 'to hear'.

The acrostic in 33.2, based on overt *wrāzma* in 32.1, was a chief impetus for Y 33, since 33.2-10 constitutes a complete set of concentric lexical concatenations, and is the compositional core of Y 33.

REFERENCES

- Beekes, R. S. P., 1988. *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan* (Leiden).
 Gerbstman, A. I., 1968. O zvukovom stroenii narodnoj zagadki, *Russkij fol'klor* 11, 185-197.
 Gershevitch, I., 1967. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge).
 Kellens, J., 1987. Characters of ancient Mazdaism, in *History and anthropology* 3, 239-262.
 Kuiper, F. B. J., 1960. The ancient Iranian verbal contest, *IJJ* 4, 217-281.
 Kuiper, F. B. J., 1965. The bliss of Aša, *IJJ* 8, 96-129.
 Kuiper, F. B. J., 1973. Four word studies, *IJJ* 15, 179-204.
 Morgenstierne, G., 1927. *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto* (Oslo).
 Morgenstierne, G., 1938. *Indo-Iranian frontier languages*, vol. 2, *Iranian Pamir languages* (Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning B/35, Oslo).

- Nagy, G., 1979. *Best of the Achaeans: concepts of the hero in archaic Greek poetry* (Baltimore).
- Nagy, G., 1990. *Pindar's Homer: the lyric possession of an epic past* (Baltimore).
- Narten, J., 1986. *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti* (Wiesbaden).
- Schmidt, H.-P., 1968. Die Komposition von Yasna 49, in J. C. Heesterman, G. H. Schokker, V. I. Subramonian (ed.), *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian, and Indo-European studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper* ('s Gravenhage), 170-192.
- Schwartz, M., 1986. Coded sound patterns, acrostics, and anagrams in Zoroaster's oral poetry, in R. Schmitt, P. O. Skjærvø (ed.) *Studia grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München), 327-392.
- Schwartz, M., 1991. Sound, sense, and "seeing" in Zoroaster: the outer reaches of orality, in K. R. Cama *Oriental Institute, International Congress Proceedings* (Bombay), 127-163.
- Schwartz, M., 1998. The ties that bind: on the form and content of Zarathushtra's mysticism, in F. Vajifdar (ed.), *New approaches to the interpretation of the Gāthās: proceedings of the First Gāthā Colloquium* (Surrey), 127-197.
- Schwartz, M., 2003. Gathic compositional history, Y 29, and bovine symbolism, in S. Adhami (ed.), *Paitimāna: essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian studies in honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt*, vol. 2 (Costa Mesa), 195-291.
- Starobinski, J. 1971. *Les mots sur les mots: les anagrammes de Ferdinand de Saussure* (Paris).
- Watkins, C., 1995. *How to kill a dragon: aspects of Indo-European poetics* (New York).

Shaul Shaked

The main trend of recent Gathic investigation seems to me deeply disturbing.¹ For a long period of time, from the beginning of the twentieth century, the research on the Gāthās was dominated by the great work of Christian Bartholomae, who combined philological precision with a coherent vision of the Gathic text and a bold perception of Zoroastrianism as a living and developing religion. Bartholomae's influence on several generations of scholars was strong almost to the point of stifling new insights into the subject. The work of his great predecessors, among whom one should particularly mention James Darmesteter, was largely pushed aside; the ingenious suggestions of some of Bartholomae's contemporaries, notably those of F. C. Andreas, came to be ignored after a short period of heated controversy.² For more than half a century Bartholomae was left to dominate the arena.

Quite a few dramatic transformations were in the meantime taking place in the field of Iranian studies. Discoveries of great significance were made. A whole range of hitherto unknown Middle Iranian languages came into light, published and studied, and yet, as Henning (1942) complained, the field of Avestan studies was disintegrating, mostly through lack of innovative thinking.

It was inevitable that the tide should eventually turn, and indeed, in the middle years of the twentieth century a new school of Gathic research asserted itself. Led by the late Karl Hoffmann, the main proponents of this group of scholars are nowadays Helmut Humbach, Johanna Narten and Jean Kellens, the latter partly in collaboration with Éric Pirart.

There is a breath of fresh air in this development. It is certainly viewed in these terms by Kellens, when he describes the change of which he is one of the main protagonists:

Western scholarship decided to seek enlightenment from the historical Mazdean tradition, which recognizes the Gāthās as its founding text. Without exception, all of the analysts – Humbach somewhat more prudently – chose to measure the text by the yardstick of tradition. Such a choice is neither legitimate nor illegitimate: it is a mere wager (Kellens 2000, 2 f.).

¹ Some of the following comments originally formed part of a paper presented at a conference on Axial Transformations, held in Florence in December 2001. The forthcoming paper to be published in the volume of the conference will contain further observations on the Gāthās, Zarathushtra's time and message. I shall not be discussing in this context two of the current new trends of scholarship in Gathic studies, which seem to me interesting, those namely that deal with the questions affecting the literary and poetic composition of the texts, and which are represented in the works of Martin Schwartz (especially 1986; 1991) and Prods Oktor Skjærvø (e.g. 1994; 1996; 1997a; 1997b).

² There is some exaggeration in the statement made by Kellens (2000, 32) that the Andreas hypothesis “reigned alone for forty years, until the end of World War II”. Even some of Andreas' former students (e.g. Walter Bruno Henning and Georg Morgenstierne) never adhered, to the best of my knowledge, to this theory, not to speak of independent scholars like Harold Walter Bailey or Émile Benveniste.

Humbach radically brought the Gathic grammar up to date by applying all the progress achieved in the field of Vedic grammar . . . The Vedic and the Old Avestan texts agree not only in grammar but also in style . . . On average, every other verse [in Old Avestan] has a Rigvedic parallel. While the religious doctrine may have been something new . . . , the language, the rhetoric, the concepts that nourish images and metaphors were surprisingly conservative and similar to those practised by the Vedic *ṛsis*. It is hardly an exaggeration to say the Old Avesta is the eleventh *maṇḍala* of the Rīgveda, only written in a slightly different dialect (Kellens 2000, 45 f.).

There are obvious advantages to studying the language of the Gāthās without preconceptions, with all the rigour that should be applied to an ancient text, by using the tools of linguistic science and comparative philology. Nevertheless, I believe that the current fashion, which puts so much stress on the Indian parallels, and regards the reference to the Iranian tradition as more or less irrelevant, runs the risk of separating us from a correct understanding of the contents and message of the Gāthās. I shall try to illustrate the point by discussing briefly two key terms from the Gāthās.

The treatment of the notion of *manyu*³ is symptomatic, and we should perhaps look at it more closely. It is quite clear that this is a notion of a mental or intellectual faculty present in man, but it is arguably also a notion of a cosmic and perhaps ontological order.

The term *manyu-* is central in *Y* 30, where verses 3-6 can be called a “dissertation on *mainiiu*”, to quote Kellens and Pirart (1988-1991, III 43). A summary of the contents of this passage is given in the following terms:

Les deux états d’esprit, initiaux parce qu’ils sont le fondement des trois niveaux de la conduite rituelle (pensée, parole, acte), sont réputés être des songes jumeaux au stade de la pensée . . . ; ils sont jumeaux parce qu’il est difficile de les distinguer l’un de l’autre. Pourtant, si insaisissables et indistincts qu’il soient, au moment de l’acte rituel, l’un inspire le bon acte, l’autre le mauvais, et certaines divinités sont capables de les distinguer, d’autres non.⁴

The text, however, quite clearly talks of two ‘first’ *manyu* or ‘minds’. Interpreting the attribute ‘first’ in the sense given here, i.e. not really as first but as fundamental to the three modes of behaviour – thought, speech and action (and by behaviour, we are given to understand, only *ritual* behaviour is meant) – seems to me to violate the plain meaning of the text, and is probably motivated by the authors’ insistence on divesting the text of any cosmogonical or ontological sense. The authors interpret the word *xʾafəna-* as having the sense of ‘dream’. This seems like not a bad idea; but they find it necessary to add the following comment to explain the use of the term ‘twins’: “because it is difficult to distinguish them from each other”. This is an explanation which seeks unnecessarily to narrow down the meaning of the term. Why not let this word signify what it normally does, containing implicitly a multiplicity of potential senses, such as equality of origin, equality of power, equality of mode of action, equality of function, or even plainly the birth of two entities from a single mother? The authors evidently feel constrained to make the two *états d’esprit* something to which no personal metaphor like ‘twin’ could literally apply.

³ Or *maniiu-*, *maⁱniiu-*, as Karl Hoffmann and his followers prefer to transliterate this word.

⁴ Kellens-Pirart 1988-1991, III 43.

It is clear from the treatment of these verses that the translation of the text offered by Kellens and Pirart is not strictly “philological”, as they would have us believe, but biased. Any translation of a text always contains an element of personal interpretation, but coming from scholars who declare themselves to be adherents of objective philology, it is important to point out that they are as humanly subjective and fallible as the rest of us. When we should make up our mind as to the most plausible understanding of the text, what we are facing is not exactly a choice between a strictly linguistic approach (that of Kellens and Pirart) and a less rigorous one (that of other scholars), but between several more or less legitimate interpretations of a rather difficult text. The decision as to which one is preferable should be taken on the basis of historical probability and cultural context, in so far as it can be determined. The Vedic parallels are of course relevant, but no less important are the internal Iranian diachronic correspondences, which need to be taken into account if there is no compelling reason for rejecting them. In these considerations there is no inherent preference for any set of data.

Kellens devoted to the notion of *manyu-* a whole article, where he repents (Kellens 1990, 103) of having admitted earlier, in his edition and translation of the Gāthās (done jointly with Pirart, 1988-1991), of four senses to the word:

1. a human state of mind;
2. a mental capacity of Mazdā;
3. ardour, zeal, as a secular or Vedic notion;
4. an expression of a state of mind, as a specific rhetorical genre.

This variety of senses Kellens later came to regard as a symptom of insufficient philological rigour. It is desirable, he believes, to find a key-notion from which all the subsidiary senses could derive. He finds this key-notion in a text which leads him to the conclusion that *manyu-* is best regarded as having fundamentally the sense of ‘opinion’, French *avis*.

It may be noticed, however, that the essential sense of a word rarely remains immutable in linguistic usage, and that it is likely to acquire different nuances in the course of usage even within the same text and period, much more so over time. Recognizing this, one would be induced to give up the vain attempt to reduce all occurrences of a word to a single translation, even though it is legitimate to try and establish a fundamental or original sense of a term, out of which various other meanings may branch out.

Thus, in a series of verses where *manyu-* is contrasted with *šyaoθana-* (‘action’), it would seem more natural to translate ‘mind, state of mind’, rather than ‘opinion’. In Y 31.21 it may seem that a translation: ‘Ahura Mazdā donne . . . à celui qui se montre son *uruuatha* par son avis et ses actes’ (Kellens 1990, 107), is less plausible than were we to render the last six words by ‘by his mind⁵ and his actions’.

In Y 45.8 there is again a play on the same set of notions. The text reads: *vanhēuš mainiišuš šyaoθanahiiā uxδaxiiacā vīduš*, and according to Kellens 1990, 107 it should be translated: ‘moi qui suis le *vīdu* (de Ahura Mazdā) par l’acte et la parole qui découlent du

⁵ Or ‘faith’.

bon avis'; in an earlier translation by Kellens and Pirart (1988-1991, I 157): '... par l'acte et la parole du divin état d'esprit'. The earlier translation seems preferable, but it would be even better to translate simply: 'by the action and speech of the good mind'. The notion 'opinion' sounds in such a context contrived and unreal, especially if we recall that we are dealing with a religious hymn of considerable antiquity. English 'opinion', French 'avis', has a connotation of subjectivity and of a rational pondering and possible vacillation, shades of meaning which are unlikely to reflect in an adequate manner the approach of the ancient author of the text to the question of faith.⁶

The treatment of the passages where two *manyu*- are mentioned is symptomatic. Humbach (1991, I 164) translates Y 45.2 as follows: 'I shall (now) proclaim the two spirits (present) in the primal (stage) of one's existence, of whom the more prosperous one shall address the harmful one: "Neither our thoughts, nor our pronouncements, nor our intellects, nor our choices, nor our statements, nor our actions, nor our religious views, nor our souls, agree"'. Kellens and Pirart (1988-1991, I 155) translate the same verse as follows: 'Je vais proclamer les deux états d'esprit fondamentaux de l'existence (rituelle) ...', where the use of 'états d'esprit' and the addition of the explanatory word 'rituelle' in brackets after 'existence' are meant to exclude the notion of an autonomous spirit in the Gāthās, or of any existence except a ritual one. This is evidently not an exegesis required by the wording of the text. The text does not say that a *ritual* existence is meant. The ritual meaning of the verse resides primarily in the two scholars' preconceived idea.

In his article,⁷ Kellens goes further and employs what strikes me as a tortuous structure for the existence of a dual *manyu*, one which would have even less to do with a dualistic religion: 'avis que mazdā est ou non premier'. Given the strong tendency in Iranian texts of all ages towards a dualistic view of the divine world, even undeniably in the Gāthās (by the admission of Kellens himself), it hardly makes good methodological sense to insist on reading away any dualism, even when, in plain reading, the idea is there.

If cosmic dualism is not in the Gāthās, it must be a later development of Iranian thinking. Having banished it from the Gāthās, Kellens may be expected to offer a hypothesis as to the time in which this idea came up. Is its late occurrence the result of a misunderstanding of the Gathic text, or is it a mere coincidence that the Gathic text *apparently* gives the impression of dualism, while real dualism started off in Iran some time later with no relation to the dualistic-like expressions of the Gāthās?

The question whether the dualism of Zarathustra is merely cosmic or anthropological or ethical, which occupies some space in the works of Kellens and Pirart, strikes me as irrelevant. In a long article written by Kellens and Pirart and dedicated to the twin-*manyu* verse (Y 30.3), the two authors arrive at the following conclusion:

La strophe des jumeaux témoigne-t-elle d'un système dualiste? Sans aucun doute: elle explique que l'antagonisme entre Aša et Druj, constitué dans la cosmogonie, accompagne la durée et s'introduit dans le comportement actuel des hommes ... Ce dualisme peut-il être défini comme "éthique"? En aucun cas: le fondement du dualisme mazdéen est l'opposition

⁶ See also the criticism of Skjærvø (1997a, 110) with regard to this point.

⁷ Kellens 1990, 103.

entre l'Agencement vrai et l'Agencement faux, qui est d'ordre cosmogonique et n'affecte le comportement humain qu'en acheminant dans la durée. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y a pas d'éthique mazdéenne. Il y en a et très claire: est bon tout ce qui concourt à soutenir l'Agencement et mauvais l'invers . . . Mais la vie publique et privée est absente des Gāthās, qui ne se soucient que de la seule manière décisive de soutenir l'Agencement: sacrifier.⁸

What strikes one in these comments is that the texts are forced in a narrow direction. Even if we disregard the slight contradiction between the negation of a Gathic ethics and the affirmation of a ritually based ethics, the hair-splitting distinctions introduced into the discussion seem to be out of place. In a religious text of considerable antiquity one would hardly expect to find scholastic distinctions between esthetical, ethical, religious, or pious attitudes. One hardly finds such niceties even in most modern religious texts. It seems to me evident at the outset, at least as a working hypothesis, that “good” might be defined in these texts both as an ethical and as a ritual concept. It seems misguided to find modern scholars wasting their time trying to separate these domains from each other in order to define the precise thinking of the archaic Iranians. Could one say: Yes, they did feel that these domains were interconnected, but the Gāthās were only devoted to sacrifice and nothing else? Could one agree that the private and the public life are entirely absent from the Gāthās? One can do that at a certain risk: that of working with a hypothesis which does not emerge naturally from the text, but from our own presuppositions about it.

There is a line of development in Kellens's writings which leads him farther and farther away from an understanding of the Old Avestan texts in a sense which would look like a living religion, one which would in some ways be connected to later historical Zoroastrianism. It seems undeniable that the notion of *manyu-* is one of great significance in Iranian thinking, and is deliberately applied in old and more recent usage to both deities and humans. Kellens's efforts have the apparent aim of obscuring any connection between the Gāthās and later Zoroastrianism.⁹

I should like to comment much more briefly on another term of considerable significance in the Gāthās. *xšaθra-* is interpreted by Kellens and Pirart in the same ritual direction. It does not simply mean, according to them, ‘power, might’, but ‘pouvoir, emprise

⁸ Kellens–Pirart 1997, 66.

⁹ The article on the speculative ritual of ancient Mazdaism (Kellens 1994) is more balanced and is formulated with greater refinement of terminology. It ends with the statement, to quote the English translation of Skjervø, that “the Old Avestan ritual is a speculative ritual, which in no account contains the Mazdean philosophy, but opens up the path along which it will proceed in the distant future” (Kellens 2000, 112). There is here both a rejection of any share of “Mazdean philosophy” in the Old Avestan ritual speculation, as well as a concession in recognizing that it prepares the path towards future developments, although no attempt is made to explain how the twist towards later Mazdean philosophy occurred. The description of the dualistic split in the Gāthās is however presented in this article in terms which are much closer to classical Mazdaism than is Kellens' customary manner.

rituelle',¹⁰ again on the assumption that the ancient Iranians should follow the scholars' notion of power, which must be ritual.

In *Y* 37.1-2 we read:

37.1 iθā āt yazamaidē ahurēm mazdām yā gāmcā ašəm cā dāt . . .

37.2 ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapaṇhāišcā . . .

This is translated by Kellens:

37.1 Ainsi nous offrons sacrifice à Ahura Mazdā, qui a mis à leur place respective la vache et Aša . . .

37.2 grâce à l'emprise exercée sur lui, par sa grandeur et ses savoir-faire.¹¹

The translation of the last phrase (the beginning of *Y* 37.2) is somewhat unnatural. Kellens feels constrained to treat *ahiiā* differently when it refers to *xšaθra-* from when it refers to the other two nouns. This differentiation is made in order to pursue the idea that 'power', expressed through *xšaθra-*, should not refer to the deity as the one who possesses it, but to the worshipper, because it should express the ritual power of the worshipper.¹² Another point which catches one's eye here is the following. In *Y* 37.1 it would seem more natural to understand the verb *dā-* as denoting 'to create', but here again the bias of the scholar intervenes. Ahura Mazdā could not have 'created' the various constituents of the world, according to Kellens' interpretation, but merely 'put them in place'. The fact that the later tradition unanimously understands *dā-* in the sense of 'create' is a definite proof that this is not the right meaning of the verb. Ahura Mazdā is not a creating God. This is the title of the article by Kellens (1989). The interpretation offered there is however an unproven assertion. If Ahura Mazdā affects these objects by the verb *dā-* as well as by the verb *taš-*,¹³ is it not natural to understand them to mean that he both creates and fashions them?

One cannot help asking why this ideological bias should pervade Kellens' work when he claims to be a strict philologist. One can only speculate that it seems to him (and to some extent also to Humbach) that the ancient Indo-Iranians had nothing on their mind except a concern with ritual, its precise operation and the right frame of mind which makes it possible for the ritual to be carried out.

One may question whether this interpretation is indeed valid for the Rigvedic texts. In any case, it seems to me utterly out of place in the Iranian texts. It would be hard to quote any religion in the world which has no other concern except the proper execution of its rituals. It is true that a specific text can be devoted mostly to ritual matters, but is it likely

¹⁰Kellens-Pirart 1988-1991, II 232, following Humbach 1959, II 86, although the latter does include in the definition of this notion "die irdische Macht, die es dem weltlichen Herrscher ermöglicht, die Abhaltung eines angemessenen Opfers im Sinne der rechten Religion anzuordnen". Humbach makes similar observations on this notion in his 1991 book, vol. 2, 221.

¹¹Kellens 1991, 34 f.

¹²Cf. the comment in Kellens-Pirart 1988-1991, III 140. Skjærvø 1997a, 110 seems to accept the definition given by Kellens and Pirart.

¹³Cf. Kellens 1989, 227 f.

that any religion, ancient or modern, would not have a view on the relationship between humans and deities, on human existence and its aim, outside the scope of ritual? In some passages in his research Kellens presents a more differentiated picture,¹⁴ but the basic flaw in his approach, it seems to me, is the assumption that if the Gāthās are texts which were composed to accompany the ritual – a reasonable assumption – they cannot refer to other religious concerns beyond the ritual itself. This is denied by examples which can be cited from various cultures and epochs of ritual and liturgical texts which contain allusions or even explicit formulations which touch the heart of the faith, and not merely the ritual, and indeed Kellens himself half-heartedly admits that the Gāthās do contain allusions to other matters.

It certainly did not escape the attention of the archaic priests that the chanting of the ritual texts was listened to not only by the deities, to whom it was primarily addressed, but also by fellow worshippers. As a consequence, the communal gathering around the ritual act becomes an excellent opportunity for repeating some of the truths of the faith and causing them to be inculcated in the minds of those present. The gods will certainly not complain if such edifying bits of doctrine are interspersed in the ritual text. This is such an obvious point that it seems strange that one has to spell it out to a scholar of Jean Kellens' stature.

The great merit of Jean Kellens lies in the many new insights to the study of the Gathic language and in the rigorous and consistent application of philological principles to the text. In this sense he has made himself worthy of being regarded as the most conspicuous spokesman of the vedicising trend in Gathic interpretation. The attempt to interpret the whole small corpus of the Gāthās, with its many ambiguities, uncertainties and lacunae in a consistent and harmonious manner has however led him, I feel, to impose an implausibly narrow framework on the religion and the conceptions of the Gāthās. I hope to discuss other points relating to the interpretation of the Gathic religion on a future occasion, but am happy to record that my approach is broadly in agreement with that of Gherardo Gnoli.¹⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gnoli, G. 1980. *Zoroaster's time and homeland: a study on the origins of Mazdeism and related problems* (Naples).
- Henning, W. B., 1942. The disintegration of the Avestic studies, *TPS*, 40-56 (repr. in W. B. Henning, *Selected papers*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 15, Leiden), 151-167).
- Humbach, H., 1959. *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (Heidelberg), 2 vols.
- Humbach, H., 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and other Old Avestan texts*, in collaboration with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skjærvø (Indogermanische Bibliothek, Reihe 1, Heidelberg), 2 vols.
- Kellens, J., 1989. Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur, *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Paris), 217-228.
- Kellens, J., 1990. Un avis sur vieil-avestique *mainiiu-*, *MSS* 51, 97-123.

¹⁴This is the case, for example, in his article 1994.

¹⁵Cf. especially the discussion of the main tenets of the Gāthās in Gnoli 1980, 181-198.

- Kellens, J., 1994. Le rituel spéculatif du mazdéisme ancien, in J. Kellens, C. Herrenschildt, La question du sacrifice dans le mazdéisme ancien et achéménide, *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 85, 45-67 [Kellens: 47-56; English trans. under the title The speculative ritual in ancient Mazdaism, in Kellens 2000, 99-112].
- Kellens, J., 2000. *Essays on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism*, trans. and ed. P. O. Skjærvø (Bibliotheca Iranica 1, Costa Mesa).
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1988-1991. *Les textes vieil-avestiques* (Wiesbaden), 3 vols.
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1997. La strophe des jumeaux: stagnation, extravagance et autres modes d'approche, *JA* 285, 31-72.
- Schwartz, M., 1986. Coded sound patterns, acrostics, and anagrams in Zoroaster's oral poetry, in R. Schmitt, P. O. Skjærvø (ed.), *Studia grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München), 327-392.
- Schwartz, M., 1991. Sound, sense and "seeing" in Zoroaster: the outer reaches of orality, *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. International Congress proceedings* (Bombay), 127-163.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1994. Hymnic composition in the Avesta, *Sprache* 36, 199-243.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1996. The literature of the most ancient Iranians, *The Journal of the Research and Historical Preservation Committee (Fezana)* 2, 221-235.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1997a. The state of Old Avestan scholarship, *JAOS* 117, 103-114.
- Skjærvø, P. O., 1997b. Eastern Iranian epic traditions III: Zarathustra and Diomedes – an Indo-European epic warrior type, *BAI*, n.s., 11, 175-182.

A CHRISTIAN SOGDIAN POLEMIC AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS
(Plates 9-10)

Nicholas Sims-Williams

The Christian Sogdian manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan collection include a number of fragments written in a small and distinctive hand, which are evidently the work of a single scribe and to which Olaf Hansen assigned the signature C3. The majority of the fragments contain passages from the Sogdian translations of the lives of Serapion and of John of Dailam.¹ These two works certainly form part of the same manuscript, since one folio contains both the conclusion of the life of John of Dailam and the beginning of that of Serapion, but it does not follow that every fragment which displays this characteristic handwriting must necessarily belong to a single manuscript. In the case of the folio to be published here, which bears the old signatures B 8 and T II B 8, the fact that the bottom margin of its verso page bears a quire-number identical to that found on a page from the middle of the Serapion text ($w = 5$)² excludes the possibility that it belongs to the manuscript which contains the lives of Serapion and John of Dailam.

The folio in question contains part of a polemic against dualism. Although the writer names his opponents only as ‘those non-Christians who confess two eternal (beings)’ (v19-20), it is clear from details such as the use of the terms *dynd’r* ‘Elect’ and *nywšnyt* ‘Hearers’ that they must be the Manichaeans. No further parts of this work have been identified amongst the extant Christian Sogdian manuscripts, but two lost C3 fragments known from transcripts in the Nachlaß of Olaf Hansen may possibly contain portions of the same text. The relevant passages, translations of which are reproduced in the Appendix below, were first published in Sims-Williams 1995b as “f. 4” and “f. 5, r1-19” (“ff. 1-3” being the fragments of the Serapion story published in Sims-Williams 1995a, while the remainder of “f. 5” contains the beginning of a text concerning omens).

When editing the fragments from the Hansen Nachlaß, I suggested that the present text might be “a Central Asian product, perhaps even an original composition in Sogdian”.³ This intriguing possibility, which gains some credibility from the writer’s correct use of Manichaean Sogdian terminology (e.g. *dynd’r* ‘Electus’, *wydb’γ* ‘preaching, sermon’, r5, *qrm* ‘evil deeds’, r14), will remain open so long as no source-text can be identified. Nevertheless, on balance it now seems to me more likely that the text is a translation like almost all other Christian Sogdian texts. On the one hand, it employs grammatical forms which suggest an over-literal translation from Syriac (see commentary to r11-12); on the other, the author displays less genuine understanding of Manichaeism

¹ See Sundermann 1976, 101 (on the life of John of Dailam); Sundermann 1994, 260-261, and Sims-Williams 1995a (on the life of Serapion).

² See Sims-Williams 1995a, 8 with note i.

³ Sims-Williams 1995b, 291.

than one might expect of a Sogdian author living in the Turfan oasis in close contact with Sogdian-speaking Manichaeans (see commentary to r1-2).

Although I am conscious of its inadequacy, I am pleased to have the opportunity to offer this small gift to Gherardo Gnoli, who has done so much to elucidate the varied religious traditions of the Iranian peoples. At the same time I would like to express my thanks to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing me to publish this intriguing text and to Werner Sundermann, who kindly checked a last-minute reading for me. I am grateful too to a group of colleagues who joined me in an intensive seminar on this text during the last months of 2001: Josef Elfenbein, Gunner Mikkelsen, Satoko Yoshie, and especially Sam Lieu and François de Blois, both of whom contributed many valuable suggestions and searched energetically, though ultimately without success, for a Syriac or other western source.

The text below employs the following conventions: (xyz) = letters partially legible; (xyz) = uncertain traces compatible with the reading proposed; [xyz] = letters wholly restored; ... = (approximate) number of missing or illegible letters. The manuscript is still in need of some cleaning and restoration, especially in the upper left part of the verso, where a few more letters may ultimately become legible.

TEXT

r1 ...].n [..](ty) mnz'ny qt šy(r)^a
r2 ...](• q••)' m't wb' šmnw nwšy cn^b bγ' prw..
r3 (r)ty qw b' tw'(wc)'wqy^c qy pr nwšqy' θ'bry qt šyī'
r4 xcy.. yty qθ(ry š)m(nw nwš)y žyrysqwn 't γnt'qry.. qθry
r5 n' wx'y xypθ w'(x)š.. p' dynd'ry wydb'γ qw nγwšnyt
r6 s'r w'nw bwt qt(šyr)'qty' wnt' m'(t) nwšc žw'n byrθ..
r7 ps' qt šmnw nwšy xcy. sty ms wyny wštn'x pty'p
r8 cn byyšty šyry mydc'nw nwšqy' sty.. rty nwšy 'yey
r9 ny b(y)'p sty ny pcxšy.. p't cn s't 'yey pyrmm xcy yty
r10 cn s'ty γyrtcyq.. nwqr qy q't qwny nwšy pty'ry w'nc'nw
r11 qyr' pr wšt(m')(x)y šmnwy^d nwšqy' wnwny b' pr b(γγ)št(.) (š)n
r12 (p)'šy t'r(y) tmw s'r.. 't cn sq' w'dy qw c'drcyq nywq'wy
r13 s'r.. yty cn pw "xwšyc žw'ny qw dyw'stync m(n)g (s)'r..
r14 't cn pw γw'n γrywy qw qrm yty q'tny s'r.. qt(m)y d
r15 (wby)ty c'nw m'x trs'qt w'bysqwn.. qt syfryn
r16 nwšy byy fr(y)štyty w't(ny)t. yty ms rw'(n)ty.. y(w'r) ny cn
r17 xypθ ny(z)n' syfryn yty pr(y)št'y.. yw'r pr wyny xypθ šyr'qty'
r18 yty z'renwqy'.. ms ny qt(n)t 'yty pr by'p spty bγ'nyq
r19 nwš'qy'y. ny fr(y)štyt ny ms rw'nt.. pt(y)'r (wγ)'t qwnyq'n
r20 qšn prys pr tw' xypθ byyšt..^e yw'r qθry c'nw w'bysqn
r21 qt [b](γ)yšt 't rw'nt "wqnty xnt dn 'yqwnyq (x)šywny
r22 bγ' p(rw)[..]()ps' xy(d) pty'r(y)^f qy pr (byyšt)'(γ)t.. ms s'cy
r23 m't. qt ms pr xyd nwšy xšywny 'ys(y)ty.. qt cn wyny nyzn'
r24 (m)'tnt byyšt.. rty nwšqy' qd'c ny ywxyt ny pty n bwt

r25 (cn) xypθy cw (s)ty wyny.. ny ms ny'z sty wyny pr nyw "dy..
 r26 (q)t pwrny qwny wyny qmpwny. ps' c'nw yxw'ý(n)t byyšt
 v1 •](•yw) t•[••
 v2 ('w)nw(n)'x (myn)'mnty dn (••t)[••](prw)[
 v3 qy m't byy nwšqy'y dn šm(n)wy nwšq(y)'(y) p(r)w.. c('nw)[yty]
 v4 (p)s'(y)w rwxšny dbtyq t'ry.. (y)w γ(rb'q) [dbty]q mntγ(r)b'q.
 v5 (y)w sqyp'r dbtyq c'p'r.. yw(z')[wrqyn dbty](q mn)t(z)'wr..
 v6 rty qy qt' b' qy pt(yr)yθ '(y)[•••••](•• dn)t'ry pr(w)y ty
 v7 wyny t'r'qwny ny (byry)..^s rty cw(•••••••• mn)tγrb'q
 v8 (š)m(n)w qy p'γr (γrb'q)y.. (q)t m(ntγrb')q (m')t c'nw yty
 v9 γ(r)b' xw.. (r)ty q(wts)'(r) s(tt)y c'd(rcy)q y(ty qy) c(n w)'f
 v10 pw 'n(y)'m s(rdyt mt)s'r n'γrb't m't wyny. (x)y(d) r'θy
 v11 n'št wmi't 'wts'r(.. r)ty q' θ'b(r qšy wyny xy)pθ
 v12 z'wr qy yty ptyš byrd't p(r) b'γnyq nwš(qy'. xw)'t
 v13 prywyrty^h nwšy "w nyznyty.. rty qy w'(xz) w(yny prcy.)
 v14 rty qθry n' γwb nwšqy'. p('rw)ty my(d)c'nw w'bym(s)q..
 v15 fcmdb dw' wryθy xcy. rty ms pr wštm('x pr(byyšt ZY)
 v16 my(d)w'bt w'n qt dw' wryθyt xnt.. w'n(c)'(n)w sreyq '••
 v17 qy yty xcy nwšqy' dbqyr'n b'xšy. byw qw šyrqyty
 v18 byw qw γnt'(qry) s'r ∴ 'dbtyq wprs (cn γrb')q(y' py)d'r ∴ⁱ
 v19 ps'š tyw nwqr wyšnty n'trs'qy.. (q)[y] 'nz'nnt
 v20 pr dw'(nw)šyt(.) qt byy γ(r)b'q xcy. qd'(mn)tγrb'q..
 v21 rty qd' byy γrb'q xcy. nwqr s'št m't šmnw
 v22 m(n)tγrb'q (wb')'. p' cw byy (n)bnt sty. wyny šmnwy nb(n)t
 v23 (ny)st.. ms cw šmn(wy s)ty byy nb(n)t nyst.. p' qt sqw't
 v24 ms ywx'q nyst. q(θr)y "ms' wnym.. p' qt γ(r)b'qy'
 v25 byy nbnt xcy.. ps' m(n)tγ(r)b'qy' šm(n)wy nb(n)t (x)cy..
 v26 nwqr s'cy m't wyny byy qt γrbyty pr xypθ γrb'qy'
 v27 .. w w ..

^a Probably to be restored šy" as in line 3, but the paper is torn away above so that there is no longer any trace of suprascript points. ^b Mistake for *dn*. ^c The initial *w*- is partly visible on the photograph of the verso on a flap of paper which has been turned over under the glass. ^d The word begins with a blob which may be the result of a correction. ^e Not *byyšty* (with Sims-Williams 1995b, 290). ^f Sic. ^g Quite uncertain. ^h Though *n* and *y* are not always clearly distinguished in this manuscript (cf. e.g. (*m*)'mt, r24), it is hardly possible to read *prywyrnt* with Sims-Williams 1985, 95. ⁱ⁻ⁱ In red ink.

TRANSLATION

[First question, concerning eternity.]

... you have confessed that [Satan is] good, [if] Satan could have been ... eternally with God! So what has become (of) your witness which you gave concerning eternity, (namely) that it is good, that now you call Satan eternal and (at the same time) evil? Now

(5) do not contradict yourself,⁴ for the preaching of the Electus to the Hearers is thus: do good so that you may obtain eternal life. But if Satan is eternal he also possesses paradise, a share of the bliss of the gods, just as (he) possesses eternity; and there is no attaining, no receiving something eternal, for it is before everything and (also) (10) after every(thing). Now, (anyone) who could perform eternal opposition (such) as would have been performed as a result of Satan's eternal existence⁵ in paradise would have been victorious over the gods (and) would have cast them into dark hell, and from a seat on high to the nethermost depths, and from a life without precedence(?) to devilish jealousy, and from a soul without sin to evil deeds and wickedness. If (15) it should be as we Christians say, that the eternal God created the angels, and souls too, (as) spiritual (beings), nevertheless he did not create and fashion (them) from his own nature but by his grace and mercy; moreover they did not become capable – neither angels nor souls – of completely attaining the eternity of God. You will be able to say (20) that opposition befell your own gods.⁶ But now, since you say that gods and souls are cognate with God the everlasting king, then it would also have been proper that that opponent(?) who came upon the gods should also have come upon that eternal king, if the gods were of his nature. Eternity never parts nor becomes separate (25) from what belongs to itself, nor does it need anyone else to fulfil its deficiency, but when the gods separated . . . (*verso*) . . . , namely, (their?) dwelling with . . . which belonged to God's eternity together with Satan's eternity, while on the other hand one (is) light, the other dark, one wise, [the other] ignorant, (5) one above, the other below, one [powerful, the other] powerless. Who could there be who was mixed . . . with the dark and would not discover its darkness? And how [can] Satan [be] ignorant? – (he) who persuaded(?) the wise (one) that he was ignorant although (in fact) he knew! And whither did that inferior (being) arise to go? – (he) to whom (the path) had been unknown for so many (10) endless years, (so that) he had not arisen thither by that path! And then who gave (away) his own power, which he (had) found . . . through the eternity of God, (so that) he weakened(?) those who are eternally of the same nature? And who went down after him? Now do not praise eternity, for, as we were saying, (15) the world is a mixture of two (principles), and he (= Mani?) says of the gods that even in paradise they are a mixture of the two, in accordance with (his) initial [error(?)], which is the twofold assignment of eternity both to the righteous and to the sinner.

Second question, concerning wisdom.

Now you (should) ask those non-Christians who confess (20) two eternal (beings) whether God is wise or ignorant. If God is wise, then it is appropriate that Satan should be ignorant, for what pertains to God does not pertain to Satan; moreover, what pertains to Satan does not pertain to God, for if it did there would be no distinction (between them). Now let us consider (carefully), for if wisdom (25) pertains to God but ignorance pertains to Satan, then it would have been appropriate for God to know by his wisdom . . .

⁴ Literally 'do not break your word'.

⁵ Literally 'Satan's eternity'.

⁶ Literally 'opposition reached them, (that is, came) upon your own gods'.

COMMENTARY

r1-2: If the last word of r1 is indeed *šyr*‘, this would presumably be nom. sg. f. of the light stem *šyr*- ‘good’. Since a feminine form seems out of place, it may be better to restore **šyr*‘ [širē] as in r3, assuming that the points have been lost where the paper is torn away above *r*. For the use of a double-point (Syriac *syāmē*) over a word to indicate that a final *aleph* stands for [-ē] rather than [-ā] cf. Schwartz 1991, 159-160. Other instances in the present folio are *q̇*‘who?’, v11; (*wḥ*)‘should be’, v22. The form *širē* can hardly represent the nom. sg. m. of the light stem *šyr*-, but is rather an **-aka*-stem (*GMS* § 1210; cf. also Sims-Williams 1996, 313, for Sogd. *šire* [širē] in Brahmi script); in r8 the same *širē* is employed as a noun ‘good (things), blessing, bliss’. The unclear (*q••*)‘ in r2 may be another **-aka*-stem adjective; again, the paper is torn away above this word, so that there is nothing to prevent one from restoring **(q••)*‘.

In this part of the text the Christian writer attempts to lure his opponent into a logical contradiction. However, as Sam Lieu points out, no Manichaean would have fallen into the trap, since the starting point of the argument is a position – that what is eternal is *ipso facto* good – which he would have rejected. Spurious arguments such as this are common in the polemics of Christian authors who had no real contact with Manichaeans. The artificiality of the argument favours the assumption that the present text derives from a Syriac or other western source rather than being the work of a native of the Turfan oasis.

r3: *qw b*‘ ‘what has become of . . .?’, literally ‘where has . . . become?’. Cf. also *ZKh t’yw”kt* . . . *k’w* ‘*krt’nt* ‘what has become of the children?’, *VJ* 1066-1067 (Benveniste 1946, 65); *kwyδ’tn* ‘*krt’y’nt* ‘what has become of them, how they may have fared’, Ancient Letter II, 9-10 (Sims-Williams 2001, 268); and “f. 5”, r10 in the Appendix below.

r5: The use of the term *dynd’r*, which in Christian Sogdian means ‘priest’, in the sense of the Manichaean Sogdian *δynd’r* ‘Electus’ shows that the author or translator was not unfamiliar with the local Manichaean terminology. The use of *wydb’γ* in the sense ‘preaching, sermon’ is also specifically Manichaean, as pointed out by Sundermann 1984, 234. Probably, therefore, the writer’s replacement of the technical term *nγwš’k* ‘Auditor’, a Manichaean Sogdian loanword from Parthian, with the synonymous present participle *nγwšny* is not due to ignorance but is a stylistic choice comparable to that of an English writer on Manichaeism who prefers the native ‘Hearer’ to the foreign ‘Auditor’.

r8: *mydc’nw nwšqy’ sty* ‘just as (he) possesses eternity’, literally ‘just as eternity is (to him)’, the pronoun *wyny* ‘to him’ being understood from the previous line.

r9: *b(y)’p* ‘attaining, attainment’ represents the same verbal noun which is attested as *’βy’p* in the “Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony” (Henning 1948, 307, line 21): *x’n’ rwxšn’ z’y* . . . *kyy* ‘*tyšyy wyw sk’wyyh* ‘*βy’p nyyst* ‘the Light Earth . . . whose height is unattainable’. Cf. also the present infinitive *pr by’p* ‘to attain’ in line 18.

r11-12: *qyr*‘ ‘would have been performed’ . . . *wnwny b*‘ ‘would have been victorious’ . . . (*p*)’*s’y* ‘would have cast’. Since the Sogdian language possesses numerous modal forms which could have expressed the hypothetical nature of the actions envisaged here, the use of the simple imperfect indicative (or of the preterite as in *s’cy m’t* ‘it would have been appropriate’, v26) suggests over-literal translation from Syriac. See Nöldeke 1898 § 259 on the use of the Syriac perfect in hypothetical clauses and Sims-Williams 1985, 54 *ad*

7v24, for further examples of the use of indicative forms in translating such clauses into Sogdian.

Note the rare non-enclitic use of (*š*)*n* at the end of line 11.

r13: *cn pw* 'xwšyc žw'ny qw dyw'stync m(n)g (s)'r 'from a life without precedence(?) to devilish jealousy'. The meaning of *mng* 'rivalry, jealousy' was established in a previous discussion of this passage (Sims-Williams 1992, 285-286 with n. 23 on pp. 287-288), but 'xwšyc remains problematic, since it is difficult to find a single meaning which suits the two passages in which it occurs. The other passage runs as follows: *prw mn* ' '(zwn)t 'xwšyc L' wβ't pr x'n'kh δw' [m'ty] z'tyty wβ't 'there would be no precedence(?) for my children in the house (if) it should belong to the sons of two [mothers]' (L69, lines 18-20, *art. cit.*, 283).

dyw'stync 'devilish' must be a pseudo-historical spelling for **dyw'styc*, perhaps created on the basis of the alternation of the suffixes *-mync* and *-myc* (GMS §§ 334, 1103), where the loss of *-n-* is probably due to dissimilation against the preceding nasal. Another example of the insertion of a pseudo-historical *-n-* is *sry'qync* in an unpublished C3 fragment (T II B 66, v4) for older *sry'qyc* 'chief' (C2, see Sims-Williams 1985, 84 *ad* 40r10).

r14: *qrm* 'evil deeds' < Skt. *karma* is another Eastern Manichaean (originally Buddhist) technical term which is not attested anywhere else in Christian Sogdian. Since it occurs here in a polemical context one may suspect that it has been "quite deliberately taken over from Manichean . . . usage" (Sims-Williams 1983, 136). If the present text is a local Central Asian composition, the occurrence of such a term creates no problem; if it is translated from Syriac, one must attribute the choice of the term *qrm* to the translator, who might have selected it for its Manichaean connotations, for the sake of the alliterative phrase *qrm yty qt'ny* 'evil deeds and wickedness', or merely because he needed a third near synonym to accompany *γw'n* and *qt'ny*. Cf. also "f. 5" (see Appendix below), which appears to deal with the effects of *karma*, although the word *qrm* itself is not attested in the surviving fragment.

r18: On 'γty 'capable' see Sims-Williams 1985, 57 *ad* 13v18. The pointing, which indicates that the initial *aleph* stands for a short vowel, distinguishes *āyat-* (< **am̐yat-*) from forms of the past stem *āyat* 'come'.

r19: The use of *aleph* to write short *ā* in the second syllable of *nwš'qy'y* is also attested in *t'r'qwny*, v7, and *b'xšy*, v17.

r19-20: *pt(y)'r (wγ)t' qwnyq'n qtšn prys pr tw' xypθ bγγšt*, literally 'opposition – you will be able to say that it reached them, (that is, came) upon your own gods'. If *-šn* is not merely redundant, one has to assume an odd change of construction, *prys* being construed first with a direct object *-šn* and then with the prepositional phrase *pr tw' xypθ bγγšt*.

r21: 'wqnty 'cognate' is derived from an unattested **qnt* 'family' (equivalent to the rare Buddhist Sogdian *knt*, which is only attested in hendiadys with *kwtr* 'id.').

r22: *xy(d) pty'r(y) qy pr (bγγšt) t '(γ)t*. One expects the abstract *pty'r* 'opposition, adversity', as in the comparable phrase in lines 19-20. Unless *pty'r(y)* is a mere mistake, it may be an otherwise unattested *-*aka*-derivative with the sense of a *nomen agentis* 'opponent, adversary'.

r24: *ywxyt* 'parts' is clearly intransitive, as are *yxwyt*, P7.83 (Benveniste 1940, 97), and *yxw'y'nt*, Tale K, line 1 (Henning 1945, 485). In view of GMS § 541, it is possible that

these forms attest an intransitive present stem **yuxāy-* < **yixwāy-* contrasting with the transitive *yuxāy* < *yixwāy*. However, since the development of *-āy-* via *-āy-* to *-ē-* is well attested in late Sogdian texts (as in *ywxyt(q)* [yuxētkā] ‘shall separate (tr.)’, C2/48r28, Sims-Williams 1985, 88), and since spellings with *-y-* in Sogdian script are always ambiguous, it is hard to exclude the possibility that all the forms belong to a single present stem (*yixwāy/yuxāy* > *yixwāy/yuxāy*) which was indifferent as to transitivity.⁷

r26: In view of the preceding note, one cannot be sure whether *ywxw’y(n)t* is transitive or intransitive. It is also uncertain whether the initial *y-* stands for *yi-* (pres.) or *yī-* (impf.), though the absence of the metathesis found in *ywxyt* suggests that the latter may be more likely.⁸ At least the pointing with [ā] makes it clear that the ending is *-amd* rather than *-ēmd*, thus ruling out an optative form.

v1: Since the upper margin is torn away there is no way to tell how many lines (if any) are missing between r26 and v1.

v8: *p’yr* is evidently 3 sg. impf. of an otherwise unknown verb **pyr-*, for which the context seems to require a meaning ‘(falsely) persuade, dupe’. Cf. Khotanese *jsīr-* ‘to deceive’, *ttājsēr-* ‘to dispraise’, *pajarūna-* ‘abuse’?

v9: The artificial spelling with double *-tt-* serves to distinguish *stty* ‘arose’ from *sty* ‘is’. This convention presumably originated in Sogdian script (see *GMS* § 864), whence it was taken over into both Christian and Manichaean Sogdian (cf. Sundermann 1988, 178-179, lines 51 and 85, and *GMS* § 864 respectively).

If *y(ty)* is rightly read, it is presumably not the particle and conjunction ‘and; that’ but the past infinitive of *šw-* ‘to go’ (Sims-Williams 1985, 164 *ad* 87v7). The construction *s(tty)y . . . y(ty)* ‘arose to go’ (two verbs of motion, finite form plus infinitive) may perhaps be compared with that of forms of *β’w* ‘approach’ with following infinitive *tγty* ‘to enter’ or *pr’y* ‘to reach’ (for which see Yoshida 1995, 67-70).

v10-11: (*qy*) . . . *n’yrb’t m’t wyny* ‘to whom it had been unknown’. When a past participle (or other **-aka-*stem adjective) is negated with the prefix *n’-* it is usual to drop the **-aka-*suffix; cf. *n’-swβt* ‘unbored’, Tale A, line 55 (Henning 1945, 467) and many other examples cited in *GMS* §§ 1156 and 1158. Hence *n’yrb’t* may be regarded as the expected negative equivalent of *yrb’ty* ‘known’. Similarly, *n’š t* [nā-sāt] *wm’t* should be the negative equivalent of **stty wm’t* ‘had arisen’ (pluperfect, cf. *GMS* § 860), though in this case it is surprising that the participle rather than the auxiliary was negated.

v11-13: The one who ‘gave (away) his own power’ is presumably the First Man and ‘those who are eternally of the same nature (with him)’ the Five Light Elements. In that case, the one who ‘went down after him’ (line 13) should be the Living Spirit. The point of this series of rhetorical questions is not made explicit. I suppose that the writer’s intention is to cast scorn on a myth which he regards as self-evidently preposterous, in particular because all the gods alluded to are essentially identical (‘of the same nature’) with one another.

⁷ The latter solution seems to be favoured by the long *-ā-* of *ywxw’y* [yixwāy] ‘she parted (intr.)’, C2/87r5, but this may be a special case, see Sims-Williams 1985, 163 *ad loc.*

⁸ In C2, too, the impf. stem *ywxw’y* contrasts with a pres. stem *ywx’(y)*, though in view of the small number of forms attested this may be a matter of chance.

ptyš in line 12 seems to be an otherwise unknown word. A connection with Avestan *paitiša-* ‘adversus’ is formally possible (cf. Sims-Williams 1985, 107 *ad* 55v26) but does not provide an obviously suitable meaning. Another problematic form is *prwyryt* in line 13, which (if it is correctly written) can only be 3 sg. impf. opt. middle. On the phrase *xw’t prwyr/prwrt* ‘to weaken(?)’ see *ibid.*, 95 *ad* 48v14.

v14: *my(d)c’nw w’bmys(q)* ‘as we (= you and I) were saying’, referring back to a point mentioned earlier in the discussion. As François de Blois points out, the apparently obvious translation ‘as we (Christians) say’ (cf. *c’nw m’x trs’qt w’bmysqwn*, r15) is unacceptable in view of the fact that the doctrine described is not really a Christian one.

v15: *ZY* has the shape of “yz” (cf. Schwartz 1991, 162-163), in which form it is often used in C3 as an alternative spelling for ‘t or *yty* ‘and’. Here *ZY* appears to be a mere line-filler, a usage which is well attested in Christian Sogdian in general (Sims-Williams 1981, 350 n. 14) although I have not found any other clear examples in the C3 fragments.

v16: The unidentified subject of the verb *w’bt* ‘he says’ is presumably Mani, as may have been made clear earlier in the text.⁹ It is unlikely that the writer was so ill-informed as to suppose that the Manichaeans really believed that the gods in paradise are ‘a mixture of the two (principles)’. From the way in which the point is put, it seems rather that he regards this as a logical consequence of the ‘twofold assignment of eternity both to the righteous and to the sinner’ (lines 17-18). Cf. the point made in r7: ‘if Satan is eternal he also possesses paradise’.

v19: *ps’š* is a highly unusual combination of 2 sg. impv. *ps’* ‘ask’ + enclitic pronoun -š ‘it’, presumably representing the direct object of the verb.

APPENDIX: FRAGMENTS FROM THE NACHLASS OF OLAF HANSEN¹⁰

“f. 4”

Hansen only transcribed parts of r10-14, leaving no information on the contents of r1-9, r15-17 or the verso. The tentative identification of this folio as belonging to the text published above is chiefly based on the repetition of *w’bysqn* ‘you say’, cf. r20 above; also the phrase [*cn jw’f srd mts’[r]*] ‘[since] so many years ago’ is paralleled by *c(n w)’f pw’n(y)m s(rdyt mt)s’r* ‘for so many endless years’ in v9-10 above.

‘(10) ... you say (*w’bysqn*) ... (11) ... [since] so many years ago (*[cn jw’f srd mts’[r]]*) ... (12) ... you say (*w’bysqn*) ... (13) ... becomes as if dead from ... (14) ... you say (*w’bysqn*) that the ...’.

“f. 5”, r1-19

This passage, which is followed after a gap of a few lines by the beginning of a text on omens, possibly contains the conclusion of our anti-Manichaean tract. This is suggested primarily by the reference to the non-Christian doctrine of transmigration in lines 13-15;

⁹ One can hardly compare the elliptical use of the phrase *c’nw frm’yt* ‘as He (= Mani) says’ in Manichaean Sogdian (Henning 1937, 53 *ad* 476).

¹⁰ For the text see Sims-Williams 1995b, 291 and 293; for commentary on f. 5r1-19, *ibid.*, 297-299.

additional pointers are the use of the rare idiom *qw b'* 'what has become of . . .?' in line 10, cf. r3 above, and the first Christian Sogdian attestation of the Indian loanword *pr'ny* 'insect' (= Manichaean *pr'ny*, Buddhist *pr'(')n'k* < Skt. *prāṇaka-*) in line 14, to be added to the list in Sims-Williams 1983, 140.

'... I [say] that when anyone [is] a sinner in this (2) world, then (it is his) body (which) endures all (the punishment, namely,) the verdict and disgrace of all sinners, (3) the scourging with the rod, (and) the confinement of slaves; but when you train the body (4) to walk on the path of excellence, then (your) soul is saved. All this world's (5) labour you endure, and (in the world) beyond you are known (as someone) without reward! (6) Having acquired wealth in the body and having laboured in the body, (7) one distributes gifts to the poor [in the body] and (8) one observes the fasts [with great] labour [in] the body; it would be troublesome, having borne . . . (9) and to cast oneself upon (God's) grace and in the soul . . . (10) it is [said]: "What has become of (*qw b'*) the power of works, which (11) could not raise . . . to heaven and [the neglect] of which (12) could not bring . . . down [to] hell and evil punishment?" . . . (13) is held only (in respect) of the soul. Sometimes [*karma* (?) brings the soul down] to hell, [sometimes] (14) it introduces (it) into the body of insects, and sometimes [into that of] birds . . . (15) the soul like a wheel in water. But this . . . (16) goes with . . . to the soul very separate(?) . . . (17) might be a [fr]iend, and disgrace . . . (18) . . . an enemy's advice . . . (19) . . . little . . .'

REFERENCES

- Benveniste, E., 1940. *Textes sogdiens* (Paris).
 Benveniste, E., 1946. *Vessantara Jātaka* (Paris).
 GMS = I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954).
 Henning, W. B., 1937. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (APAW 1936, 10, Berlin).
 Henning, W. B., 1945. Sogdian tales, *BSOAS* 11, 465-487.
 Henning, W. B., 1948. A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony, *BSOAS* 12, 306-318.
 Nöldeke, T., 1898. *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig).
 Schwartz, M., 1991. A page of a Sogdian Liber Vitae, in R. E. Emmerick, D. Weber (ed.), *Corolla Iranica: papers in honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie* . . . (Frankfurt), 157-166.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1981. The Sogdian sound-system and the origins of the Uyghur script, *JA* 269, 347-360.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1983. Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian, in K. Röhrborn, W. Veenker (ed.), *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien* . . . (Wiesbaden), 132-141.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1985. *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2* (Berliner Turfantexte 12, Berlin).
 Sims-Williams, N., 1992. The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah, *BAI* 4, 1990 [1992], 281-288.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1995a. Christian Sogdian texts from the Nachlass of Olaf Hansen, I: Fragments of the Life of Serapion, *BSOAS* 58, 50-68.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1995b. Christian Sogdian texts from the Nachlass of Olaf Hansen, II: Fragments of polemic and prognostics, *BSOAS* 58, 288-302.
 Sims-Williams, N., 1996. The Sogdian manuscripts in Brāhmī script as evidence for Sogdian phonology, in R. E. Emmerick et al. (ed.), *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang* . . . (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 1, Berlin), 307-315.
 Sims-Williams, N., 2001. The Sogdian Ancient Letter II, in M. G. Schmidt, W. Bisang (ed.), *Philologica et linguistica. Historia, pluralitas, universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001* (Trier), 267-280.

- Sundermann, W., 1976. Ein Bruchstück einer soghdischen Kirchengeschichte aus Zentralasien?, *AAASH* 24, 95-101.
- Sundermann, W., 1984. Die Prosaliteratur der iranischen Manichäer, in W. Skalmowski, A. van Tongerloo (ed.), *Middle Iranian studies* . . . (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 16, Leuven), 227-241.
- Sundermann, W., 1988. Der Schüler fragt den Lehrer. Eine Sammlung biblischer Rätsel in soghdischer Sprache, in *A green leaf, Papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28, Leiden), 173-186.
- Sundermann, W., 1994. Byzanz und Bulayiq, in P. Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European studies. Memorial volume of Otakar Klima* (Praha), 255-264.
- Yoshida, Y., 1995. Sogdian miscellany IV [in Japanese], *Studies on the Inner Asian languages* 10, 67-84.

FRAGMENTS OF THE *RATNAKŪṬA-SŪTRA* (*KĀŚYAPAPARIVARTA*) IN KHOTANESE
(Plates 11-12)

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

A large folio of a Buddhist text containing the name *Ratnakūṭa* (Kha. vii. 1) was published by Bailey in his *Khotanese texts* V (1963). Since then, nobody, including myself, had tried to locate the text in the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, presumably because, in its present form, this is an enormous compendium of texts. It was therefore entirely by chance, one day, as I was waiting for the lift in the Widener Library at Harvard, that my glance fell on a book with the title *A treasury of Mahāyāna sūtras* (ed. Chang, 1983). Taking a closer look, I saw it contained translations from the Chinese version of the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, and, my interest having been kindled, I leafed through it more purposefully. It took no more than a few seconds before I saw the characteristic passage of the *dharma* ship (§ 154 below). Within a couple of hours, I had identified two more fragments from another manuscript, both of which contained references to the ‘500 monks’ who feature prominently in the text.¹ Further search proved fruitless, however; but, when R. E. Emmerick sent me the typescript of the new edition of the Khotanese texts in St. Petersburg, by the same criterion, I was able to identify a rather well-preserved folio in two pieces in that collection.² All in all, we have fragments of four folios, one large and one small of one manuscript with five lines, and large parts of two folios of two manuscripts of four and six lines, respectively. Judging by paleography and orthography, the four- and five-line manuscripts may be slightly older than the six-line one.

I am pleased to present this edition of the fragments identified so far to my friend and colleague Gherardo Gnoli, whose interests range across the entire field of early Iranian, but also in memory of our deeply regretted colleague, Ronald E. Emmerick.

The Khotanese passages are all from the *Kāśyapaparivarta*,³ “the original *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra*” (Chang 1983, xv), of which a Sanskrit manuscript, found near Khotan and sold to N. F. Petrovskij, consul of Kashgar and now in the St. Petersburg Petrovskij collection, was edited by A. von Staël-Holstein (1926, see pp. 204-205) and recently published by Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya’s (2002). A single folio of another manuscript, also from Khotan (the “Khotan folio” below) and reconstructed by J. W. de Jong (1977), supplies much of the text of §§ 132-134 missing in the Petrovskij manuscript. The Chinese version is in the *Taishō* no. 310, pp. 631-633. See also Weller 1933, Pedersen 1980, Oguibénine 1994.⁴

¹ Photographs of the manuscripts in the British Library are published by kind permission of the British Library Board.

² Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya’s (2002, ix) “[t]wo Khotanese Saka fragments of the *KP*”.

³ A citation from the text has also been identified in a Late Khotanese (10th-century) text in a manuscript from Dunhuang (see M. Maggi in this volume).

⁴ Since the space allotted unfortunately did not permit the inclusion of a glossary and a commentary, I have kept comments to a minimum. I am grateful to Klaus Wille for sending me a list of publications of the Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*.

The manuscripts are:

- Kāśy 94.7-21: H 144 NS 83 (Bailey 1963, 52; British Library shelf no. IOL Khot 163/1).
 Kāśy 131.6-134.6: Hard. 077.2 (Bailey 1963, 282, BL shelf no. Or. 12637/72.10).
 Kāśy 141.8-143.2: SI M 10 (Emmerick–Vorob’eva–Desyatovskaya 1995, pl. 166; publ. in Emmerick–Vorob’eva–Desyatovskaya 1995, 176-177).
 Kāśy 154.9-157.5: Kha. vii.1, folio 43 (Bailey 1963, 182; BL shelf no. IOL Khot 36/2).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION⁵

§ 94

...

- 94.7 (r1) brīyostā pāṣkalā u dyānai pāṣkalā. u adyānei pāṣkalā paṣemate kāḍ[āna . . . aruṣa’.]
 ‘For relinquishing the section of desire, the section of that which is visible, and the section of that which is invisible [making no resolves is the medicine]’.
sarva-kāmadhātu-rūpadhātu-ārūpyadhātu-prahāṇāyā-m-apraṇihita cikitsā :
hdod-pahi khamṣ dan | gzugs-kyi khamṣ dan | gzugs med-pahi khamṣ thams-cad-la gnas-pa spañ-bahi phyir smon-pa med-pa dan |
- 94.8 [. . .]
- 94.9 [nai? (r2) a]noṣkājsya hāra oṣkājsya nai [h]ārānu biṣe ṣkaugye anaṣkājsyatetā hvāñām[- . . .]
 ‘[Neither?] (are) non-everlasting things everlasting, nor (are) all the *saṃskāras* of things: [. . . the] stating of non-everlastingness [is the medicine(?)].’
anītye nitya-saṃjñāyāḥ anītyāḥ sarva-saṃskārā iti cikitsā :
mi rtag-pa-la rtag-par hdu-śes-pa-la | hdu-byed thams-cad mi rtag-pa dan |
- 94.10 [. . .] (r3) rraṣṭa dātīgya aruṣa’
 ‘[As for the semblance of bliss in suffering, (stating) that all the *saṃskāras* are suffering(?) (is) the *right medicine according to the Law’.
duḥkhe sukha-saṃjñāyā duḥkhā sarva-saṃskārā iti cikitsā :
sdug-bsñal-ba-la bde-bar hdu-śes-pa-la | hdu-byed thams-cad sdug-bsñal-ba dan |
- 94.11 u a-uysānāṇu hārāṇu hāra vātā uy[sāñe syāmata? . . .]
 ‘And [(as for) the semblance of] self in things belonging to things(?) having no self, [(stating) that all things are self-less is the medicine(?)].’
anātmīye ātmīya-saṃjñāyā anātmāna sarva-dharmā iti cikitsā :
bdag med-pa-la bdag-tu hdu-śes-pa-la | chos thams-cad bdag med-pa dan |

⁵ In the Khotanese text, the following conventions are used: italics = *akṣaras* not clearly visible; [] = part of ms. missing (broken out, torn off); () = editor’s additions; x = trace of *akṣara*; ‘- (‘ai-) = transliteration of the *akṣara* initial *a-* with vowel marks; ā = long *-ā* written with the superscript *-ā*-sign; “ttrā/mu” word divided between two pieces of the ms; “ . ? . ” in the translation means word of unknown meaning. The Sanskrit text follows that of Staël-Holstein with slight normalization; the Tibetan is taken from Staël-Holstein’s edition. I have used a regular *danḍa* “|” instead of the period of the Sanskrit manuscript.

- 94.12 (r4) [u ce asurā] indā ttānu vātā surāttete syāmata. ttānu tsāṣṭā nāṣāmā aruṣa'.
 '[And] (as for) the semblance of purity in those [who] are [impure], for them
 quiet extinction is the medicine'.
 aśubhe śubha-saṃjñāyāḥ sāmṭaṃ nirvāṇam iti cikitsā :
mi sdug-pa-la sdug-par hdu-śes-pa-la | mya-ñan-las hdas-pa zi-bas gso-ba dan |
- § 95
- 95.1 u [. . .] (r5) aruṣa['].
 'And [the four . . . (are)] the medicine [for . . .]'.
 catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni kāya⁶-vedanā-citta-dharma-saṃniśritānām cikitsā :
*lus dan | čhor-ba dan | sems dan chos-la gnas-pa-rnams-la dran-pa ñe-bar gžag-pa
 bži-ste |*
- 95.2 cu ye ttarandaru haṃdāro jsei'ñu vātā āysda taṃde u tta[randar- . . .]
 'If one regards closely the body (and) *intimately and one [does not . . . that(?)]
 the *body [is the self(?)].'
 kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati na ca kāye kāyānupaśyanāyām ātma-dṛṣṭyām patati |
*de-la lus-la lus-kyi rjes-su lta-ba can-du gnas kyañ | lus-kyi rjes-su lta-bas bdag-tu
 lta-bar mi ltuñ-ba dan |*
- 95.3 [. . .] (v1) -a āste. ka ne h[ā]ḍe vī[yanā]nu dy[e]māte jsa uysānye mañāma[t- . . .]
 '[And/If] one dwells in [the consideration of suffering in suffering(?)], but if one
 does not, through the view of sufferings, [fall into] the thinking of the self'.
 vedanāyām vedanānupaśyī viharati na ca vedanānupaśyanāyā ātma-dṛṣṭi-gatena patati |
*čhor-ba-rnams-la čhor-bahi rjes-su lta-ba can-du gnas kyañ | čhor-bahi rjes-su lta-bas
 bdag-tu lta-bar mi ltuñ-ba dan |*
- 95.4 [. . .] (v2) u]ysāno mañāte.
 '[And/If one dwells in the thinking of the mind in the mind and one does not,
 through the view of mind], think of (it as) a self'.
 citte cittānupaśyī viharati na ca cittānupaśyanāyām jīva-dṛṣṭiye patati |
*sems-la sems-kyi rjes-su lta-ba can-du gnas kyañ | sems-kyi rjes-su lta-bas bdag-tu
 lta-bar mi ltuñ-ba dan |*
- 95.5 u hāruṣo' hāra āysda tande. ne hāḍe vā hār[āṇu . . .]
 'And (if one) regards things in things and still (one) does not, [through the view
 of] things, [think of a person]'.
 dharme dharmānupaśyī viharati na ca dharmānupaśyanāyām pudgala-dṛṣṭiye patati |
*chos-la chos-kyi rjes-su lta-ba can-du gnas kyañ | chos-kyi rjes-su lta-bas bdag-tu
 lta-bar mi ltuñ-bas gso-ba dan |*
- 95.6 [. . .] (v3) hā]rāṇu jānāka.
 '[The four true destroyers(?) are] the destroyers of [all evil] things'.
 catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni sarvākuśala-dharma-prahāṇāya cikitsā |
yañ-dag-par spoñ-ba bžis ni mi dge-bahi chos thams-cad spoñ-ba dan |

⁶ The ms. has *kāye* with -e, apparently in anticipation of the next *akṣara*.

- 95.7 biśānu śśārāṇu hārāṇu ha(ṁ)berāmate ggīhā[re?]
 ‘The fulfillments of all good things are of assistance(?)’.
sarva-kuśala-dharma-pāripūryaiḥ saṁvartamte |
dge-bahi chos thams-cad yoṅs-su rjogs-par hgyur-ba dan |
- 95.8 [. . .] (v4) -y- tīndā.
 ‘[Through(?) the four *ṛddhipādas*] (one) makes [abandonment of the grasping for body and mind(?)]’.
catvāro-d-ṛddhi-pādāḥ kāya-citta-piṇḍa-grāhotsargāya⁷ saṁva(rtaṁ)te⁸ cikitsā :
rju-hphrul-gyi rkañ-pa bzis ni lus dan sems-la ril-por hjin-pa hdor-bar hgyur-ba dan |
- 95.9 u paṁjsa pāta’ñā anīratete u dīdetā hāmurgyatetā. bātandetā [. . .]
 ‘And the five powers [are the medicine for] unbelief, sloth, forgetfulness, confusion, [lack of mindfulness, and evil knowledge]’.
pañcendriyāṇi pañca-balāni āśrādvya⁹-kausidya-muṣita-smṛti-citta-vikṣepa-asampra-
janyatā-duṣprajñatā-cikitsā :
dbañ-po lña dan stobs lñas ni ma dad-pa dan | le-lo dan | brjed-ñas-pa dan | rnam-par
gyeñ-ba dan | śes-bzin-med-rnams gso-ba dan |
- 95.10 [. . .]
- 95.11 [. . .] (v5) tī pande. jaḍānu kye kūra pandā pastāta anyattirthyānu aruṣa’.
 ‘[The noble eight]fold path (is) the medicine for the foolish heretics who have set out upon false paths’.
āryāṣṭāṅgo mārga dauṣprajña-sarva-parapravādināṁ ku-mārga-pratipannānāṁ cikitsā :
hphags-pahi lam yan-lag brgyad-pas ni hchal-bahi śes-rab dan | phas-kyi rgol-ba
thams-cad dan | lam ñan-par žugs-pa-rnams gso-ba-ste |
- 95.12 śā kā[śyava . . .]
 ‘This, Kāśyapa, [is said (to be) the real medicine]’.
iyam ucyate Kāśyapa bhūta-cikitsā :
hod-sruñ hdi ni yañ-dag-pahi gso-ba žes byaho ||

§ 131

...

- 131.6 [. . . (r1) nā pahī]śātā ||
 ‘. . . does not] *let go . . .’.

⁷ Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya transliterates the subscript *-r-* with a thickening of the left tip as *-rr-*, but this is just a variant of *-r-*, not the Khotanese-type *-rr-*, which is characterized by curling in toward its own beginning *below* the *akṣara*, not the flourish often seen at the *tip* of a regular *-r-*.

⁸ Not *saṁva(rtaṁ)te* as Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, no doubt by a lapsus.

⁹ *-dv-* is a common “mistake” for *-ddh-* in Nepalese mss., for instance, but I have not come across it before in mss. from Khotan.

evam eva Kāśyapa bahuśruto lpa-prayatnena sarva-kleśān viśodhayati mahāprajñā-
ratna-svabhāvam [e]va na vijahāti 6 | ||
[Not Tib.]

§ 132

132.1 ttrā/mu māñamdu Kāśya[va . . .]

‘Just like that, O Kāśyapa . . .’.

¹⁰tad yathā{pi nāma} Kāśyapa mṛta{ka}sya {śirasi suvarṇa}-mālā | evam eva Kāśyapa
duḥśīlasya kāśāya{dhāraṇam} draṣṭavyam
*hod-sruñ hdi-lta-ste | dper-na mi-rohi mgo-la gser-gyi hphreñ-ba btags-pa de-bžin-du
čhul-khrims hčhal-pa nur-smrig gyon-par bltaho |*

132.2 [. . .]

§ 133

133.1 [. . .] (r2) x va -einda gūne u ā’juva [. . .] (r3) kho śā ttitā -ā x [. . .]

‘ . . . hair and *nails . . . When he then [puts on his head a wreath . . . (?)].’.

tad yathā{pi nāma} Kāśyapa avadāta(-vastra-vāsiṇaḥ susnātasya suvili<pta>sya <su-
vich>inna-keśa-nakhasyāvadāta)¹¹ vastra-prāvṛtasya pravara-candanānuliptyasya śre-
ṣṭhiputrasya {vā rāja-putrasya vā} śirasi caṃpaka-mālā{baddham bhavet}
*hod-sruñ hdi-lta-ste | dper-na čhoñ-dpon-gyi bu-žig legs-par khruś byas-te | legs-par
nam-par byugs-la | skra dañ sen-mo bregs-nas | gos dkar-po bgos-te | čan-dan
mchog-gis bkrus-pahi mgo-la čam-pa-kahi me-tog-gi hpreñ-ba thogs-pa*

133.2-3 [. . .]

133.4 [. . .] (r4) parehaṃdā [. . .]

‘ . . . practicing restraint . . . ’.

{susnātasyānuliptyasya śreṣṭhiputrasya śobhan[am]}
[śirṣe ca]ṇpaka¹²-māleṇa śubha-gandhā manoramāṃ
yathā tatheva kāśāyam saṃvara-sthe bahu-śrute
draṣṭavyam śīla-saṃpanna-j[ina-putre] guṇānvite 2 || }
*legs bkrus legs-par byugs-pa-yi | čhoñ-dpon bu-yi mgo-bo-la |
čam-pa-ka-yi me-tog hphreñ | dri-žim yid-hoñ btags-pa mjes |
de-bžin čhul-khrims ldan gyur-ciñ | mañ-thos čhul-khrims phun-sum čhogs |
rgyal-bahi sras-po yon-tan ldan | de-la nur-smrig de-bžin mjes |*

§ 134

134.1 [. . .]

134.2 [. . .] (r5) -ā parāhā virā. x x [. . .]

‘ . . . in/during restraint . . . ’.

iha Kāśyapa ekatyō bhikṣuḥ prātimokṣa-saṃvara-saṃvṛto viharati | ācāra-gocara-saṃ-
panna aṇu-mātreṣv avadyeṣu bhaya-darśi samād[ā]ya śikṣate śikṣāpadeṣu |

¹⁰Text omitted in the Khotan folio is in { }. Text broken out in both mss. is in < >.

¹¹The passage in parentheses is not in SI P/2 (“jump” omission).

¹²Sic, with ligature *n-p*.

*hod-sruñ hdi-la dge-sloñ kha-cig čul-khrims dan ldan-pa yin-te | so-sor thar-pahi
sdom-pas bsdoms-ciñ gnas | cho-ga dan spyod-yul phun-sum čhogs | kha-na ma tho-ba
phra-rab-rnams-la yañ hjigs-par lta |*

- 134.3 [. . . (v1) hvāñ]ātā se uysānā śā [. . .]

‘ . . . *says (it is) the self, he . . . ’.

pariśuddha-kāya-karma-vāñ-manas-karmaṇā samanvāgato viharati | pariśuddhājīvaḥ sa
ca bha[va]ty ātmavādī ayaṃ Kāśyapa prathamō duḥśīlaḥ śīlavantaḥ-pratirūpako
{ draṣṭavyaḥ || }

*yañ-dag-par blañs-te bslab-pahi gzi-rnams-la slob-ciñ | lus-kyi las dan | ñag-gi las dan |
yid-kyi las yonś-su dag-pa dan ldan-par gnas-pas hčho-ba yonś-su-dag kyañ | de
bdag-tu smra-ba yin-te | hod-sruñ de ni čul-khrims hčhal-pa čul-khrims dan ldan-pa
ltar bcos-pa dan-poho ||*

- 134.4 [. . .] (v2) x u kho sīte ’ai [. . .]

‘ . . . he learns the *vinaya*], and when he has learnt (it) . . . ’.

punar aparaṃ Kāśyapa ihekatyo bhikṣur vinaya-dharo bhavati | pravarta-vinayo
vinaya-guṭṭhiḥ-pratiśṭhitaḥ satkāya-dṛṣṭir asyānucalitā bhavati | ayaṃ Kāśyapa dvitīyo
duḥśīlaḥ śīlavantaḥ-pratirūpakaḥ ||

*hod-sruñ gzan yañ hdi-la dge-sloñ kha-cig hdul-ba hjin-ciñ | hdul-ba-la žugs-te |
hdul-bahi čul-la gnas-pa yin yañ hjig čhogs-la lta-ba-las ma bskyod-pa yin-te |
hod-sruñ de ni čul-khrims hčhal-pa čul-khrims dan ldan-pa ltar bcos-pa gñis-paho ||*

- 134.5 [. . .] (v3) k]āśyava ky[e . . . (v4) p]yūṣṭe puvei’ttā hariysā[tā . . .]

‘ . . . Kāśyapa, he who [dwells in love(?) . . . When] has heard [that all things are
without birth(?), then] he fears, trembles . . . ’.

punar aparaṃ Kāśyapa ihekatyo bhikṣur maitrā-vihāri bhavati satvāraṃbaṇa < . . .
pri>ṇayā samanvāgataḥ sa ca ajāti sarvvadharmāṇāṃ śrutvā¹³ utrasati | samtrasati |
samtrāsam āpadyate | ayaṃ Kāśyapa tṛtīyo duḥśīlaḥ śīlavantaḥ-pratirūpakaḥ ||

*hod-sruñ gzan yañ hdi-la dge-sloñ kha-cig byams-pa-la gnas-pa yin-te | sems-can-la
dmigs-pahi byams-pa dan ldan-pa yin yañ hdu-byed thams-cad-la skye-ba med-pa
thos-nas | skrag-ste kun-tu dñāñ-bar hgyur-žin kun-tu rab-tu dñāñ-bar hgyur-ba de ni
hod-sruñ čul-khrims hčhal-pa čul-khrims dan ldan-pa ltar bcos-pa gsum-paho ||*

- 134.6 [. . . (v5) k?]y[e] buljse biše uspurre nā[te . . .]

‘ . . . *who has received/grasped all virtues complete . . . ’.

punar aparaṃ Kāśyapa ihekatyo bhikṣuḥ dvādaśa-dhātu-guṇa-samā<dā>ya vartate
upalambha-dṛṣṭikaś ca bhavaty ahaṃkāra-sthitaḥ¹⁴ ayaṃ Kāśyapa caturtho duḥśīlaḥ
śīlavanta-pratirūpako { draṣṭa[vyaḥ ||] }

*hod-sruñ gzan yañ hdi-la dge-sloñ kha-cig sbyañ-pahi yon-tan bcu-gñis yañ-dag-par
blañs kyañ | dmigs-par lta-ba yin-te | ñar hjin-pa dan | ña-yir hjin-pa-la gnas-pa de ni
hod-sruñ čul-khrims hčhal-pa čul-khrims dan ldan-pa ltar bcos-pa bži-pa ste ||*

* * *

¹³Khotan folio v3: [sa]manvāgatto bhavati. jātiṃ ca sarvva-saṃskārāṇāṃ śrutvā; cf. Tib. *hdu-byed* = *saṃskāra*.

¹⁴Khotan folio v4: ahaṃkāra-mamaṃkāra[. . .].

§ 141

...

141.8 [. . .] (r1) x vara dyānyau jsa tsāṣṭu suhu ā'mane.

‘[. . . Therefore,] we are sitting in [a forest retreat] with (our) meditations in quiet and bliss’.

yam hi bhagavān dharmam deśayati tām āvā dharmā-deśanām nāva(ta)rāvo nāva-gāhāmahe | n(ā)dhimucyāvahe | utrasāvaḥ samṁtrasāvaḥ samṁtrāsam āpadyāmahe | tāv āvām aranyāyataneṣu sukhaṁ viharisyāmaḥ

kho-bo-cag ni bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis chos bstan-pa gaṇ yin-pahi chos bstan-pa de-la mi hjug-ste | ma rtogs ma mos-śiñ skragste-te | kun-tu dñāis | kun-tu rab-tu dñāis-par gyur-nas kho-bo-cag dgon-pahi gnas-rnams-su bsam-gtan-gyi bde-ba-la reg-par gnas-par byaho |

§ 142

142.1 ttā vā paṁj[sa sa]t[e] ṣamana ttānu nā (r2) [. . . hvatān]dā se tta buhu hayūnyau gyasti gyastānu balysā d[ā]t[i] hvāñāmato ne nātu (r3) [yanāmā . . . ne nā? a]ysmū bājsāte štā u nai *ahva* hāmāta mā pva'ṇā nā hāmātā u hariysā u haṁ -y- (r4) [. . . āra]ñuo' jsamane vara jāninyau suhyau suhu ā'mane

‘And the five hundred monks [. . . said] to them: Thus we, O friends, [can] not grasp the teaching of the Law of the Buddha, Lord of Lords; [our] mind has [not] *fathomed (it), and we have not become . ? . to it. Fear has arisen in us and trembling and . ? . We shall go to the forest retreats. There we shall sit blissfully in the bliss of meditations’.

tāny api paṁca bhikṣu-śatāny etad avocan vayam apy āyuṣmaṁto bhagavato dharmā-deśanā nāvatarāmo nāvagāhāmahe nādhimucyāmahe | utrasāvaḥ samṁtrasāvaḥ samṁtrāsam āpadyāmahe | te vayam aranyāya(ta)neṣu dhyāna-sukha-vihārair viharisyāmaḥ

dge-sloñ lña-brgya-po de-dag-gis hdi skad ces smras-so || che-dañ ldan-pa-dag kho-bo-cag kyañ bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis chos bsad-pa-la mi hjug-ste | ma rtogs ma mos-śiñ skrag-ste kun-tu dñāis | kun-tu rab-tu dñāis-par gyur-to || dehi phyir kho-bo-cag dgon-pahi gnas-rnams-su bsam-gtan-gyi bde-ba-la reg-par gnas-pa-rnams-kyis gnas-par byaho ||

142.2 nārmātā vā ṣamana ttārāṇu (v1) [hvatāndā se hayū]nyau nyāmā ne haḍe sūjātāna pharu hvāñāmā abata-hvāñōñā u khijāma(v2)[te . . .]

‘Then the (two) magically-produced monks [said] to those (others) [. . .]: O friends, let us sit down, but we shall not speak much with one another. Not speaking ill (of others) and (absence of?) quarelling [is the Law for monks(?)]’.

nīrmitakāv avocatā samgāyisyāma vayam āyuṣmaṁto na vivadiṣyāmaḥ avivāda-paramo hi śramaṇa-dharmaḥ

sprul-pa-dag-gis smras-pa | che-dañ ldan-pa-dag dehi phyir bdag-cag yañ-dag-par bgro-bar byaho | rćod-par mi byaho | rćod-pa med-pa lhur len-pa ni dge-sloñ-gi chos-so |

142.3 [cu ju ha]yūnyau hvīnde se paranārvānā. tta kāmā hārā ce biśā hālā nāṣamāte

‘[For what,] O friends, is called “parinirvāṇa”? What kind of thing (is it) that becomes extinguished everywhere?’.¹⁵

yad iha-m-āyusmanta ity ucyate parinirvāṇam iti | katamaḥ sa dharmo yaḥ pari[nirvā]syati

che-dan ldan-pa-dag gaṇ hdi yoṇs-su mya-ñan-las hdas-pa zes bya-ba gaṇ yoṇs-su mya-ñan-las hdah-bar hgyur-bahi chos de gaṇ |

§ 143

143.1 u (v3) [ttiña ttaranda]ro ce uysā[nā] āya o¹⁶ uysnorā o v[ā] jīvātā o pārākā o pugalā o (v4) [. . . kāmīye?] jīmgye jsa nāṣāmā hāmāte

‘And [in this] body, what would be a self or a being or life or a nourisher or a person or [. . .] by [whose] destruction extinction occurs?’.

kaścit punar¹⁷ asmim kāye ātmā vā satvo vā jīvo vā jaṃtur vā pauṣau vā pudgalo vā manuḥ vā mānava vā kartā vā kārako vā vedako vā jānako vā saṃjānako vā utthāpako vā yaḥ parinirvāsyati |¹⁸

lus hdi-la bdag-gam | sems-can-nam | srog-gam | skye-ba-poham | skyes-buham | gaṇ zag-gam | sed-las skyes-sam | sed-buham | gaṇ yoṇs-su mya-ñan-las hdah-bar hgyur | gaṇ zad-pas yoṇs-su mya-ñan-las hdah |

143.2 ttā vā paṃjsa sate śamana tta h[v]a[t]āndā se brītiye [. . .]

‘Then those five hundred monks spoke thus: [The cessation] of desire, [hatred, and folly, O friends, is parinirvāṇa].’.

te āhuḥ rāga-kṣayāya dveṣa-kṣayāya moha-kṣayāya āyusmanta parinirvāṇam iti |
de-dag-gis smras-pa | hdod-chags-zad | že-sdan-zad | gti-mug-pas yoṇs-su mya-ñan-las hdaho ||

* * *

§ 154

...

154.9 [. . .] (r1) x byoje haspijsye jsa bāyāṇa ku hūduvo tcalco makkuvā¹⁹ jsāte ||
‘It should be conducted with application (and) dedication when the *ship goes toward the two shores’.

vipaśyanā-pra[yo]gā | ubhayor antayor asakta-vāhinī |
lḥag-mthon-gis sbyor-ba mthah gñis-la ma-chags-par hjug-pa |

154.10 āysdatargya śūhyāṇa || x x x [. . . (r2) ṣ]-[pa]h[ā]ṣtā

‘The domain should be prepared. [. . . its sound] *free from [. . .].’.

hetu-dharma-yuktā vipula-vistīṇākṣaya-prahāṇā-bhandhā vighuṣṭa-śabdā

¹⁵This is an etymologizing rendering, with *biśā hālā* = *pari-* and *nāṣāmāte* = *nirvāsyati*.

¹⁶Between *o* and *uysnorā* there is a subscript *u* with a caret above: *o^u uysnorā*.

¹⁷Then: *asmim kāye ātmā vā satvo vā jīvo vā jaṃtur vā pauṣau vā pudgalo vā manuḥ vā mānava* [vā] *kartā vā kārako vā vedako vā jānako vā saṃjānako vā utthāpako vā samutthāpako vā yaḥ parinirvāsyati* | *te āhu[h]* na kvacid asti | .

¹⁸Then: *nirmitaḥ prāhu* | [kiṃ] *puna sāksīkṛyā parinirvāsyatiti* | .

¹⁹Apparently not: *makku nā jsāte* ‘the boat does not go’.

*rgyuihi chos dan yañ-dag-par ldan-pa | sgra grags-pa yañs-šin rgya-che-la mi zad cin
čhad med-pa*

- 154.11 u bajāṣṣā māsṭā hāmātā se
'And a great voice is heard.'
daśa[su di]kṣu śabdām ādāyaty
ces phyogs bcur sgras go-bar byed-pa-ste ||²⁰
- 154.12 [hā]lsto tsūta. u nātta ttāña miṣṭa dātīmja nauya [. . .]
"Go thither and sit down in that great *dharma* ship [going to the city of
nirvāṇa]!"
āgacchatāgacchatābhīru(ha)ta mahā-dharma-nāvaṃ nirvāṇa-pura-gāminī |
*čhur-śog | dam-pahi chos-kyi gru chen-po mya-nian-las hda-pahi groñ-khyer-du
hgro-ba |*
- 154.13 [. . .] (r3) nda -ī [x x] x *ne rjā dā -ā -ā -ū x*
kṣema-mārga-gāminī | mahā-[pāri]matīra²¹-satkāya-dṛṣṭim jahanī |
*bde-bar hgro-ba | hjigs med-par hgro-ba | lam-du hgro-ba | hjig-čhogs-la lta-ba
hdor-bar žugs-la chu-rol-gyi hgram-nas |*
- 154.14 ttāro tcalco tsūmaṃca rraysgu || u biśśyau [. . .]
[And (it is)] going quickly to yonder shore, and [it is free from] all(?) [false
views(?)]'.
pārimatīra-gāminī laghu sarva-dṛṣṭi-gata-vigatā |
*pha-rol-gyi hgram-du lta-ba thams-cad sel-ba | gce-ba med-pahi mya-nian-las hda-par
myur-du soñ-śig*
- § 155
- 155.1 [. . . balysū](r4)ñavūy[sai dāt]īmja no maśāña.
[Thus, o noble son, is] the *dharma* ship to be navigated by the *bodhi*-seeker'.
īdṛśī kulaputra dharma-[nau] bodhisatvena samudānayatavya :
*rīgs-kyi bu *byañ-chub-sems-dpas dam-pahi chos-kyi gru chen-po hdi-hdra-ba de
sbyar-bar byaho* ||*²²
- 155.2 anaṃkhāṣṭa kalpa. kūla nayuta satā y[s]ā[re . . . ttuvā]yā[ña? tc]ū[rvo] (r5)
māstvo' vāmvo' paroysanda
'(For) innumerable eons, a hundred thousand billions and trillions (of) eons [. . .
those beings should be] *conveyed across²³ [in that *dharma* ship] who are
drowning in the *four great surges'.
aparimāṇa-kalpa-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasra parikhinna-mānasena | [sa]rvasatvānām a-
rthāya anayā saddharma-nāvā sarvasatvā tārayitavyā : caturbhir oḡhe uhyamānā : īdṛ[śī]
nāvā kulaputra bodhisatvena samudānayatavyā :

²⁰This comes at the end of 154.14.

²¹See Edgerton 1953, 328b; Weller 1965, 56.

²²In the Tibetan text, the section between * * comes in 155.2 after *yoñs-su mi skyo-bar*.

²³Cf. Z 24.239 *śā muho nve bāgyo ttāru tcalco ttuvāya* '(that) he may convey us across to the other shore in lieu of a ship' (slightly different translation in Emmerick 1968, 387).

*sems-can thams-cad-kyi don-gyi phyir bskal-pa bye-ba khrag-khrig brgya-ston dpag-tu med-par yid yon-s-su mi skyo-bar ** dam-pahi chos-kyi gru hdis chu-bo bzis khyer-bahi sems-can thams-cad bsgral-bar byaho ||*

- 155.3 *kāma ttattika samantālo[ka] balys[ūñavū]ysā[nu? . . .]*
 ‘O Samantāloka, which is there [the quick realization of] the *bodhi*-seekers?’.
tatra Samantālokaḥ katamā bodhisatvasya kṣiprābhijñatā |
kun-tu snan-ba de-la hdir byan-chub-sems-dpahi mñon-par śes-pa myur-ba gañ že-na |
- 155.4 *[. . .] (r6) pa -ä sti bihi[y]e [ha]spījsy[e] iyāṃdu aysmū vasūjāñā ||*
 ‘[. . .] should always purify his mind with abundant dedication’
yad uta akṣ[tri]maḥ prayogaḥ sarvasatveṣu | tīvra-cchandikatā āśaya-śuddhyā |
*gañ hdi sems-can thams-cad-la bcos-ma ma yin-pahi sbyor-ba ste | bsam-pa *drag-pas rab-tu hdun-pa dan |*
- 155.5 *x x [. . .]*
utapta-vīryatā sarva-kuśala-mūla-samudānayat[ā]ye
dge-bahi rca-ba thams-cad yañ-dag-par bsgrub-pahi phyir brcon-hgrus hbar-ba dan |
- 155.6 (v1) *u śśiḍye sy[āmat- ā]ysda tcera u avyūṣṭetete avaphanāmata u hajuvatte[te haṃbār- . . .]*
 ‘And *semblance of goodness should be observed and lack of satisfaction with not having heard²⁴ and [. . . the fulfillment of] wisdom’.
kuśala-cchandikatā yoniśa manasikāreṇa śrutātṛptatā | prajñā-pāripūryai : nirmānatā
čhul bžin yid-la byed-pas dge-ba-la hdun-pa dan | śes-rab yon-s-su rjogs-par bya-bahi phyir thos-pas mi ñoms-pa dan |
- 155.7 *[. . .] (v2) ba [x x] aysmū.*
 ‘A mind [. . .]’.
prajñopa[. . .]ya | pravrajyā-nimnatā |
*ye-śes brtan-par bya-bahi phyir ña-rgyal med-pa dan |*²⁵
- 155.8 *u śśamanānu śśahā(nā)nu haṃberāmata || u ārañāñā ā’mata*
 ‘And fulfillment of the virtues of the monks and dwelling in a forest retreat’.
sarva-guṇa-pāripūryai aranya-vāsaḥ
yon-tan thams-cad yon-s-su rjogs-par bya-bahi phyir rab-tu byuñ-ba-la gžol-ba dan |
- 155.9 *[u tta]randā[rā u aysmū . . .]*
 ‘[And the separation of] body [and mind]’.
kāya-citta-vivekatayā |
lus dan sems dben-par dgon-pa-na gnas-pa dan |

§ 156

- 156.1 *[. . .] (v3) x nā x [x x]*

²⁴The Khotanese understood *śrutātṛptatā*.

²⁵The Tibetan has apparently combined 155.6 and 7: *byuñ-ba-la gžol-ba* renders *pravrajyānimnatā* as well as *aranya-vāsaḥ*.

‘...’.

asaṃsargo dur-jana[x]na-vivarjanatayā |
skye-bo mi srun-pa rnam-par spaṅs-pas hdu-hji med-pa dan |

156.2 [u] ttatvatā paramārthā pārāsā.

‘And the reliance upon (what is) really *paramārtha*’.
 dharmārthikatā paramārthārtha-pratisaraṇatayā |
don dam-pa-la rton-pas chos don-du gñer-ba dan |

156.3 u hajvattete kūsāmata iyaṇdu x x [. . .]

‘And the search for wisdom [which] always [being unangered/unshaken(?)]’.
 jñānārtho tyamṭākopanārthatayā²⁶ |
šin-tu mi-hkhrugs-pas ye-śes-kyi don dan |

156.4-5 [. . .]

156.6 [. . .] (v4) *mat-* [x] x kūsāmata rraṣṭāna ācaina

‘The search [for emptiness] through true *devotion’.²⁷
 śūnyatārtho samyakprayogārthatayā |
yañ-dag-par sbyor-bar bya-bas stoñ-pa ñid-kyi don dan |

156.7 *ah*[v]attete kūsāmata iyaṇdu *tsāṣṭā*

‘[. . .] the search for *non-separateness(?)’²⁸ always at peace’.
 vivekārtho atyaṃtopa[śamā]rthatāyeti ||
šin-tu ñe-bar ži-bahi don yin-pas dben-pahi don yin-te |

156.8 ṣā hvinde [. . .]

‘That, [O Samantāloka], is called [the *bodhi*-seeker’s quick realization]’.
 iyaṃ ucyate Samantāloka bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya kṣiprābhijñatā ||
rigs-kyi bu hdi ni hdir byañ-chubs-sems-dpahi mñon-par śes-pa myur-baho |

§ 157

157.1 [. . .] (v5) tta [hvate] s[e]

‘[Then Mahākāśyapa spoke] thus [to the Lord Buddha]:’
 atha khalv āyuṣmān Mahākāśyapo bhagavantam etad avocat
de-nas bcom-ldan-hdas-la che-ldan-pa hod-sruñ chen-pos hdi skad ces gsol-to ||

157.2 duṣkarā gyasta balya atā duṣkarā māḍāna gyasta balya.

‘(It is) very difficult, O Lord Buddha, very difficult, O gracious Lord Buddha!’.

²⁶Ms. tyamṭako°.

²⁷Cf. in a fragment from the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*: *ne puṇa vātā ācai yande* ‘he does not *devote himself to (the accumulation of) merits’ (Kha. 0013c6 a2 in Bailey 1963, 124); and in a fragment from the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* (chap. 3.43) in a context similar to the one here: *[–] aysmūna. caina nā pajjāysāṃde?* ‘with a [. . .] mind, [may they] *receive us with *devotion’, corresponding to Sanskrit *vyavalokayantu mām buddhāḥ samanvāhṛta-cetasā | atayaṃ pratigṛhṇantu* ‘May the buddhas watch over me with a concentrated mind. May they receive (my) transgression’, where the apparent correspondence with *atayaṃ* may be deceptive.

²⁸From *hvata-tāti*- from *hvatā* ‘separate, by oneself’?

āścāryaṃ bhagavan āścāryaṃ sugata :
hdi-ltar *bcom-ldan-hdas no mchar-to || * ²⁹

- 157.3 ſei 'ratnakūlā dātā tterā kīrā jsāte u ttārā x [. . .]
 'This Ratnakūṭa *dharma* goes to as many deeds(?) and so many [noble sons or
 noble daughters . . .] –'
 yāvac ceyaṃ Mahāratnakūṭo sūtrāntarā[j]ñ[-] upakāri-bhūto Mahāyāna-saṃprasthi-
 tānāṃ kulaputrāṇāṃ ca kuladuhitṇāṃ ca |
 dkon-mchog brčegs-pa chen-pohi chos-kyi rnam-graṅs hdi theg-pa chen-po-la yañ-dag-
 par žugs-pahi rigs-kyi buham rigs-kyi bu-mo-rnams-la phan-hdogs-par gyur-pa ni
- 157.4 [cerā] (v6) *māḍāna* gyasta balysa tte bāsīvrāṣṣei o bāsīvrāṣṣeiṇe pharu puña
 hāmāre kye *ttattika* ratnakūlu dātā vātā [śś]au x [. . .]
 'O gracious Lord Buddha, [as] the abundant merits (that) become (accumulated)
 for that noble son or noble daughter, who [expounds] (even only) one [*gāthā*]
 here in the Ratnakūṭa *dharma*'.
 kiyad bhagavan sa kulaputro [vā] kuladuhitā vā puṇyaṃ prasavati | ya ito Ratnakūṭaṃ
 sūtrāntarājñā-d-eka-gāthāṃ apy upadiśet
 bcom-ldan-hdas dkon-mchog-brčegs-pa chen-pohi chos-kyi rnam-graṅs hdi-la čhigs-su
 bcad-pa gcig-čam bstan-na rigs-kyi buham rigs-kyi bu-mo de bsod-nams-kyi phuñ-po
 ji-čam skyed-par hgyur |

REFERENCES

- Bailey, H. W., 1963. *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 5 (Cambridge).
Chang, G. C. C., ed., 1983. *A treasury of Mahāyāna sūtras* (London).
Edgerton, F., 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, vol. 2, *Dictionary* (New Haven).
Emmerick, R. E., 1968. *The book of Zambasta. A Khotanese poem on Buddhism* (London).
Emmerick, R. E., Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, M. I., 1995. *Saka documents text volume III: The St. Petersburg Collections* (Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum, pt. 2, vol. 5, London).
de Jong, J. W., 1977. Sanskrit fragments of the Kāśyapaparivarta, in H. Härtel (ed.), *Beiträge zur Indienforschung. Ernst Waldschmidt zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Berlin), 246-255 (repr. in J. W. de Jong, *Buddhist studies* (Berkeley 1979), 513-521).
Oguibénine, B., 1994. Sur un fragment du Kāśyapaparivarta, *JA* 282, 111-124.
Pedersen, K. P., 1980. Notes on the Ratnakūṭa collection, *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 3, 60-66.
von Staël-Holstein, A., ed., 1926. *The Kāśyapaparivarta. A Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class . . .* (Shanghai).
Taishō = J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe, ed., *The Tripitaka in Chinese* (Tokyo 1924-1935).
Weller, F., 1933. *Index to the Tibetan translation of the Kāśyapaparivarta* (Harvard Sino-Indian series 1, Cambridge, Mass.).
Weller, F., 1965. *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, Heft 2, *Verdeutschung des sanskrit-tibetischen Textes* (ASAW 57.3, Berlin).

²⁹ In the Tibetan text, the section between * * comes at the end of 157.3.

JESUS' RULERSHIP AT THE END OF THE WORLD: A NEW PIECE
OF MANICHAEAN EVIDENCE¹
(Plates 13-14)

Werner Sundermann

The doctrine of an eschatological rulership of Jesus preceding the end of the world is best known to us from the *Revelation* of S. John the Divine:

And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgement was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years (*Rev.* 20.1-6).

The great impact of this doctrine of Christ's millennial rule on western millennial speculations is well known.² Its duration of a thousand years is explained as an outcome of the idea that the world will exist for seven thousand years and that Christ's time equals the seventh day of a week.³ The promise of a period of justice and relief for the pious which interrupts the plagues of the final time is, however, based on Jewish speculations which originated not before the first century AD. It is explained as the result of a combination of two essentially different eschatological expectations: the final liberation and rule of the children of Israel under God's Messiah from the house of David, and, on the other hand, God's final judgement over the whole mankind, the end of this world and the establishment of God's everlasting kingdom on earth. Both doctrines were combined in such a way that the rule of the Messiah was given a certain space of time before the end of the world.⁴

The beneficent rulership of the Messiah is described at length in the *Odes of Solomon*, the *Apocalypse of Henoch*, the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Syriac (Second) Apocalypse of*

¹ I thank Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Christiane Reck for valuable help and advice.

² Cf. e.g. Bietenhard 1956, esp. 144-164.

³ Müller 1995, 335.

⁴ E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *Das Neue Testament deutsch*, 10th ed. (Göttingen, 1971), 104-105; Müller 1995, 334-335.

Baruch,⁵ and of course in many more scriptures and brief traditions of later origin. Of particular interest is the testimony of the *Fourth Book of Esra*: “Mon fils, le Messie, sera révélé en même temps que ceux qui sont avec lui et ceux qui auront survécu se réjouiront durant quatre cent ans. Puis après cela, mon fils, le Messie, mourra avec tous les humains”.⁶

Not only is the Messiah here a mortal human being, his rule is restricted to four hundred years, a figure which scholars have explained on the strength of *Gen.* 15.13 (Israel shall serve the Egyptians for 400 years) together with *Psalms* 90.15 (“Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil”).⁷

The Christians were not the only ones to draw on the Jewish lore of the coming rule of the Messiah. Islam adopted it from a Christian intermediary. The Islamic tradition has it that Jesus will return to earth before God’s final judgement. He will kill the Antichrist *ad-Dağğāl*, force the world to accept Islam, remain on earth for 40 years, and then he will die.⁸

Of Christian origin is also the Manichaean concept of Jesus’ eschatological rule. It forms a substantial part of Mani’s own description of future events in his *Šābuhragān*. This contains Jesus’ judgement over the (righteous) elect and their helpers, the (sinful) elect and the worldly-minded sinners and the blessed state of the world under his rule.⁹

One of Mani’s disciples, perhaps Koustaïos,¹⁰ gave a long rendering of the same eschatological events in his “Sermon on the Great War”.¹¹ Both texts, the Middle Persian and the Coptic one, were carefully compared by N. A. Pedersen,¹² and many similar details were pointed out.

Another description of the Manichaean eschatology is to be found in the Parthian fragments M 35 /R/1/-/V/3/¹³ and M 907 /R/ which bear the header (running from *verso* to *recto*) ’rdhng wy(fr)’s. The *Ārdhang wifrās* is commonly regarded as a commentary on the *Eikōn*, Mani’s “Picture Book”. Henning translated it as ‘The sermon/dis-

⁵ Dupont-Sommer–Philonenko 1987, 987-990 (XVII.21-46); 602-603 (XCIII.10–XCI.17 [sic!]); 1087-1091 (III.652-731); and 1504-1505 (XXIX.1-8), 1511 (XXXIX.1-4).

⁶ Dupont-Sommer–Philonenko 1987, 1420, VII.28-29.

⁷ Müller 1995, 335.

⁸ G. C. Anawati, ʿĪsā, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 4 (Leiden 1978), 84.

⁹ D. N. MacKenzie, Mani’s *Šābuhragān* [I], *BSOAS* 42 (1979), 504-511 = *id.*, *Iranica diversa*, ed. C. G. Cereti, L. Paul, vol. 1 (Roma 1999), MI 87-MI 94.

¹⁰ Pedersen 1993, 87-93.

¹¹ Polotsky 1934, 7-42.

¹² Pedersen 1993.

¹³ A photo of the fragment was published in D. Weber, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934* (London 2000), pl. 6.

course/commentary of/on the *Ārdhang*'.¹⁴ I have tried to show in my as yet unpublished article "Was the *Ārdhang* Mani's picture-book?" that the *Ārdhang wifrās* has nothing to do with Mani's "Picture Book" and that it is rather a commentary on, or an excerpt of, another canonical work of Mani's, possibly his *Pragmateia* rather than his enigmatic "Writing on account of the Parthians"¹⁵ (which may have been the "Book of the Giants"). M 35 contains a detailed description of the beneficent eschatological rule of Jesus, followed after a short interval by the Great Fire which will consume what still exists on earth and destroy its building (during 1468 years). This last part was published by Henning in 1943 as a text containing "quotations and allusions" referring to the "Book of the Giants".¹⁶ The passage on Jesus' rulership at the end of the world, however, is still unpublished. In what follows I shall give this additional text of M 35 with the relevant variants or additions of M 907:

/H1/V/ ◦ '(r)dhng ◦^a

/H1/R/ ◦ wy(fr)'s^b ◦

Commentary on the *Ārdhang*

/R/ 1/ 'zgryft bwyd 'wd w'wryft

2/ 'wsnyd 'w mrdwhm'n ◦ ◦

3/ dswm kw yyšw xdm ◦ 'w hrw

4/ qyc pyd'g bwyd ◦ 'ywndswm

5/ kw dyn'br'n p'dxš'n bwynd ◦ ◦

6/ 'br tnb'r 'zg'm ◦ dw'dyswm

7/ kw 'bydrd ◦ 'by srd'g ('by)

8/ grm(°)g ◦ 'wd' 'by 'wrjwg b(wynd)

9/ hw wsn'd cy^d fryšt'g'n ('w hmg)

[greed]¹⁷ disappears,¹⁸ and belief comes down on mankind.

Tenth, that the wounds of Jesus become visible to everyone.¹⁹ Eleventh

that the religious will become rulers over (the time of) their bodily exit. Twelfth

that they become painless, without cold, without heat, and without lust,

because the angels make the whole world

¹⁴Henning 1952, 209-210.

¹⁵[H. J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig], *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, I, *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte (Stuttgart 1940), 5, l. 25; cf. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The edited Coptic Manichaean texts in translation with commentary* (Leiden 1995), 11.

¹⁶W. B. Henning, *The Book of the Giants*, *BSOAS* 11 (1943), 71-72.

¹⁷On this restoration see my remark following the text.

¹⁸On 'zgryfs- 'to disappear' cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 11 (1946), 723.

¹⁹To construe this as a reference to the passion of the historical Jesus would contradict Mani's docetic view of the historical Jesus. So Jesus here must be what Augustine called the *Jesus patibilis*, a designation of the suffering world soul. In this sense the wounds of Jesus were the "fourteen wounds of the Living Soul" (cf. W. Sundermann, *Die vierzehn Wunden der Lebendigen Seele*, *AoF* 12 (1985), 288-295 = Sundermann 2001, 633-643).

- 10/ šhr ° prw'n hw 'mbr(d)[g^e p](hn^f 'wd)^g in front of him *even,²⁰ (broad (?))²¹ and
- 11/ pw'g krynd ° c(w')g(w)[n "dywn (?)]] clean, like a [path (?)]
- 12/ 'wd 'pdn š'hyg('n °)[prw(n(?))] and a royal palace [before]
- 13/ šhrd'r kd 'syd ° 'wd mšy(h') a ruler, when he comes. And Christ
- 14/ sd 'wd wyst s'r 'štyd ° 'd will stay a hundred and twenty years, together
- 15/ 'rd'wyft hm ° '(w)d sd s'r with²² (the community of the) righteous. And for a hundred years
- 16/ šhr 'c m'nynd(g)['n] tws(yg) the world will remain void of (its)
- 17/ 'štyd ° d'(l)[wg'n^h 5-10] inhabitants. The trees will []
- 18/ '(w)[d](lr)zyndⁱ ° ° (.)[5-7 and tremble []
- [(°°)]
- /V/ 1/ 'bsyst bwyd ° u d'lwg'nyz^j] will be consumed. And there will be no
- 2/ ms ny 'st ° byc wydrynd trees any more. But they will pass away.
- 3/ ° ° ° °

^a In red colour. M 907 [° 'rd]hn(g) °. That both mss. write the word *Ārdhang* with a final *h* in nonfinal position is remarkable. ^b M 907 (w)yfr(s). ^c M 907 u. ^d Written over the line and at the end of wsn'd. ^e The d is doubtful. There seems to be a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter which makes it look like the right end of a b or m. But the horizontal line is, I think, rather a smudge in the paper. ^f Only the h is sure. ^g Uncertain. At the end of the line the last letters are squeezed together. ^h Instead of the restored l, t is also possible. In favour of my restoration is /V/1/ d'lwg'nyz. ⁱ Uncertain. Only the top of an l(?) and the left edge of an r (or d?) are visible. ^j Two dots above the z which is here written for c.

²⁰ 'mbr(d)[g] could belong to Parth. 'mbr- 'remplir' (A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe* (Louvain 1939), p. 75). But in the given context something definitely positive should be expected, as is also evident in M 259b + M 453b /V?/12/ 'mbrd(g)[published in W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon von der Seele* (Turnhout 1997), 56, 74-75 with n. 9, 6, where I translated *(schuld)beglichen'. M 5094 /3/ has 'mbrd[without context. If the meaning suggested here is acceptable, the word can be derived from Av. *par-* 'gleich machen' (Bartholomae 1904, 849-850).

²¹ phn (*pahn*) is a doubtful reading, and the word has not yet been attested in Man. Parth. But *pahn* should be the Parthian outcome of Av. *paθana-* 'breit, weit' (Bartholomae 1904, 843). Likewise MP, NP *pahn* 'broad'.

²² 'With' or 'together with' is expressed by circumpositional *ad . . . ham*. Cf. Parth. hrwyn mrdwhm'n ky 'd hw w'c'rg'n hm šwd gy'n'n 'hynd 'all (those) men who went together with that merchant are the souls' (I. Colditz, *Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen*, *AoF* 14 (1987), 300-301, text M 44 /R/1-3/, more examples *ibid.* /6-7/, /V/6/). This seems to be the Parthian construction corresponding to MP *abāg . . . hammis* and *az . . . hammis* '(together) with' (W. B. Henning, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1935, 15-16). The corresponding Parthian form *hmyr* (*hammīr*), however, does not seem to be constructed with *ad*. On both words cf. A. Pagliaro, Notes on Pahlavi lexicography, in *Prof. Jackson memorial volume* (Bombay 1954), 125-133.

The text of the *Ārdhang wifrās* has no equivalent in the still existing parts of the *Šābuhragān*, but it has a close parallel in the Coptic Homily on the Great War. It is to be found on p. 39 of Polotsky's edition.²³ His translation reads as follows:

Die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) wird sich von ihnen entfernen und auch die anderen Arten Versuchungen. Wenn sie wollen, werden sie sich ihres Körpers entkleiden und vor ihm den Sieg empfangen; [und sie werden] den Weg geebnet [finden] von ihm an bis hinauf zum Reich des Lebens. – Er wird also eine geraume Zeit inmitten seiner [Auserwählten?] herrschen, alsdann wird er sich zu seinen Göttern und seinen Engeln erheben. Seine . . . wird sich ihm anschließen.

Matching parts are:

Parth. /R/1/ “] disappears”: Copt. p. 39, ll. 14-15 “Die Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) wird sich von ihnen entfernen und auch die anderen Arten Versuchungen”. This allows a restoration of the Parth. text as “[greed] disappears”, or something similar to that effect.

Parth. /R/4-6/ “Eleventh, that the religious will become rulers over (the time of) their bodily exit”: Copt. p. 39, ll. 15-16 “Wenn sie wollen, werden sie sich ihres Körpers entkleiden und vor ihm den Sieg empfangen”.

Parth. /R/6-13/ “Twelfth, that they become painless, without cold, without heat, and without lust, because the angels make the whole world in front of him *even, (broad(?) and) clean, like a [path (?)] and a royal palace [before] a ruler, when he comes”. This seems to be essentially confirmed by the Coptic text p. 39, ll. 16-18: “[und sie werden] den Weg geebnet [finden] von ihm an bis hinauf zum Reich des Lebens”.

In its final part, however, the Parthian text not only agrees with the Coptic Homily, but it is even more precise: Copt. p. 39, l. 18 “Er wird also eine geraume Zeit inmitten seiner [Auserwählten?] herrschen”: Parth. /R/13-15/ “And Christ will stay a hundred and twenty years, together with (the community of the) righteous”. The Parthian text then adds another date, not to be found in the Coptic text either, namely that after Jesus' rule the world will remain void for a hundred years (/R/15-17/). The lacuna in the Coptic text can be filled in on the strength of the Parthian parallel as “alsdann wird er sich zu seinen Göttern und seinen Engeln erheben. Seine [Erwähltschaft] wird sich ihm anschließen”.

The most interesting information offered by the Parthian text are certainly the precise dates of Christ's rule and of the time between his rule and the final combustion of the world. It is not the millennium of the *Revelation*. Since the author of the *Ārdhang wifrās* is clearly independent of the Christian tradition, it would make sense to look for a model in the Jewish or Jewish-Christian tradition. But the result is almost completely negative. It is true that from the end of the first century AD on the Rabbinic tradition distinguished between the final rule of the Messiah and the following, ultimate realm of God,²⁴ and that the time of the rule of the Messiah was given in many different figures from 40 years to

²³ Polotsky 1934, 39, ll. 14-24.

²⁴ Billerbeck 1961, 823-824; Volz 1966, 77.

7000 and even 365000 years,²⁵ but, strangely enough, the figure 120 is not among them (nor 100 either).

So far I have found only one other attestation of the figure 120. It belongs to the Samaritan tradition of the eschatological prophet Tāʿēb who will redeem his people, reestablish the pious cult and initiate a time of blessing and prosperity. Just like Moses (*Deut.* 34.7), he will die at the age of 120 years. After his death chaos will break out and God's ultimate judgement will come.²⁶

May we assume then that the Manichaean tradition goes back to an older Samaritan pattern? That is not very likely from the historical point of view. On the other hand, since virtually all Rabbinic calculations of the duration of the messianic rule are based on interpretations of Biblical statements (40 years is the time of the exodus of the children of Israel, 400 years correspond to the time of servitude of the Jews in Egypt, etc.), Biblical grounds for the figure of 120 years should also be expected. But it is unlikely that the Manichees modelled the duration of Christ's rule on the life of Moses whom they did not acknowledge as one of Mani's forerunners. I suggest as a possible and in fact more plausible alternative that Mani had in mind *Gen.* 6.3 when he determined the length of Christ's rule as 120 years. *Gen.* 6.3 says that God gave mankind a last reprieve of 120 years before the flood: "And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he is also flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years". Is it not possible that in Mani's view Christ's rule between the vicissitudes of the Great War and the ultimate combustion of the world was a last time of grace, just as God's forbearance of mankind before the flood was?

What can certainly be ruled out is an explanation of the figure of 120 as being inspired by the Iranian millennial speculations, as being e.g. one hundredth of the time of this world of 12000 years. The Iranian millennial scheme, it seems, was adopted and adapted to their own ends by the Manichees in the East long after Mani who had expected the imminent end of the world.²⁷ It is attested in Abū Saʿīd's (ninth century) calculation of the end of the world in the twelfth century.²⁸ It is presupposed in the Manichaean *Compendium* (eighth century), which says that the present millennium is ruled by *pisces*,²⁹ i.e. the twelfth and last constellation of the zodiac. Had Mani himself adopted the Zoroastrian religious chronology, he would have dated the events of his life *anno Zoroastris*. Bīrūnī, however, speaks of the "Era of the Babylonian astronomers", i.e. the *Aera Alexandri*,³⁰ and a date in the *Aera Alexandri* can be restored in a Manichaean Parthian homiletic text.³¹ I think I can

²⁵ Billerbeck 1961, 824-827; Volz 1966, 226-227.

²⁶ Volz 1966, 200.

²⁷ It is of course a different question whether the Jewish and the Christian millennial speculations were ultimately influenced by Iranian ideas. Cf. Bietenhard 1955, 48-51.

²⁸ Henning 1952, 201-202.

²⁹ Henning 1952, 190, 196-197.

³⁰ Cf. W. Sundermann, Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer I, *AoF* 13 (1986), 63-64 = *Idem* 2001, 240-241.

³¹ W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berlin 1981), 19.

do no better than submit the problem to the judgement of Gherardo Gnoli whose expert knowledge in matters of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and ancient chronology do not need emphasizing.

REPEATEDLY QUOTED LITERATURE

- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).
- Bietenhard, H., 1956. *Das tausendjährige Reich* (Zürich).
- Billerbeck, P., 1961. Die Briefe des Neuen Testaments und die Offenbarung Johannis, erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch, in H. L. Strack, P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 3rd ed. (München).
- Dupont-Sommer, A., Philonenko, M., 1987. *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris).
- Henning 1952 = Henning in G. Haloun, W. B. Henning, The Compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light, *Asia Major*, n.s., 3, 184-212.
- Müller, U. B., 1995. Die Offenbarung des Johannes, in E. Gräßer (ed.), *Ökumenischer Taschenkommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 2nd ed., vol. 19 (Gütersloh).
- Pedersen, N. A., 1993. *Studies in the Sermon on the Great War* (Aarhus).
- Polotsky, H. J., 1934. *Manichäische Homilien* (Stuttgart).
- Sundermann, W., 2001. *Manichaica Iranica*, ed. Ch. Reck et al. (Roma), 2 vols.
- Volz, P., 1966. *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Hildesheim).

LE COCHER DE MITHRA

Philippe Swennen

La force de l'habitude vaut parfois aux études avestiques l'installation de traductions ou de commentaires apparemment fondés et pourtant inexacts. Malheureusement, ces approximations engendrent trop souvent la minimisation des richesses de l'Avesta, indispensable pendant iranien du Rig-Véda pour tout qui tente de saisir le contenu ancestral de la culture *ārya*. À titre d'exemple, prenons la strophe *Yt* 10.136:

*Miθrām . . . yazamaide . . . yahmāi aurušā auruuanta yūxta vāša *θaṇjaiiānte *aēuuō.caxra zaranaēna asānasca višpō.bāma yezi šē zaoθrā baraiti auui šē maēθanəm.*

Voici la traduction de ce passage proposée par le regretté Ilya Gershevitch:

. . . Mithra we worship . . . , for whom white coursers, yoked to his one-wheeled, golden chariot which is all-glittering with (precious) stones, pull (it), when he takes his libations to his abode (1959, 141 sq.).

Elle s'inscrit dans une tradition constante, voyant notamment en Mithra le sujet de *baraiti*:

Nous sacrifions à Mithra . . . pour qui l'on attelle deux chevaux blancs à son char, à la roue d'or, aux moyeux resplendissants, quand il emporte à sa demeure les libations du fidèle (Darmesteter 1892, II 477).

Miθra (verehren wir . . .), dem die weißen Renner mittelst des einen goldnen Rades am geschirrten Wagen ziehen und die allglänzenden Schleudersteine (fahren), wenn er sich die Zaoθra's zu seiner Wohnung bringt (Wolff 1910, 220).

Den Mithra (verehren wir . . .), dem weiße Rosse den angeschirrten Wagen mit dem einen goldenen Rad ziehen, und ganz leuchtende Schleudersteine (?), wenn er sich die Opfergüsse in sein Haus bringt (Lommel 1927, 83).

Il va de soi que l'antécédent de *yahmāi* est *miθrām*, mais cela ne signifie pas que ce dernier soit automatiquement le sujet réel de *baraiti*, comme nous verrons plus loin. Nous savons désormais que *aurušā auruuanta*, nominatif masculin duel, doit être compris 'deux paires de chevaux blancs' (Hoffmann 1975, 224 n. 1). Conformément à *Yt* 10.125, l'attelage consiste donc bien en un quadriges. En outre et surtout, le pluriel de la forme verbale est justifié: la syntaxe est harmonieuse.

D'après Kellens, "la construction de *θaṇj* avec un instr. est éclairée par le *RS V* 31,9 *rāthenā vām ātyā . . . vahantu*" (1984, 279 n. 3). Cette affirmation est incertaine. *VAH: VAZ* 'tirer une charrette' est sémantiquement très différent de *ΘAṆJ* 'conduire un attelage': à l'actif, les chevaux sont sujet du premier, mais certainement pas du deuxième. C'est ce qu'illustre la forme passive du passage étudié. Je me demande si l'instrumental *vāša* n'est pas construit avec *yūxta*. La tournure active avec instrumental *des chevaux* et accusatif *du char* est connue (*Y* 46.11, voir Kellens-Pirart 1990, 293 sq.). Retournée au passif, elle provoquerait logiquement une inversion du point de vue qui expliquerait le passage du nom du char à l'instrumental de l'objet joignant les chevaux au cocher.

Il y a deux façons de comprendre l'ensemble *aēuua caxra zaranaēna asānasca vīspō.bāma*. La première, maintenant *aēuua* tel quel, consiste à supposer l'ellipse d'une forme verbale construite avec l'instrumental *caxra*, dont *aēuua* serait l'adjectif: 'les chevaux attelés au char (roulant) grâce à une seule roue'. La deuxième verrait dans cet ensemble une suite d'épithètes de *vāša*. Celle-ci commencerait par le bahuvrihi *aēuua.caxra*, comme le suggère Gershevitch (1959, 282), ou mieux encore **aēuuō.caxra*, car il est parfaitement clair que la compréhension correcte de la syntaxe de ce passage avait été perdue par les copistes, sans doute à haute époque. Les diascévastes n'ont probablement jamais détecté l'existence de ce composé, *aēuua.caxra* étant donc susceptible de représenter l'orthographe de l'archétype sassanide. Beaucoup plus économique, la solution préconisée par Gershevitch s'impose comme la meilleure, d'autant qu'elle est encouragée par le comparatisme indo-iranien, puisque le composé équivalent est attesté en *RS* 1.164.2: *saptā yuñjanti rātham ēkacakram* 'les sept attendent le char à roue unique'. La séquence **aēuuō.caxra zaranaēna asānasca vīspō.bāma* illustre le modèle de coordination ABC ca, où *asānas* ne peut être que l'accusatif de relation de *vīspō.bāma*.

Concernant le verbe, il est vain de suivre Geldner, qui préfère H3 (*θanjasānte*) à F1 (*θanjaiisānte*) ou J10 (*θanjiiānti*): Humbach a identifié la forme correcte, **θanjaiiānte* (1956, 68 sq.), attestée en *Yt* 19.44: *tē mē vāšəm θanjaiiānte spəntasca maniiuš ahrasca yezi mām nōit janāt naire.manā kərəsāspō* 'le bon et le mauvais esprit tireront tous deux mon char, si ne me tue pas Kərəsāspa aux pensées humaines'. Pirart considère qu'il est nécessaire de tout harmoniser au duel: **tā mē vāšəm θanjaiiāite** (1992, 61 sq.). Ce n'est pas si sûr. La construction attestée par *Yt* 10.136 ou celle de *Yt* 5.13, *caθβārō vaštāra . . . tauruuaiianta . . . tbaēšā . . .* 'quatre chevaux d'attelage surmontant les hostilités' (oubliée par Tremblay 1997, d'où une hypothèse dialectologique très peu plausible p. 161), suffisaient amplement à entretenir une confusion devenue fait de langue. Il convient de ne pas confondre l'avestique récent avec l'indo-iranien restitué.

Nous entrons dans le vif du sujet avec la syntaxe de *ΘANJ*, qui étonne Kellens: "curieusement, ce verbe est actif quand il définit l'action du cocher, moyen quand c'est celle de la bête de trait" (1984, 28). Il est en effet évident que les formes actives ont pour sujet le cocher de l'attelage.

Yt 5.50 . . . *auuat āiiaptəm dazdi mē . . . anāhite yaθa azəm upəməm xšaθrəm bauuāni vīspanəm daxiiunəm . . . yač vīspanəm yuxtanəm azəm fratəməm θanjaiieni . . .* 'O Anahitā, accorde-moi pour butin que je devienne le pouvoir le plus haut sur toutes les nations lorsque je conduirai (le char) en tête de tous les attelages'.

Yt 17.2 (*ašim yazamaide*) *duydarəm ahurahe mazdā x'arharəm aməšanəm spəntanəm yā vīspanəm saošiiantəm fraša xraθβa fraθanjaiieiti . . .* '(Nous honorons Aši), fille d'Ahura Mazdā, sœur des Immortels bénéfiques, qui pousse (son char) en avant grâce au puissant pouvoir mental de tous les Saošyant'.

En revanche, les formes moyennes doivent être revêtues d'un sens passif. Si les bêtes de trait sont bien le sujet, il est sous-entendu que leur action est menée par un cocher dont le nom est l'objet d'une ellipse.

Yt 17.12 . . . aspaṇhō baiiente āsauuō rauuō.fraoθamanō raom vāšəm vāšaiiante mrātəm carəma θanjaiiente taxməm staotārəm vazənti āsu.aspəm . . . ‘Les chevaux rapides, ronflant dans l’espace, s’effraient, tirent le char . . . , sont conduits au cuir tressé, transportent le laudateur ferme aux chevaux rapides’.

Cet extrait illustre le rapport inverse évoqué plus haut: là où *ΘΑΝJ* est passif, *VAZ* est actif. Le syntagme à l’accusatif adverbial *mrātəm carəma* ‘au cuir tressé’ suggère fortement l’ellipse du nom du cocher à l’instrumental. Ce n’est en effet pas à leur propre avantage que les chevaux se font fouetter, aussi le verbe est-il à sens passif plutôt que moyen. Ce constat nous oblige à revenir sur *Yt 19.44*. Si *θanjaiiānte* y a la valeur passive qui s’impose quand les bêtes de trait sont le sujet, on ne comprend plus l’accusatif *vāšəm*: comme en *Yt 10.136*, c’est l’instrumental qui est attendu. La complexité de la tournure *miθrəm . . . ahmāi . . . auruuanta . . . θanjaiiānte . . .* s’explique donc par le fait que Mithra n’est pas le cocher du char. De la même façon, il n’est pas le sujet de *baraiti*.

Gershevitch a bien vu que *Yt 10.136* répond à la strophe 32 (1959, 143): *surunuiiā nō miθra yasnahe xšnuiiā nō miθra yasnahe upa.nō yasnəm āhiša paiti.nō zaoθrā vīsaṇjuha paiti.hiš yaštā vīsaṇjuha ḥam hiš cimāne baraijuha nī.hiš dasva garōnmāne* ‘O Mithra, entends notre sacrifice. O Mithra, agréé notre sacrifice. Assieds-toi à notre sacrifice. Approche de nos libations. Approche de nos (victimes) sacrifiées. Rassemble-les pour les consacrer. Dépose-les à l’endroit du chant de bienvenue’.

À une telle distance l’une de l’autre, les strophes 32 et 136 correspondent vraisemblablement à deux séquences différentes d’une cérémonie sacrificielle que l’hymne accompagnait initialement. En 32, on commence par inviter le dieu à la cérémonie, tandis qu’en 136 on finit par décrire son départ vers le paradis, chargé des cadeaux qu’il a acceptés pour faire comprendre aux laudateurs qu’il leur accordera sa protection. Les modalités de ce transport ne se déroulent toutefois pas comme le pensaient Gershevitch et ses devanciers. Le syntagme *zaoθrā + BAR* est fréquemment attesté (Bartholomae 1904, 1654 sq.) mais n’a jamais de divinité pour sujet. Porter les libations est une activité exclusivement humaine. C’est ce que confirme le composé *zaoθrō.barāi*, datif désignant toujours le laudateur bénéficiant d’une faveur d’Anahitā (*Yt 5.19* et 132) ou de Vāyu (*Yt 15.1*). Le sujet par excellence de ce syntagme est le *zaotar*, ce qui est le cas en *Yt 17.61*:

ana θβā yasna yazāne ana yasna frāiiazāne yasə.θβā yazata vištāspō pašne āpō dāitiiaiiā bərəzəm barāi zaota vācim hištāmnō pasca barəsmā . . . ‘Je t’y offrirai le sacrifice. Je t’y offrirai solennellement le sacrifice que Vištāspa t’offrit en vue de la rivière Dāityā. Le prêtre libateur portera (les libations) à haute voix, se tenant alors bien droit sur la jonchée’.

C’est également le cas en *Yt 10.137* et 138, ce qui a inexplicablement échappé à la vigilance collective de l’érudition occidentale. Ces deux strophes difficiles expliquent que le sacrifiant bénéficiant des services d’un bon prêtre respectueux de l’ordre cosmique (*zaota ašauua*) qui sacrifie en prononçant la parole de l’ami (*miθrahe vaca yazāite*) obtient que le dieu lui-même vient vers la maison de ce sacrifiant (*miθrō maēθanəm ācaraiti*). Bien entendu, le prêtre impie (*zaota anašauua*) est bien incapable d’en faire autant. En *Yt 10.137-138* comme en *Yt 17.61*, on note l’importance accordée à la parole dans la fonction exercée par le *zaotar*. Ces passages, insistant plus sur la récitation que sur la libation, nous

montrent le prêtre agissant dans sa plus ancienne fonction indo-iranienne, parallèle à celle du *hotar* rig-védique. Ils nous ont par ailleurs rendus aptes à traduire enfin *Yt* 10.136:

Nous sacrifions à Mithra, pour qui deux paires de blancs chevaux, attelés au char à roue unique, doré et pourvu de toutes lueurs quant à ses pierres, seront conduits si (le prêtre lui) porte ses libations jusqu'à sa demeure.

On ne peut énoncer plus explicitement les termes de ces rites d'hospitalité réciproque que sont les sacrifices indo-iraniens, où les prêtres sont chargés d'établir le contact. Par le pouvoir de ses actes et de sa parole, le prêtre porte au dieu les offrandes qui lui sont destinées. Satisfait, ce dernier se rend alors sur l'aire sacrificielle pour accorder au sacrifiant l'objet de ses désirs: richesse, prospérité, descendance, pouvoir. C'est une métaphore du mécanisme sacrificiel parmi d'autres: elle a le mérite de rendre compte avec finesse de la manière dont les prêtres se représentaient leur mission. Il s'agissait pour eux de mener mentalement le convoi assurant le contact entre aire sacrificielle et monde divin. C'est ce que suppose *Yt* 10.136-138: là où le mauvais prêtre échoue, le bon réussit à faire venir Mithra à la demeure du sacrifiant. Pour ce faire, il apporte d'abord au dieu ses libations, puis le ramène en char. L'ellipse du nom de l'agent du verbe passif *θanjaiiānte* va en ce sens: elle sous-entend que le prêtre est en réalité le cocher de l'attelage de Mithra, au-delà d'une image poétique comparant le char au ciel auroral d'une offrande matinale. La louange célèbre autant le lever du soleil qu'elle suscite la descente du char divin guidé par le dieu. Cette intervention sacerdotale justifie d'ailleurs le subjonctif, dont la valeur restait énigmatique pour Kellens (1984, 225 n. 2). C'est parce que le sujet de *baraiti* est un prêtre dont le succès est incertain que *θanjaiiānte* revêt une valeur d'éventualité.

L'image du prêtre guidant le convoi sacré n'a rien d'original. Elle constitue notamment un véritable leitmotiv du Rig-Véda, où l'efficacité du sacrifice est couramment comparée à la victoire dans une course de chars. L'aspect contraignant de cette représentation est cependant sous-estimé, notamment dans le cas du roi. Le souverain, qui se déplace comme les dieux, doit impérativement être accompagné d'un cocher guidant l'attelage. Du coup, les dieux se trouvent dans la même obligation, la cause ne pouvant être distinguée de la conséquence. C'est pourquoi la lecture habituelle de *Yt* 10.136 était si critiquable: elle commençait par se montrer insensible à des passages parallèles évidents pour accoucher d'une interprétation pratiquement hérétique. Pour un mazdéen, il était inimaginable qu'un dieu, Mithra qui plus est, se déplaçât sans cocher.

Cette représentation, connue en Inde et en Iran, est vraisemblablement héritée de la période la plus archaïque. Les rouages de sa logique interne s'avèrent difficiles à décrire. Du côté iranien, l'illustration de ces opinions se trouve surtout dans les textes grecs documentant les habitudes des rois achéménides. L'assimilation du char du roi à celui d'un dieu est évidente dans la description de la grande procession de Cyrus par Xénophon (*Cyropédie* 8.3-4). L'intention de Cyrus était d'impressionner et d'enthousiasmer le peuple par une parade au cours de laquelle les nobles et lui apparaîtraient en grand appareil et se rendraient à l'aire sacrificielle.

Il convoqua d'abord, avant le défilé, ceux des Perses et ceux aussi des alliés qui détenaient une haute fonction, et leur distribua des robes médiques – c'est alors pour la première fois que

l'on vit des Perses revêtir la robe médique-. Au cours de la distribution, il leur annonçait sa volonté de gagner à cheval les enclos consacrés réservés aux dieux et de sacrifier avec eux. Trouvez-vous à la cour, parés de ces robes-là, avant le lever du soleil, et disposez-vous selon les directives que le Perse Phéraulais vous donnera de ma part (Delebecque 1978, 108).

Avant le point du jour, la route que le roi devait emprunter était garnie de lanciers dont le rôle était de contenir, au besoin par la force, l'enthousiasme de la foule. Chacun attendait patiemment l'apparition du roi. On ouvrait les portes de la ville (nous sommes à Persépolis). La procession démarrait: elle représentait le passage en char de plusieurs dieux. Le dernier attelage était celui de Cyrus.

Lorsque fut ouverte en grand la porte du Palais royal, en tête, sur quatre rangs, étaient menés des taureaux d'une parfaite beauté, destinés à Zeus et à ceux des autres dieux que prescrivaient les mages – car les Perses pensent que dans tout ce qui touche aux dieux il faut, bien plus qu'ailleurs, recourir aux experts-. Derrière ces bêtes étaient menés des chevaux, en offrande au Soleil; derrière eux débouchait, attelé de chevaux blancs sous un joug d'or, un char couronné, consacré à Zeus; derrière lui, un char du Soleil avec un attelage blanc, également couronné, comme le précédent; derrière lui débouchait à son tour un troisième char, les chevaux enveloppés d'un caparaçon de pourpre, et par derrière suivaient des hommes portant du feu sur un grand autel. Après eux, alors, sortant de la porte, en char, Cyrus attirait les regards; il portait la tiare droite et une tunique de pourpre avec des reflets blancs – sauf lui personne n'a le droit d'avoir des reflets blancs – le pantalon bouffant teint d'écarlate autour des jambes, et un surtout entièrement pourpre. Il avait aussi un diadème autour de la tiare; les personnes de sang avaient le même emblème, et l'ont toujours aujourd'hui. Il avait les mains hors des manches. Sur le char, à son côté, se trouvait un cocher de grande taille, moins grand que lui cependant, soit de nature, soit en vertu de quelque artifice; en tout cas Cyrus apparut beaucoup plus grand (Delebecque 1978, 111 sq.).

Ce texte est remarquable par la précision des détails, qui permettent à la fois de comprendre l'intention des cérémonies et d'en percevoir le caractère hérité. Un premier ensemble de troupeaux et de chars passe: ce sont les bêtes consacrées et les attelages des dieux invités. Ce dernier détail n'a pas d'équivalent védique, du moins à ma connaissance. Il est possible que cette différence repose sur les spécificités des organisations sociales. On opposera en particulier le centralisme achéménide au nomadisme qui continue à marquer chaque rituel védique (Heesterman 1993, 111-141 surtout), et dont se souvient encore la royauté perse (Briant 1996, 199 sqq.). En Perse, les dieux sont avec le roi: ils sortent de Persépolis avec lui. En Inde, les dieux continuent à vivre au ciel. S'ils se déplacent, c'est pour se rendre sur l'aire sacrificielle.

Le cortège des dieux est conclu par le passage du feu sacré. Cyrus le suit immédiatement: c'est exactement la configuration des processions védiques, en particulier celle de l'*agnyādheya*. Il est revêtu des atours soulignant sa condition. Un cocher l'accompagne, par rapport auquel Cyrus paraît très grand. C'est l'un des éléments manifestant sa sacralité. Il se déplace dans le même équipage que les dieux. Cet usage revêt une grande importance dans les campagnes militaires. Le roi est debout dans un haut char pour être vu de tous. Il y observe une attitude hiératique, évoquant à la fois celle des prêtres et des dieux, en vue d'affirmer la présence des forces divines aux côtés des troupes qui combattent (sur base des hymnes avestiques, les soldats comptent surtout sur l'aide de Mithra).

C'est pourquoi un cocher était indispensable. Ce fut une humiliation pour Darius III de prendre lui-même les rênes en main, comme à Issos, ou, pire encore, de devoir abandonner son char, comme à Gaugamèles (Briant 1996, 236).

On retrouve le même type de représentation en Inde. Le roi qui perd non son char mais son cheval sacrificiel vagabondant durant un an est dans l'impossibilité de procéder au sacrifice, interdit frappant par la même occasion son peuple tout entier. C'est la mésaventure que connurent les Kāśi, d'après *ŚB* 13.5.4.19-24. Le sacrifice du cheval védique (*aśva-medha*) consiste d'abord à mettre un étalon en liberté pour un périple durant une année entière. Lorsque le cheval est revenu, il est immolé après avoir été intégré à l'attelage royal pour une procession où le sacrifiant, revêtu de sa cuirasse d'or, se rend en char jusqu'à un point d'eau en compagnie de l'*adhvaryu* (Dumont 1927, 148 sqq.). Il est impossible de ne pas voir qu'en ces circonstances il représente Indra partant au combat. L'*adhvaryu* se trouve à ses côtés, de même que, à très haute époque, le *purohita* faisait fonction de cocher pour son roi si on en croit *JB* 3.94 (Caland 1919 n° 180; Heesterman 1993, 143). Nous retombons ainsi sur le thème du prêtre-cocher, celui qui porte les libations aux dieux et amène les dieux chez le sacrifiant aussi sûrement que le bon cocher mène le roi à la victoire. C'est cet ensemble de représentations collectives à la fois subtiles et fondamentales que continue à traduire la syntaxe nuancée de la strophe *Yt* 10.136.

Il m'est particulièrement agréable d'offrir ces quelques réflexions à Gherardo Gnoli, dont l'aide bienveillante et la compétence encyclopédique me permirent d'obtenir une bourse de doctorat à l'Istituto Universitario Orientale de Naples d'abord, de mener à bien mon travail sans encombre par la suite. Puisse-t-il y trouver le témoignage de mon admiration et de ma profonde gratitude.

RÉFÉRENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

- Bartholomae, Ch., 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).
- Briant, P., 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris).
- Caland, W., 1919. *Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl* (Amsterdam).
- Darmesteter, J., 1892. *Le Zend-Avesta* (Paris).
- Delebecque 1978 = Xénophon, *Cyropédie*, texte établi et traduit par E. Delebecque, vol. 3 (Paris).
- Dumont, P.-E., 1927. *L'Aśvamedha. Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d'après les textes du Yajurveda blanc* (Paris-Louvain).
- Gershevitch, I., 1959. *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge).
- Heesterman, J. C., 1993. *The broken world of sacrifice. An essay in ancient Indian ritual* (Chicago).
- Hoffmann, K., 1975. *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden).
- Humbach, H., 1956. Gathisch-awestische Verbalformen, *MSS* 9, 66-78.
- Kellens, J., 1984. *Le verbe avestique* (Wiesbaden).
- Kellens, J., Pirart, E., 1990. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden).
- Lommel, H., 1927. *Die Yāst's des Awesta. Übersetzt und eingeleitet* (Göttingen-Leipzig).
- Pirart, E., 1992. *Kayān Yasn (Yasht 19.9-96). L'origine avestique des dynasties mythiques d'Iran* (Aula Orientalis. Supplementa 2, Sabadell).
- Tremblay, X., 1997. Numératifs et compréhensifs dans le Vidēvdāt, *StIr* 26, 157-172.
- Wolff, F., 1910. *Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen übersetzt auf der Grundlage von Chr. Bartholomae's Altiranischen Wörterbuch* (Strassburg).

KHOSROW OF THE IMMORTAL SOUL IN THE NEW PERSIAN
ZOROASTRIAN LITERARY TRADITION

Mario Vitalone

In the volume in memory of Alessandro Bausani published by the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples; Gherardo Gnoli concludes his contribution by considering the connection between Xosrow Anušervān and Key Xosrow in the Iranian religious, epic and sapiential literature (Gnoli 1995, 137-139). Gnoli, who refers principally to the works by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour (1974, 1986), makes particular mention of the "Story of Anušervān's tomb", of which there is also a version that has come down to us through the Persian *revāyats*. Ch.-H. de Fouchécour (1974, 425) writes: "Il y a une complète similitude de cadre entre le récit de ce text¹ et celui contenu dans les *Revāyât* de la littérature parsie, dont l'original a été aussi écrit en Inde, en 1679 A.D.; les deux textes sont évidemment dans une même dépendance et nous sommes assurés par là d'être en continuité avec la littérature pehlevie, ces *Revāyât* ayant incorporé d'environ 'les trois quarts'² des *Revāyât* pelehvies, basées sur un matériel traditionnel que nous avons tout lieu de supposer ancien"; and he goes on to say (1974, 427): "La *versio communis*, centrée sur Ma'mun, semble avoir connu deux cheminements, l'un en Iran et en persan, l'autre chez les Parsis, en pehlevi puis en persan". These remarks are well worth some further consideration.

It is well known that the so-called Persian *revāyats* consist of letters that were written by the Zoroastrians in Iran in reply to questions chiefly concerning religious practice, that had been put to them by the Parsees living in India, between the end of the 15th century (the earliest letter is dated 1478) and the end of the 18th century (the latest one is dated 1773). The *revāyats*, whose original purpose was to clear the doubts that had evidently begun to arise amongst the Indian Parsees over the exact performance of ritual practices, represented for almost three centuries the frame of reference that governed the intellectual and religious life of the two communities and, what is more, they provided the means by which the majority of the Avestan, Pahlavi and New Persian religious texts that still survive today were sent into safe-keeping in India.

Of all these letters that were exchanged over the span of three centuries, at least twenty-four have come down to us. They are generally known by the names of the addressees or of the messengers who carried them to Iran, and the originals or copies of them are kept in various libraries in India (Bombay, Navsari) and Europe (London, Paris,

¹ The version that Mohammad Hoseyn b. Hāji Šams ol-Din inserted in 1654-5 in his Persian summary of the *Jāvidān Xerad* by Miskawayh.

² Quoted from Boyce (1986, 46). There can be no doubt about the continuity between the *revāyats* and, generally speaking, Zoroastrian religious literature in New Persian and Pahlavi literature, both as regards chronology and subject matter. Boyce, however, refers here to only one of the Persian *revāyats*, namely the one by Kāmā Āsā (or, more precisely, Šāpur Āsā) of 1527, which has supposedly incorporated about three quarters of the Pahlavi *Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān ī dēnīg*.

Munich).³ When these letters reached India, each one was carefully kept and later provided the material for the compilations of *revāyats* that were made by 17th-century Parsee scholars, either as simple collections⁴ or else arranged according to their subject-matter.⁵

Therefore the Parsees' contribution to the formation of the corpus of *revāyats*, though of great value, consists almost entirely of mere compilations, whereas the responsibility for the actual contents can for the most part be attributed to the work of the *dasturs* in Iran.

The *revāyat* of Bahman Esfandyār is one of those that contributed most effectively to the circulation of Zoroastrian religious texts between the two communities. It is also known, and often quoted, as the *revāyat* of Bahman Punjyā or Bahman Suratye and is dated to 996/1626-7.⁶ In actual fact it consists of three distinct letters, two from Kermān and one from Torkābād near Yazd.⁷ In the first letter from Kermān, the Iranian *dasturs* tell the Parsees in India that they have sent them a copy of the *Vištasp Yašt* and the *Visperad*:

ketāb-e Veštāsf Yašt va Vesferad jehat-e ānjānebān ferestādim tā dasturān va dasturzādegān-e ānjāneb mosavvade bar dāšte va nevešte šod ke agar digar mosavvade qalami šode agar zarurat dārand ferestāde šavad ahyānan ānjāneb ke mosavvade-ye ezāfe bāšad jehat-e in jamā'at beferestand (Unvala 1922, II 150.5-7)

We have sent you the *Vištasp Yašt* and the *Visperad* so that the *dasturs* and the priestly class⁸ can make a copy of it;⁹ bear in mind also that, if necessary, we can send you other duplicates and if you have extra copies (of texts), please send them to this community.

The *dasturs* of Torkābād also had a religious text sent to their co-religionists, namely a copy of the *Vendidad*:¹⁰

ma'lum-e dasturān va hirbadān va mobedān bude bāšad ke yek ketāb-e Vendidād ferestāde šod be dast-e Behdin Bahman mibāyad ke har jā ke ketāb-e Vendidād nadāšte bāšad zarurat dāšte bāšand be išan roju' konand Dastur Xosrow Dastur Nuširvān va Dastur Rostam nazr karde va qeymat nagerefte (Unvala 1922, II 160.7-9)

The *dasturs*, *hirbads* and *mobeds* are informed that a copy of the *Vendidad* has been sent with Behdin Bahman. Wherever a copy of the *Vendidad* is needed, reference can be made to this

³ For a complete list of the *revāyats* and the relevant bibliographical references, see Vitalone 1987.

⁴ Of these we may mention the ones by Barzo Kāmdin and Hormazyār Framarz. The former was composed in 1636 and contains five *revāyats*, while the second, completed in 1644, originally contained eight, with a further four being added later by Hormazyār's son, Dārāb.

⁵ The most complete and systematically arranged collection is the one by Dārāb Hormazyār, of which there are three autograph copies: the first was begun in 1678 and completed in 1679, the second was begun in 1673-4 and completed in 1680-1 and the third was completed in 1692. This last-named copy was the one used by M. R. Unvala for the lithographed edition that was published in Bombay in 1922.

⁶ The first date refers to the *yazdagerdi* year, the second to the Christian era.

⁷ For the subject-matter of these letters see Vitalone 1987, 14-15.

⁸ Literally 'the descendants of the *dasturs*'.

⁹ Literally 'rough copy'; that is to say, a working copy for practical use.

¹⁰ "This is the Iranian *Vendidad Sāda* with *Nirang* which is now in the Mullā Firuz Library and which has been described and referred to by Geldner as MF₂" (Hodivala 1920, 326).

one if necessary; bear in mind that Dastur Xosrow, Dastur Nušīrvān and Dastur Rostam have donated it without receiving its price.

In addition to the works sent to the Parsees and “enclosed” with the letter, the *revāyat* of Bahman Esfandyār also contains a number of texts in New Persian including two stories in verse, whose protagonist is Xosrow Anušervān or simply Nušīrvān or Nušīrvān-e ‘ādel ‘the just’, as the Sassanian king is commonly called in all New Persian Zoroastrian literature.

The *Dāstān-e Nušīrvān-e ‘ādel va Marzbān Kārsāni* (Story of Nušīrvān the Just and Marzbān Kārsāni)¹¹ tells how Nušīrvān celebrated a rich *gahanbār* in the *hāvan gāh*¹² on the *gaθā* day *ahunavad*.¹³ The king’s purpose was to achieve a greater merit (*kerfe*) than had ever been gained by anyone before. During the night it was revealed to him in a dream that a poor man in the city of Kārsān, a certain Marzbān, had celebrated a *myazd*¹⁴ for the *gahanbār* that was even richer than the king’s. Since the period of the *gahanbār* of *panje*¹⁵ was drawing near, Marzbān, wishing to celebrate it at all costs, did not hesitate to sell one of the two doors of his house (*yeki xāne budam dar vey do dar bud, bekandam ze ān do dar yektāi dar zud*). The *mobadān mobad* explains to the king that Marzbān had spent practically half of his possessions for his *gahanbār*, while the enormous amount spent by Nušīrvān was only a thousandth part of his wealth. Therefore Marzbān had achieved a far greater merit by his deed than the king had.

The *Dāstān-e Mazdak va Šāh Nušīrvān-e ‘ādel* (Story of Mazdak and King Nušīrvān the Just)¹⁶ tells of the tricks that Mazdak uses in order to convince King Qobād of the veracity of the new religion that he has revealed and the efforts made by Qobād’s son, Nušīrvān, to unmask the impostor, which ended in the murder of Mazdak and the massacre of his 12,000 followers.

Both these texts are the work of the *dastur* Nušīrvān Marzbān of Kermān, a great expert in geomancy and astrology and the author of almost all the compositions in the *revāyat* of Bahman Esfandyār.¹⁷ All of Nušīrvān Marzbān’s works are dated between 988/1620 and 998/1630.

¹¹For the text see Unvala 1922, I 436-439; for an English summary of the story see also Dhabhar 1932, 325 and Modi 1922, 11.

¹²The first of the five *gāhs* of the day, from dawn to midday.

¹³The first of the five supplementary *gaθā* days, the fifth last day of the year.

¹⁴Here in the general sense of a convivial gathering for a religious feast.

¹⁵The five days that are added to the end of the twelfth month in the Zoroastrian calendar. The terms that are used to define these five supplementary days vary: *panji-e veh*, *panje-ye zarātošti*, *panje-ye dozide*, *andargahān*, *panje-gozide*.

¹⁶The text is in Unvala 1922, II 214-230; cf. also Dhabhar 1932, 582-585.

¹⁷In addition to the above-mentioned texts, there are the Story of Eblis and Tahmuras on the effectiveness of the *gōmēz* (Unvala 1922, I 310-315; Dhabhar 1932, 294-298), the Story of Soltān Mahmud of Ghazni (Unvala 1922, II 194-199; Antia 1908), the Story of King Jamšid and his sister Jam’e (Unvala 1922, II 208-210; Dhabhar 1932, 580-581), the Story of Jamšid and Jāhānšāh (Unvala 1922, II 200-202; Dhabhar 1932, 579-580), the Story of the Persian Prince and the Caliph ‘Omar (Unvala 1922, II 244-259; Dhabhar 1932, 586-589) and an *Ardā Virāfnāme* in verse (Unvala 1922, II 331-342).

The other two texts in Zoroastrian New Persian literature that tell of Xosrow Anušervān are more interesting. Both have been dealt with brilliantly by Ch.-H. De Fouchécour. They are the *Farroxnāme ke Yunān Dastur be Nuširvān nevešte bud* (The *Farroxnāme* that *dastur* Yunān had written to Nuširvān)¹⁸ and the *Dāstān-e marquzan-e Nuršivān-e ādel* (Story of the tomb of Nuširvān the Just),¹⁹ which has already been mentioned at the beginning of this article.

In Unvala 1922 the two stories are placed in succession (II 232.3-240.12 + 240.13-243)²⁰ and they are preceded by an introduction which relates the discovery of the *Farroxnāme* "et qui fournit au livre en quelque sorte son titre d'ancienneté et de noblesse" (Fouchécour 1986, 109): in the fire temple of Adar Gušid in Fārs, built in an inaccessible place on top of a mountain, Abo 'l-Xeyr Amri meets a *hirbad* named Rāmeš Ārām, who shows him a work written in Pahlavi by the prophet Zartošt (*do pāre-ye pust biāvord ke Zarātošt benevešte bud be zabān-e pahlavi*) about the past and future events of the world and a copy of the *Farroxnāme* of Yunān which Abo 'l-Xeyr Amri decides to translate into Persian (*man in nāme az vey bexāstam biāvord va be zabān-e pahlavi nebešte bud be zabān-e pārsi gardānidam tā har kasi ke xānad bedānad*). The *Farroxnāme* tells how the sage Yunān is requested by Nuširvān to return to court, from where he had fled because of King Qobād's persecution, and to resume his activity as counsellor to Nuširvān. Under Yunān's influence moderation and clemency prevail and the text mentions two episodes in particular: one in which Yunān persuades Nuširvān not to demolish a Christian church in order to build a fire temple in its place and the other in which Yunān convinces Nuširvān to send home the son of an Arabian prince who has long been held as a hostage at the Sassanian court. Next comes the Story of the Tomb of Nuširvān, which tells how Ma'mun attempts in vain to have Nuširvān's palace destroyed and how, once he himself has reached the spot, he discovers nearby the tomb of the great Sassanian king. Upon entering the tomb he comes face to face with Nuširvān, seated on his throne as though he were still alive. On either side of his turban there are embroidered four verses and in his hands he is holding a tablet on which there is inscribed the prophecy concerning the caliph's visit to the tomb. Ma'mun takes the manuscript, which has a list of treasures at the end of it, and, paying his respects once more to the king, he takes his leave.

Besides the version in prose that is related in Unvala 1922 and in the other copies of the *revāyat* of Dārāb Hormazdyār,²¹ there are also several versions in verse²² that are the work of the *dastur* Marzbān Rāvari of Kermān, who originally came from the city of Rāvar in Sind and was the father of the aforementioned Nuširvān Marzbān, author of the two stories about Xosrow Anušervān. Marzbān is also the author of other works, including a

¹⁸ See Fouchécour 1986, 109-110.

¹⁹ See Fouchécour 1974 and 1986, 49-51.

²⁰ Cf. Dhabhar 1932, 585-586; for the English translation of the "Story of the tomb of Anušervān", see Rosenberg 1923.

²¹ See Modi 1922, 19-58.

²² Cf. Rieu 1879, 50-51, Blochet 1900, 56, Dhabhar 1925, 40; see also Sachau 1870, 258-264, Rosenberg 1909, 9-11, Āmuzegār 1348, 184, Šahmardān 1363, 646-647.

poem on the sack and destruction of the city of Rāvar at the hand of Baluchi tribes and a New Persian version in verse of the Pahlavi *Mēnōg ī Xrad* dated 980/1612.

The various versions of the story are substantially the same, except that in some cases the person who discovers the tomb of Nušīrvān is not Ma'mun as in most of the versions, Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian alike, but Harun al-Rašid or 'Ali.

The reason for setting the discovery of Nušīrvān's tomb in the time of the caliph al-Ma'mun has rightly been considered by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour (1986, 38, 50) as being connected with a period in which Iranian identity was in some way beginning to reassert itself and the caliph was seen as the moral heir of Anušervān, his successor and disciple in Islamic times.²³ The presence of 'Ali, on the other hand, could be justified as an attempt by Marzbān to reinforce the protection that 'Ali had allegedly granted to the Zoroastrian community and even codified in an *'ahdnāme*, an agreement, which would to some extent have permitted the survival of the Zoroastrians in Iran.

On the contrary, the prose version of the stories, as they are related in Unvala 1922 and in the other copies of the *revāyat* of Dārāb Hormazdyār, does not give us any information about the author and the date of composition. In Dhabhar 1925, 120, however, the stories are listed as forming part of the codex T30 of the Dastur Meherjirana Library in Navsari,²⁴ which contains the original manuscript of the *revāyat* of Kāmā Āsā or Šāpur Āsā.²⁵ This *revāyat*, which was written in Yazd and addressed to the Parsee community in Navsari and Cambay, is, together with the aforementioned *revāyat* of Bahman Esfandyār, one of the longest. It also contains a prose version of the *Ardāvirāfnāme* and is dated to 896/1527.

This story, then, is also an Iranian production. Though it comes from a Pahlavi source, it can nevertheless be closely linked with the versions that exist in Persian literature, in particular with the *'Ajāyeb al-maxluqāt* by Mohammad Tusi. It is also likely that the story reached India a century before Mohammad Hoseyn b. Hāji Šams ol-Din included a version of it in his Persian summary of Miskawayh's *Jāvidān Xerad*, which he got from a translation that had been done at the court of the Moghul emperor Jahāngir.²⁶

REFERENCES

- Āmuzegār, Ž., 1348/1969-70. Adabiyāt-e zardošti be zabān-e fārsi, *Majalle-ye dāneškade-ye adabiyāt va 'olum-e ensāni* 71-72, n. 1, 172-199.
- Antia, E. K., 1908. The Kisseh of Sultān Māhmud as given in the Revāyets, in J. J. Modi (ed.), *Spiegel memorial volume* (Bombay), 87-92.
- Bloch, E., 1900. *Catalogue des manuscrits mazdéens (zend, pehlvi, parsis et persanes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Besançon).

²³In Zoroastrian literary works Ma'mun does not only appear in this story, but also in a Pahlavi treatise, the *Gizistag Abālīš* (Chacha 1936), in which a Zoroastrian and a recent convert to Islam engage in a theological debate in the presence of the caliph.

²⁴Unfortunately, at the time when I was in Navsari, I was not able to consult this manuscript personally.

²⁵For the problems concerning the attribution of this *revāyat*, see Vitalone 1987, 9 n. 24.

²⁶Cf. Fouchécour 1974, 425 and 1986, 49-50.

- Boyce, M., 1968. Middle Persian literature, in *Iranistik. Literatur* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.4.2.1, Leiden), 31-66.
- Chacha, H. F., 1936. *Gajastak Abâlish* (Bombay).
- Dhabhar, B. N., 1925. *Descriptive catalogue of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherjirana Library, Navsari* (Bombay).
- Dhabhar, B. N., 1932. *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others. Their version with introduction and notes* (Bombay).
- de Fouchécour, Ch.-H., 1974. Le testament moral de Chosroès dans la littérature persane, in Ph. Gignoux, A. Tafazzoli (ed.), *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain), 419-431.
- de Fouchécour, Ch.-H., 1986. *Moralia. Les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3^e/9^e au 7^e/13^e siècle* (Paris).
- Gnoli, G., 1995. Cosroe dall'Anima Immortale o della doppia felicità, in *Un ricordo che non si spegne. Scritti di docenti e collaboratori dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli in memoria di Alessandro Bausani* (Napoli), 119-146.
- Hodivala, S. H., 1920. The dates of the Persian Revayets, in *Studies of Parsi history* (Bombay), 276-349.
- Modi, J. J., 1922. Introduction, in M. R. Unvala, *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat*, vol. 1 (Bombay), 1-58.
- Rieu, C., 1879. *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* (London).
- Rosenberg, F., 1909. *Notices de littérature persie* (St. Pétersbourg).
- Rosenberg, F., 1923. Khosrow Anushirwan and Charlemagne in legend, *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 3, 29-59.
- Sachau, E., 1870. Contributions to the knowledge of Parsee literature, *JRAS*, n.s., 4, 229-283.
- Šahmardân, R., 1363/1984-5. *Tārix-e Zartoštiān. Farzanegān-e zartošti* (Tehrān).
- Unvala, M. R., 1922. *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat* (Bombay).
- Vitalone, M., 1987. *The Persian Revāyats. A bibliographic reconnaissance* (Napoli).

Aus der griechischen Kolonie Olbia am Nordufer des Schwarzen Meeres ist ein Name Μανιαγός überliefert,¹ der frühzeitig als iranisch erkannt und mit dem ossetischen Wort für ‘Gemahl, Mann’ I(ron)² *moj*, D(igoron) *mojnæ* (MF 823) verbunden wurde.³

Das Wort ist nach gängiger Meinung eine **-ya*-Ableitung zu **manu-* ‘Mann, Mensch’, folglich < **man(u)ya-*; so Abaev II 127 f., Abaev, *Izoglossy* 30, und Bielmeier 197. Bereits Miller 35 verglich aind. *mānu-*, *manuṣya-* ‘Mensch, Mann’ und avest. *manu-*, setzte als Vorform allerdings **mōnya-* bzw. **mānya-* an.

Zum Lautlichen muß jedoch gesagt werden, dass zwar nach Miller 20 (§ 10) generell osset. *o* < iran. **a/ā* vor Nasal herzuleiten sei; doch sind die dafür heranzuziehenden Belege differenzierter zu beurteilen. Iran. **ā* vor Nasal erscheint in der Tat durchwegs als osset. *o*, z.B. in *kom* ‘Wille, Wunsch’ < **kāma-* oder *don* ‘Fluß’ < **dānu-*. Bei kurzem *a* vor Nasal wird in der Regel im Anschluss an den Nasal ein weiterer Konsonant (auch Affrikate) verlangt, z.B. in *fondz* ‘fünf’ < **panča*, *cong* ‘Arm’ < **čanka-*⁴ u.a. Die genannten Beispiele haben gemein, dass die Morenzahl der ersten Silbe (in der sich die lautliche Veränderung abspielt) identisch ist: (a) Langvokal + Nasal, (b) Kurzvokal + Nasal + Konsonant (bzw. Affrikate).⁵ Ferner sind sie zweisilbig, so dass man der grundsätzlichen Beobachtung von M. Schwartz zustimmen kann, dass “the difference in the Oss. root vowel reflects a difference in the earlier number of syllables”;⁶ in der Tat tritt der reguläre Kurzvokal *æ* in Formen oder Ableitungen der genannten Wörter auf, die aus ossetischer Sicht nicht einsilbig sind wie z.B. Pl. *daetǰé* ‘Flüsse’, *fændzǰem* ‘der fünfte’ usw.⁷ Die Situation wird allerdings komplizierter, wenn mehrsilbige Wörter mit *-on-* beigebracht werden wie *bærzond* ‘groß, hoch, laut’ oder *zæronǰ* ‘alt’. Es ist unzweifelhaft, dass sie indo-iran. **br̥zhant-* bzw. **žarant-* reflektieren und dass es sicher nicht zulässig ist, lediglich aufgrund der ossetischen Lautung in der zweiten Silbe eine Vorform **br̥zhānt-* bzw. **žarānt-* zu postulieren;⁸ trotz aind. *mahānt-* darf für die in Frage kommenden Adjektive keine etwaige Übertragung des *-ā-* auf das Suffix *-ant-* im

¹ Vgl. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Praha 1955), § 143.

² Wenn zuerst genannt, auch unbezeichnet.

³ So V. I. Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor*, vol. 1 (Moskva–Leningrad 1949), 172, wiederholt in seinem Aufsatz *Isoglosse scito-europee*, *AION-L* 4 (1962), 42.

⁴ Vgl. D. Weber, *HS* 102 (1989), 127 f.

⁵ Eine Affrikate ist natürlich monophonematisch zu beurteilen.

⁶ In seinem Beitrag *Osseto-Indo-Europaeica*, in *Societies and languages of the ancient Near East. Studies in honour of I. M. Diakonoff* (Warminster 1982), 339.

⁷ Wobei die Akzentverhältnisse ebenfalls wohl eine Rolle spielen, s. die folgenden Beispiele *bærzond* und *zæronǰ*.

⁸ So Bielmeier 156 (s.v. *зæронд*).

Iranischen angenommen werden. Das Problem scheint dann lösbar, wenn man zusätzlich die Akzentverhältnisse berücksichtigt: nach Ausweis von aind. *bṛhánt-* trug (wie zu erwarten) der Vokal des Suffixes in den starken Kasus den Akzent, wie er auch in der Regel in osset. *bærzónd* anzutreffen ist. Osset. *zæronð*, ebenfalls in der Regel auf der zweiten Silbe betont, widerspricht in diesem Falle allerdings den Belegen der "klassischen" Sprachen wie gr. γέρον, GSg. γέροντος ~ aind. *járant-*; möglicherweise ist hier mit unterschiedlichen Ablautstufen zu rechnen, wobei die gr. und aind. Bildungen vollstufig zu interpretieren wären (man beachte den *e*-Vokalismus im Griechischen) und die osset. als schwundstufig, nämlich **žrH-ánt-*, woraus sich lautgerecht *zæronð* entwickeln konnte.

Nicht unproblematisch ist ferner der angenommene Schwund des *-u-* in **man(u)ya-*. Wenn ein solches (stammbildendes) Suffix nicht erhalten bleibt, verändert es jedoch in der Regel das **-a-* der davorstehenden (Wurzel-)Silbe wie in *fyr* 'viel' < **paru-* oder *urs*, *Dors* 'weiß' < **aruša-*. Hier scheint das Phonem /r/ bei der Einflussnahme des folgenden **-u-* eine Rolle gespielt zu haben; leider fehlen weitere Beispiele mit /n/ vor **-u-*, die über das Verhalten von **-u-* bzw. über dessen Veränderung oder Einflussnahme Auskunft geben könnten. Zweisilbige Wörter wie *don* < **dānu-* oder *bon* < **bānu-* scheiden aus, da der Wurzelvokal bereits lang ist und aufgrund dieser Tatsache vor dem Nasal bereits zu *-o-* werden mußte. *fænyk*, *D fænuκ* 'Asche' enthält **-hn-* (< **pahnuka-*, zu aind. *pāmsu-*) und nicht einfaches **-n-*. Man kann daraus nur schließen, dass der Schwund des **-u-* in dieser Stellung eine *ad-hoc*-Annahme ist, die auch durch die Verwendung von Klammern keine Unterstützung erfährt.⁹ In der Tat findet sich eine Ableitung **manu-ya-* nirgendwo im indo-iranischen Bereich. Hier sind vielmehr Ableitungen wie aind. *manuṣya-* oder wie im Kompositum avest. *Manuš.čīθra-* üblich, die alle eine Form **manuš-* voraussetzen. Es scheint daher ratsam, die bisher gültige Etymologie abzulehnen und nach anderen Möglichkeiten zu suchen.

Die von Miller 35 vermutete Vorform **mōnya-* bzw. **mānya-* findet nun in der Tat eine lautliche Parallele in solchen ossetischen Wörtern, in denen ein **-ya*-Suffix an eine Form angetreten ist, die auf **-ān-* endet, wobei für das Resultat unerheblich ist, ob es sich bei dem **-n-* um den auslautenden Konsonanten der Wurzel oder um Teil eines Suffixes handelt; z.B.

(*æfson*), *D æfsojnæ* 'Ursache, Grund, Vorwand, Ausrede' MF 237; Abaev I 484;

Gershevitch, *BSOAS* 14 (1952), 483 f.;¹⁰

ækkoj I 'Rücken, Schulter, das Tragen auf den Schultern' MF 108; nach Abaev I 125 <

**æm-kāna-* zu *ævgænyn* 'laden, befrachten', besser sicher **han-kānya-* bzw. **-yā-*;

ælxoj, *D ælxojnæ* 'kleine Mörserkeule (zum Stoßen von Korn, Salz etc.)' MF 115; Miller,

IF 21 (1907), 324; 'small pestle' Bailey, *Asica* 36; Abaev II 50 f.;

⁹ Vor allem aber in formaler Hinsicht melden sich Bedenken an. Ein *u*-stämmiges Substantiv bildet seine *-ya*-Ableitung in der Regel von der Vollstufe des Suffixes, d.h. das kombinierte Ableitungsmorphem müßte **-awya-* lauten wie z.B. in **dānawya-* (erhalten z.B. im antiken Ortsnamen Ταυαῖς) zu **dānu-* 'Fluß', und nicht **manuya-*, es sei denn, man zöge eine Bildungsweise wie avest. *paouruuia-* zu *pouruua-* vor.

¹⁰ Vgl. auch G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group* (Wiesbaden 1974), 74.

- æncój*, D *æncojnæ* 'Erhöhung, Ruhe' MF 167; Abaev I 151 f.; 'rest' Bailey, *Asica* 5 f., *Dict.* 146 (s.v. *tsāṣta-*); dazu die Komposita D *mærdæncojnæ* 'Totenruhe; Grab, Friedhof' MF 805 und *æydyncoj*, D *æydicojnæ* 'Steigbügel' MF 100; s. Abaev I 122 f.; < **han-čyān-ya-* bzw. **-yā-* zu *æncajyn* < **han-čyā-*;
- æntojnæ* D 'Unordnung; unordentlich' MF 164; Abaev I 166; als **han-tān-ya-* bzw. **-yā-* zu *æntajyn* < **han-tā-*, Wz. **tā-* 'schmelzen'(?);
- asojnæ* D 'hölzerne Egge' MF 53. Nach Abaev I 77 kann dieses Wort keine Ableitung von **asan-* 'Stein' sein, was im übrigen auch semantisch schwierig sein dürfte. Eher handelt es sich nach ihm um eine Ableitung von **asra-* oder **asri-* 'scharf; Schärfe' mit *-sr-* > osset. *-s-* und Ersatzdehnung in der Anfangssilbe (oder einfach **as-* wie **ak-* in lat. *acies*). Zur Dehnstufe von **ak-* (wie in lat. *ācer*) vgl. H. Frisk, *IF* 56 (1938), 113 f. = *Kleine Schriften* (Göteborg 1966), 245 f.;
- æstojnæ* D Abaev III 153; s. *stojnæ*;
- ſællój*, D *ſællojnæ* 'Mühe, Arbeit' Abaev I 439; zu *ſællajyn* 'müde werden, ermatten' Miller 64;
- soj*, D *sojnæ* 'Fett (geschmolzenes)' MF 1111 f.; Abaev III 130 f.; Bailey, *TPS* 1960, 62; Bielmeier 214. Vgl. auch D *xelgæsojnæ* 'Fluß, Wasser' (in der Jägersprache, eigtl. 'kriechendes Fett') MF 1555; D *uærdcisojnæ* 'Name einer genießbaren Pflanze (dillähnlich)'¹¹ MF 1292. – < **šwānya-*;
- stojnæ* (*ston*, *æston*) D 'Viehhof, Viehstall' MF 1128; sicher < **stāna-* bzw. **stānyā-* zur Wz. **stā-* 'stehen';
- (*ysson*), D *insojnæ* 'Wetzstein' MF 631 (D); Abaev I 545; Miller 16 (zum Suffix), 66 (zur Etymologie). Das osset. Wort kann als **han-sāna-* (für Iron) bzw. **han-sānya-* oder **-yā-* (für Digoron) direkt mit aind. *sāṇa-* 'Wetzstein' (zu *śyāti* 'wetzt') gleichgesetzt werden.

Dass eine Lautabfolge *-*anya-* nicht in osset. *-oj*, bzw. *-ojnæ* resultiert, sondern in *-in(æ)*, zeigen folgende Beispiele, ausgehend von dem gemein-iran. Subst. *zærin*, D *zærinæ* < **zaranya-* 'Gold' (avest. *zaraniia-* *AIW* 1678):

- æmbadinæ* D 'mit dem zusammen sitzt',¹² < **ham-upa-hadanya-* (Wz. **had-* 'sitzen');
æmdzærin, D *æmdzærinæ* 'Stubenkamerad' Abaev, *Sketch* § 176, < **ham-čaranya-*;
ænxætinae D 'Fahrtgenosse, gemeinsam Heldentaten vollbringend',¹³ zum Verbum *xætyl* 'wandern, streifen, umherschweifen';
ænxuærinae D 'mit dem man zusammen ißt',¹⁴ < **han-hwaranya-* (Wz. **hwar-* 'trinken, essen');

¹¹ Lit. 'Wachtelfett'.

¹² *Iron Adæmy Sſældystad*, tom 2 (Ordžonikidze 1961), 404, Zeile 341 des Textes "Digori Bæxfældesuni Dzubandi".

¹³ *Ibid.*, Zeile 343; ferner V. Miller, *Osetinskie étjudy*, vol. 1 (Moskva 1881), 114, Zeile 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Zeile 342; *deest* MF.

fæsdzæuin, D *fæsdzæuinæ* 'Diener' Abaev, *Sketch* § 176, < **-čyawanya-*; ¹⁵
fyddzærin, D *fuddzærinæ* 'zänkisch' MF 1464, < **-čaranya-* (Wz. **čar-* 'leben, wandeln'); ¹⁶
fydxæcin 'fett werdend' MF 1469;
kæsinæ D 'Werkzeug des Sehens, Auge' MF 683, < **kašanya-*; ¹⁷
kusinæ D (neben I *kuyysi*) 'Schöpfkelle' MF 709; ¹⁸
læfinæ (*læfijnæ*) D 'яркий лух, свет'; *læfinttæ* 'Sonnenstrahlen' (?) MF 769; Abaev II 19;
læsk'dzærin (neben *læsk'dzæren*) ¹⁹ 'Hirt, welcher seinen Lohn von der Schafherde unter gewissen Bedingungen erhält' MF 767, wie oben;
læxinæ D 'Abtritt' MF 770;
nivesinæ D 'Abbild, Bild' MF 851, < **ni-paišanya-* (?);
ræstdzævin 'genau, richtig' Abaev, *Sketch* § 176;
rygxæcin 'Kleidung, an der leicht Staub hängen bleibt' Abaev, *Sketch* § 176;
sudzin, D *sodzinæ*, *sudzinæ* 'Nadel' Abaev III; ²⁰
tadzin, D *tadzinæ* MF 1181 < **tāčanya-*; dazu *tugdadin*, *togtadinæ* 'Blutgefäß, Blutader, Arterie' MF 1223;
uftinæ D (neben I *uæfti*) 'Weberspule' MF 1296; Abaev IV 66, zu *uafyn* 'weben', wohl Abl. vom P.P.P. *uæft*, D *uft*;
-xæcin in *fydxæcin*, *rygxæcin*;

Daraus ergibt sich, dass man aus lautlichen Gründen, wie von Miller postuliert, ein **mān(i)ya-* voraussetzen muss, das mit dem indo-iran. **manu-* offenbar nichts zu tun hat, sondern mit avest. *nmāniia-* 'dem Haus an-, zugehörig' (*AIW* 1094) ²¹ unter den Annahme eines vormitteliranischen Schwundes des anlautenden *n-* identisch sein dürfte. ²² Beachtenswert ist vor allem die Stelle in Y. 19.18, in der *nmāniia-* durch mp. *mānbed* 'Hausherr' in der Pahlavi-Übersetzung wiedergegeben wird, wodurch sich eindeutig die semantische Spezifizierung von 'dem Haus zugehörig' > 'Hausherr' nachvollziehen läßt, wie sie im

¹⁵ Lit. 'der hinterhergehen muss' (zum Präfix *fæs-* < **pasčā* vgl. z.B. man. sogd. *pš'br* 'Proviant', nicht < Av. *piθβā-* [*GMS* § 298], sondern < **paščābara-* [Weber, *IF* 80 (1975), 90-97]).

¹⁶ Lit. 'der schlecht/übel wandelt/lebt' (zum Präfix *fyd-*, D *fud-* < **pūta-* s. Abaev I 489 f.).

¹⁷ Möglicherweise auch **kašanī-*.

¹⁸ Nach Abaev I 613 zu *k'us* 'Schüssel': sehr unwahrscheinlich, da die Bildung auf *-inæ* eine Verbalwurzel verlangt, die man in *kusyn*, D *kosun* vermuten darf; bemerkenswert ist die in südossetischen Gebieten auftretende Form *kuyysi* (Abaev), die auf altes **-s-y-* (d.i. wohl **-š-y-*) zu weisen scheint: aufgrund des Vokalismus müßte dann ein **kušyanya-* vorliegen. Der Wortausgang in I *kuyysi* ist sicher wie unten bei *uæfti* zu beurteilen, bleibt jedoch noch unklar.

¹⁹ Dies aus einfachem **-čarana-*.

²⁰ Dieses Wort gehört vermutlich nicht in diese Reihe, da es den Eindruck eines Lehnworts macht.

²¹ Vgl. auch W. Lentz, Um den "Hausherrn" der awestischen Gathas (Yasna 45, 11), in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden 1967), 204-216.

²² Zur möglichen Zugehörigkeit von Pš *mēna* 'habitation, house' s. G. Morgenstierne, *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto* (Oslo 1927), 44.

übrigen durch die Fragestellung nach den einzelnen *ratus* in Y. 19.18 angedeutet wird.²³ Wenn auch das mp. *mānbed* das alte *dāmānō.paiti-* fortsetzt, so ist die Annahme einer Substantivierung des Adj. *nmāniia-* in derselben Bedeutung bzw. Funktion durchaus vertretbar; vgl. auch mp. *mānīg* 'household member' CPD 54 < **(n)mān(i)yaka-* wie ap. *māniya-* n. 'Hausgesinde'.²⁴ Wenn Abaev, *loc.cit.*, zu osset. I *mojag* (als Ableitung von *moj*) den "skyth." (besser "sarmatischen" oder "alanischen") Namen Μαυλαγος vergleicht, so ist dies wohl unwahrscheinlich: in Μαυλαγος haben wir eher eine einfache Erweiterung des **(n)mān(i)ya-* (= *moj*, D *mojnæ*)²⁵ mit dem in der Anthroponomastik der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste häufigen **-ka*-Suffix als mit dem "Zugehörigkeitssuffix" **-yāg* (wie in osset. *læg* : *læggag*), das semantisch, da Adjektive bildend, auch unbefriedigend wäre. Ein Name wie Μαυλαγος ist allerdings, wie auch in deutschen Familiennamen vertreten, leicht als 'Hausmann' zu verstehen.

ABGEKÜRZTE LITERATUR

- Abaev = V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, tom 1, *A-K'* (Moskva-Leningrad 1958); tom 2, *L-R* (Leningrad 1973); tom 3, *S-T'* (Leningrad 1979); tom 4, *U-Z* (Leningrad 1989).
 Abaev, *Izoglossy* = V. I. Abaev, *Skifo-evropejskie izoglossy (na styke vostoka i zapada)* (Moskva 1965).
 Abaev, *Sketch* = V. I. Abaev, *A grammatical sketch of Ossetic* (Bloomington-The Hague 1964).
 AIW = Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1904; Nachdruck, 1961).
 Bailey, *Asica* = H. W. Bailey, *Asica*, TPS 1945 [1946], 1-38.
 Bailey, *Dict.* = H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge 1979).
 Bielmeyer = R. Bielmeyer, *Historische Untersuchung zum Erb- und Lehnwortschatzanteil im ossetischen Grundwortschatz* (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 27, Asiatische und afrikanische Studien 2, Frankfurt am Main-Bern-Las Vegas 1977).
 CPD = D. N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary* (London 1971; repr. with corrections 1986).
 GMS = I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954).
 MF = V. Miller, A. Frejman, *Osetinsko-russko-nemeckij slovar'* (Leningrad 1927-1934; Nachdruck, The Hague-Paris 1972).
 Miller = V. Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten* [= *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, Anhang zum 1. Bd.] (Strassburg 1903).

²³Vgl. dazu ausführlich I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge 1959), 265 ad 115¹. Die in AIW 1094 von Bartholomae favorisierte Differenzierung von ¹*nmāniia-* Adj. 'dem Haus angehörig, Haus-' und ²*nmāniia-* Adj. 'zur Gottheit *Nmānya* gehörig, mit ihr in Beziehung stehend' (in Yt.10.115 und Yt.17.18) erübrigt sich so.

²⁴Vgl. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, texts, lexicon*, 2nd ed. (American oriental series 33, New Haven 1953), 202, 219.

²⁵Inwieweit auch russ. муж 'Mann' usw. davon herzuleiten ist, muß offen bleiben; bislang wurde eine Beziehung zu **manu-* (s. oben) vorgezogen, obwohl auch hier lautliche Probleme nicht zu übersehen sind.

“DENN IHR HULDIGT NICHT EINEM MENSCHEN ALS EUREM HERRSCHER, SONDERN
NUR DEN GÖTTERN”:¹ BEMERKUNGEN ZUR PROSKYNESE IN IRAN

Josef Wiesehöfer

I.

Chares von Mytilene berichtet, Alexander habe bei dem Gastmahl die Schale, nachdem er getrunken hatte, einem der Freunde zugereicht. Der habe sie genommen, habe sich erhoben und sei zum Altar getreten, habe getrunken und als erster die Proskynese vollzogen, und dann habe er Alexander geküßt und sich wieder niedergelegt. Während nun alle anderen der Reihe nach dasselbe taten, habe Kallisthenes die Schale genommen, habe – während der König nicht darauf achtete, sondern sich mit Hephaistion unterhielt – getrunken und sei gleich zu Alexander getreten, um ihn zu küssen. Da aber Demetrios mit dem Beinamen Pheidon rief: “Küsse ihn nicht, König! Denn dieser hat als einziger die Proskynese vor dir unterlassen”, sei Alexander dem Kuß ausgewichen, und Kallisthenes habe laut gerufen: “So gehe ich also und bin um einen Kuß zu kurz gekommen”² (Übers. K. Ziegler [mit Änderungen des Autors]).

Diese von Chares von Mytilene, dem εἰσαγγελεύς Alexanders d. Gr., überlieferte Anekdote (Plut. Alex. 54,4-6 = FGrH 125 F 14a; vgl. Arr. an. 4,12,3-5 = FGrH 125 F 14b), die auf das spätere Schicksal des Hofgeschichtsschreibers Kallisthenes vorverweist,³ kann meinem Beitrag in zweifacher Hinsicht als Einstieg dienen: Sie ist bedeutsam für die alte Streitfrage nach der Beschaffenheit des Rituals bzw. Gestus der Proskynese (II) und sie ist gleichsam eine Wendemarke in der Geschichte dieses Brauches, steht sie doch am Ende einer Entwicklung, die griechische und orientalische Ritualumgebung zusammenführt (III). Diese Verbindung ist nun nicht zuletzt für die iranische Religionsgeschichte und die Geschichte iranischer Königsideologie von Bedeutung (IV), die beide bis heute dem Jubilar besondere Forschungsanliegen sind.⁴ Daß Formen der Körpersprache große kulturelle Signifikanz besitzen, haben kulturanthropologische Untersuchungen zur Genüge bewiesen;⁵ es wäre deshalb wünschenswert, wenn sich Ethnologen, Religionshistoriker,

¹ Xen. an. 3,2,13: οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε.

² Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πίνοντα φιάλῃν προτείνειν τινι τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστήναι, καὶ πίνοντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἶτα φιλήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον [ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ] καὶ κατακλιθῆναι. πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντων ἐφεξῆς, τὸν Καλλιस्थένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' Ἡφαιστίῳ προδιαλεγόμενον, πίνοντα προσείνει φιλήσοντα· Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ προσωνομαζομένου Φεῖδωνος εἰπόντος “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ φιλήσῃς· οὗτος γὰρ σε μόνος οὐ προσέκυνησε”, διακλίνειν τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλιस्थένην μέγα φθονεζόμενον εἰπεῖν· “φιλήματι τοῖνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἄπεμι”.

³ Zur Historizität der Episode und ihres späteren Pendants in Arr. an. 4,11,1-9; Curt. 8,5,5-22 vgl. die klugen Bemerkungen von Bosworth 1988, 113-123.

⁴ G. Gnoli hat sogar selbst das Thema Proskynese in achaimenidischer Zeit behandelt (etwa: Gnoli 1974, 119 n.16).

⁵ Farnell 1996.

Altorientalisten und Althistoriker des Themas Proskynese in inter- und transdisziplinärem Gespräch erneut annehmen könnten.

II.

In vielen Handbuch- und Lexikonartikeln zur Proskynese wird der Begriff von seinem etymologischen Ursprung gelöst und entweder als Prostration (*prostration*, *Fußfall*) oder als Ritual der Ehrerbietung gedeutet, zu dem als integraler Bestandteil der Fußfall gehört.⁶ Ein genauerer Blick auf die Wortgeschichte und die Überlieferung zeigt jedoch, daß προσκύνησις, zumindest im griechisch-römischen Zusammenhang, aus dem sie stammt, ursprünglich einen Verehrungsgestus, eine Art Kußhand (vgl. Lukian. Dem. enc. 49; Apul. apol. 56; Min. Fel. 2,4) meint, die oft in Verbindung mit bestimmten Körperhaltungen oder -bewegungen (Drehung, Verneigung etc.)⁷ steht (Plut. Marc. 6,11f.; Numa 14,4).⁸ Der Begriff προσκύνησις (Aristot. rhet. 1361 a 36) leitet sich ab von προσκυνεῖν 'zuküssen' (Aischyl. Prom. 936 f.) und entspricht letztlich inhaltlich dem lateinischen *adorare*, *venerari* (Plin. nat. 28,2,25; Hieron. in Ruf. 1,19; Nep. Con. 3,3).⁹ Die Proskynese wurde in Griechenland in vorhellenistischer Zeit ausschließlich Gottheiten bzw. göttlich gedachten Wesen oder Naturerscheinungen erwiesen (Hippon. frg. 37D; Aristoph. Plut. 771 ff.; Soph. Phil. 657; El. 1375), besonders Sonne u. Mond (Plat. leg. 887e; Lukian. salt. 17), Himmel und Erde (Aischyl. Pers. 499; Soph. Oid. K. 1655; Phil. 533.1409) sowie chthonischen Mächten (Plat. rep. 469a.b).

Auch aus dem Alten Orient kennen wir einen vergleichbaren Handgestus¹⁰ (erhobene Hand, bei der die Finger und die Handinnenfläche dem Gesicht zugewandt sind), doch wurde dieser, nachdem er ursprünglich wohl auch den Göttern vorbehalten gewesen war, am neuassyrischen Hofe, wie die Audienzdarstellung aus dem Statthalterpalast in Til Barsip aus dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. belegt,¹¹ nun (auch) vor dem – nicht als göttlich oder vergöttlicht gedachten – Herrscher vollzogen.¹² Da im übrigen dieselbe Darstellung einen Würdenträger mit diesem Handgestus und eine andere Person in Prostrationshaltung bietet, darf davon ausgegangen werden, daß hier zwei verschiedene Formen der Ehrerbietung und nicht zwei Phasen ein und desselben Rituals abgebildet sind.¹³

⁶ So sind die Bedeutungen 'fußfällig verehren' bzw. 'den Fußfall vollziehen' (*fall down and worship, prostrate oneself*) auch in die Lexika eingegangen, wird auch unsere Chares-Stelle i.d.R. in diesem Sinne übersetzt. Die ältere Literatur wird angeführt und kommentiert bei Sachsen-Meiningen 1960.

⁷ Zu den griechischen Termini der zur Proskynese hinzutretenden Körperhaltungen und Gesten s. Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 130 n. 10.

⁸ Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 142 f.

⁹ Sittl 1890, 157 f., 171, 181 f.; Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 140 f.

¹⁰ Zu assyrischen Handgesten s. Goldman 1990.

¹¹ Nunn 1988, s.v.

¹² Choksy 1990, 201.

¹³ S.u. Den Unterschied zwischen Proskynese und Prostration im assyrischen Zusammenhang betont auch Calmeyer 1992, 117 f. n. 154.

III.

So wie die Audienzreliefs vom Apadana in Persepolis (“Schatzhausreliefs”), die den Chiliarchen in besagter, der Proskynese entsprechender Haltung vor dem Großkönig (vermutlich Xerxes I.) zeigen,¹⁴ dem assyrischen Relief aus Til Barsip nachgebildet sind,¹⁵ so ist wohl auch der Ehrerbietungsgestus selbst aus dem Zweistromland nach Iran gelangt. Auch hier wurde nun die Proskynese (außerhalb des sakralen Zusammenhangs; s.u.) vor dem – wie in Assyrien nicht göttlich gedachten – Herrscher vollzogen. Dabei war sie für Perser niederen Standes (u.a. Hdt. 1,134; Plut. Arist. 5,7) sowie für Unterworfenen und (griechische) Bittsteller (Hdt. 7,136) mit einem Fußfall (προσπίπτειν) verbunden, für persische Große und geachtete Hellenen mit einer Verneigung ([ἐπι]κύπτειν: Plut. Art. 22,8; Ail. var. 1,21). Fußfall und Verneigung sind dabei von der Proskynese und auch vom “Küssen” als unmittelbarer Berührung unter Gleichgestellten oder nahezu Gleichgestellten (φιλεῖν: Hdt. 1,134) zu trennen,¹⁶ wie ja auch die Kallisthenes-Episode, zumindest für den Kuß, deutlich macht.¹⁷ Es hat nun den Anschein, als ob im Zusammenhang der militärischen wie “ideologischen” Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Griechen und Persern¹⁸ Ende des 6. und zu Beginn des 5. Jh. v. Chr. die Proskynese, die von den Hellenen als nur den Göttern zukommend betrachtet und gegenüber Menschen prinzipiell abgelehnt wurde (Hdt. 7,136; Xen. an. 3,2,13; Isokr. paneg. 151; Plut. Art. 22,8),¹⁹ von den Griechen geradezu zu einem Kennzeichen der Hybris des Xerxes (und der Überheblichkeit der Perserkönige insgesamt) erklärt wurde. Die den Persern von griechischen Autoren unterstellte Verehrung des Großkönigs als Gott (θεός oder δαίμων: Aischyl. Pers. 157; Aristot. mund. 398 a 22; Isokr. paneg. 151) mag hier eine ihrer Ursachen haben. Dadurch, daß προσκυνεῖν von den Griechen vielfach mit προσπίπτειν, κύπτειν und anderen Servilitäts- oder Unterwerfungsgesten assoziiert wurde, erhielt der Begriff im Laufe der Zeit die sekundäre Bedeutung ‘Gehorsam erweisen’; dabei blieb jedoch im persischen Zusammenhang unterschwellig immer der Vorwurf der Hybris (gegenüber den Königen) bzw.

¹⁴ Altheim 1950; Bickerman 1963; Choksy 1990. Anders Gabelmann 1984, der, wie bereits Junge 1940, 18 f., an das Zurückhalten des Atems durch den Chiliarchen denkt.

¹⁵ Roaf 1983, *passim*.

¹⁶ Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 139 hat zu Recht betont, daß eine Verbindung von προσκυνέω und προσπίπτω auf eine Tautologie hinausliefe, wenn unter προσκυνεῖν ein Fußfall zu verstehen wäre.

¹⁷ Auch die Rede des Kallisthenes in Arr. an. 4,11,3 weist in diese Richtung. Dort wird der Unterschied zwischen der Verehrung von Göttern und der Ehrerbietung gegenüber Menschen folgendermaßen beschrieben: “Denn Menschen umarmen und küssen einander als innige Begrüßung (τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζομένων), die Gottheit hingegen, die in der Ferne weit über ihnen steht, ist es nicht erlaubt auch nur zu berühren, und deshalb wird sie durch die Proskynese geehrt (οὐδὲ παύσαι αὐτοῦ θέμις, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἅρα τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται)”. Der Gegensatz besteht hier zwischen Umarmen und Küssen auf der einen und der Proskynese (d.h. der Kußhand) auf der anderen Seite. Ein Fußfall ist hier sicher nicht gemeint.

¹⁸ Wieshöfer 2002.

¹⁹ Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 138. Anders Gabelmann 1984, der die Proskynese als Niederfallen und Küssen des Bodens vor dem Herrscher interpretiert.

der Selbsterniedrigung (gegenüber den persischen Untertanen) bestehen (Xen. an. 3,2,13; Demosth. 21,106; ironisch: Plat. rep. 398a).

Es waren diese Konnotationen von Gottesverehrung und Servilität, die es Alexander in Ostiran im Jahre 327 unmöglich machten, die Proskynese für seine Person durchzusetzen. Zwar hatten – mit Ausnahme des Kallisthenes – die engsten Freunde, wie die Chares-Episode verdeutlicht, eine entsprechende Vereinbarung mit Alexander getroffen²⁰ und waren bereit gewesen, ihrem Feldherren göttliche Ehren zukommen zu lassen;²¹ beim größeren Festbankett (Arr. an. 4,10,5-11,9; Curt. 8,5,5-22) versagte allerdings die königliche Choreographie:²² Kallisthenes' kompromißloser Haltung schlossen sich die meisten Festbesucher an und brachten damit das ganze Projekt zu Fall. Die Rede des griechischen Historikers bei Arrian (an. 4,11), die in ihren Grundzügen auf die hellenistischen Vorlagen des römischen Geschichtsschreibers zurückgeht,²³ macht deutlich, warum sich die griechisch-makedonische Opposition verweigert: Zunächst stellt Kallisthenes klar, daß die Proskynese zu den Ehrungen zählt, die nur Göttern zukommen; in einem zweiten und dritten Schritt verwirft er dann die Möglichkeit, entweder die Proskynese im persischen Sinne, d.h. auf den unvergöttlichten Herrscher bezogen, auch bei Griechen und Makedonen einzuführen²⁴ oder eine Scheidung im Hofzeremoniell dergestalt vorzunehmen, daß die Proskynese den barbarischen Untertanen vorbehalten bliebe. Denn selbst wenn diese zum Vollzug bereit seien, bleibe dem Empfänger der Ehrung der Geruch von Hybris erhalten, die die Perserkönige so oft ins Verderben geführt habe.

IV.

Die rituelle und gedankliche Trennung von Fußfall (im Sinne eines Unterwerfungsgestus) und Proskynese (im Sinne einer (ver)ehrenden Kußhand) bestätigt sich auch in den partherzeitlichen Zeugnissen,²⁵ etwa in Cassius Dios Bericht über die Erhebung des parthischen Prinzen Tiridates zum armenischen "Klientelkönig" durch den römischen Kaiser Nero (63,2,4,4,3,5,2). Allerdings bleibt zu fragen, wie die Szene, in der Tiridates

²⁰ Arr. 4,12,3: πρὸς οὓσιν αὖς ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως.

²¹ Da die Prostration vor dem Großkönig von einem Angehörigen der Aristokratie nicht gefordert wurde, ist auch kaum anzunehmen, daß Alexander sie von seinen "Freunden" verlangte. Προσκύνησις ist demnach in der Chares-Episode nicht als 'den Fußfall vollziehen' zu übersetzen. Entsprechend habe ich auch die Ziegler'sche Übersetzung verändert.

²² In der Bewertung der Argumentation der Beteiligten folge ich Bosworth 1988, 113-123.

²³ Bosworth 1988, 122 f. hält etwa die Diktion der Debatte und die Argumentation des Anaxarchos (4,10,7) für arrianisch: "The original might have depicted Anaxarchus arguing that Alexander would achieve apotheosis (like Heracles) when he was ultimately translated to heaven, in which case it was unreasonable not to acknowledge his present godhead". In Curtius' Version der Kallisthenes-Rede ist sicher das *hominem consequitur aliquando, nunquam comitatur divinitas* (8,5,16) anachronistisch (Bosworth 1988, 117).

²⁴ Der Vollzug der Proskynese ist Kennzeichen barbarischer Servilität und für die Griechen, "das freiheitlichste aller Völker" (τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους), ja selbst für die unter einer Monarchie lebenden Makedonen, undenkbar.

²⁵ Alle Belege bei Sachsen-Meiningen 1960, 154-158.

dem Kaiser nicht nur als seinem δεσπότης, sondern auch als seinem Gott die Proskynese erweist (καὶ ἡλθον τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν), zu erklären ist.²⁶ Da vieles dafür spricht, daß die für die Sasanidenzeit nachweisbare Vergöttlichung der Herrscher hellenistisches Erbe ist und bereits in parthische Zeit zurückverweist,²⁷ mag die Proskynese bei den Arsakiden auch als Zeichen der Huldigung gegenüber einem Herrscher mit göttlichen Qualitäten verstanden worden sein.²⁸ Daß Tiridates jedoch den Vergleich Neros mit Mithra bemüht und nicht den mit seinem Bruder Vologais I. (oder etwa mit dem Reichsgründer Arsakes), spricht dafür, daß die Parther das Königtum als von den (eigentlichen) Göttern geschenkt, den Herrscher, wie die Sasaniden, zwar als von göttlicher Abkunft und mit göttlichen Qualitäten ausgestattet, nicht jedoch als herrschaftsverleihendes und damit als Mithra und Ohrmezd vergleichbares spirituelles Wesen ansahen.²⁹ Eben diesen Göttern erwiesen dann ja auch die Partherkönige selbst die Proskynese,³⁰ so wie es vermutlich bereits die Achaimenidenkönige,³¹ die hellenistischen Fratarakā-Dynasten und die subparthischen “Könige” der Persis³² gehalten hatten.

LITERATUR

Afram, M., 1986. *Nomina propria in nummis* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch 4, Wien).

Altheim, F., 1950. Proskynesis, *Paideia* 5, 307-309.

Bickerman, E. J., 1963. À propos d'un passage de Chares de Mytilène, *La parola del passato* 18, 241-255.

Bosworth, A. B., 1988. *From Arrian to Alexander* (Oxford).

Calmeyer, P., 1992. Zur Genese altiranischer Motive XI: “Eingewebte Bildchen” von Städten, *AMI*, N.F., 25, 95-124.

²⁶ Vgl. auch Cass. Dio 62,23,3, wo Tiridates den εἰκόνας des Nero, und Suet. Cal. 14, wo Artabanos II. den *imagines* der Kaiser eine Proskynesis erweist.

²⁷ Wiesehöfer, im Druck.

²⁸ So ergäbe auch Plut. Them. 27,4 einen Sinn, ohne die Göttlichkeit des arsakidischen Herrschers über Gebühr strapazieren zu müssen. Der Großkönig als Abbild des allerhaltenden Gottes (ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σῶζοντος) paßt nämlich sehr wohl in parthische, nicht jedoch in achaimenidische Zeit. Die Episode von dem durch Phraates II. zu Fußfall und Proskynese gezwungenen Seleukiden Demetrios II. (Poseid. FGRIH 87 F 5) wäre dann nicht allein als Ausdruck der Beziehung zwischen einem vergöttlichten Sieger und einem vergöttlichten Besiegten zu verstehen, sondern machte auch in besonderer Weise die Superiorität des Phraates deutlich.

²⁹ Dem entspräche dann etwa die Unterscheidung zwischen *bay* und *yazd* im Parthischen der Šābuhr-Inschrift ŠKZ, Begriffe, die im Griechischen beide mit θεός übersetzt werden (vgl. Wiesehöfer, im Druck). Ob Tiridates die Investitur in Rom wirklich als eine zoroastrisch-mithräische Zeremonie verstand (Cumont 1933, 145 f.) oder mit der “Vergöttlichung” Neros nicht einfach hellenistisch-griechischem, mit der Proskynese gegenüber einem Herrscher nicht einfach arsakidischem Brauch folgte, sei dahingestellt. In Rom war eine Anrede Neros als Gott auf jeden Fall ein Skandal (Cass. Dio 63,5,1), war im frühen Prinzipat die Apotheose doch dem verstorbenen Princeps vorbehalten. Vgl. Tac. Ann. 15,74,3: *nam deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit*. Zu Nero und dem Kaiserkult s. Griffin 1996, 215-220.

³⁰ Herodian. 4,15,1.

³¹ Plut. Art. 29,12; vgl. 23,7; Xen. Kyr. 7,5,32.

³² Vgl. die Reverse ihrer Münzen (Afram 1986, Taf. 17 ff.).

- Choksy, J. K., 1990. Gesture in ancient Iran and Central Asia, II: Proskynesis and the bent forefinger, *BAL*, n.s., 4, 201-207.
- Cumont, F., 1933. L'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d'Armenia, *Rivista italiana di filologia classica* 11, 145-146.
- Farnell, B., 1996. Gesture and movement, in *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology*, vol. 2 (New York), 536-541.
- Gabelmann, H., 1984. *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt).
- Gnoli, G., 1974. Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides, in *Hommage universel*, vol. 2 (Acta Iranica 2, Leiden), 117-190.
- Goldman, B., 1990. Some Assyrian gestures, *BAL*, n.s., 4, 41-49.
- Griffin, M. T., 1996. *Nero. The end of a dynasty*, repr. (London).
- Junge, P. J., 1940. Hazarapatiš, *Klio* 33, 13-38.
- Nunn, A., 1988, *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im alten Orient* (Leiden-New York).
- Roaf, M., 1983, *Sculptures and sculptors at Persepolis* (Iran 21, London).
- Sachsen-Meiningen, F. v., 1960. Proskynesis in Iran, in F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, Bd. 2 (Berlin), 125-166.
- Sittl, C., 1890. *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig).
- Wiesehöfer, J., 2002. "Griechenland wäre unter persische Herrschaft geraten . . ." Die Perserkriege als Zeitenwende?, in H. Brinkhaus, S. Sellmer (Hrsg.), *Zeitenwenden* (Asien und Afrika 4, Hamburg), 209-232.
- Wiesehöfer, J., im Druck. Die "Göttlichkeit" der Sasanidenkönige: Hellenistisches Erbe?, in J. Wiesehöfer (Hrsg.), *Ērān ud Anērān* (Oriens et Occidens 5, Stuttgart).

Yutaka Yoshida

In his contribution to W. B. Henning's article entitled "The Manichaean fasts" S. H. Taqizadeh states: "... towards the end of the tenth century, owing to an unknown reason, this Manichaean community [Manichaean community of the West Uighur Kingdom, Y. Y.] put the periods of their fasts one month back, and thus arranged them in the middle of the 10th, the beginning of the 11th, the middle of the same, and the 8th of the 12th – 8th of the 1st Turco-Chinese months" (cf. Taqizadeh *apud* Henning 1946, 160). In this short article I should like to discuss the possible reason why the Manichees of the West Uighur Kingdom shifted the periods of their fasts back by one month.

Before going into the problem I shall present a Manichaean Sogdian calendar fragment belonging to the Ōtani collection to provide the starting point of my discussion. Similar texts were published by Henning and it is not difficult to restore the gaps and to translate the text. This fragment is intriguing in that it refers to the fifth *yimki* as 'yimki of the throne [i.e. Bema]', and that it attests the Sogdian word for New Year's Day: *n'wsrδ*.

Ōtani 6191

Text

recto

- 00 [zmwxṭwγ i šmbδyy xšp' ?-myk jmny']
 0 [myšβwγyc m'xyy βγγynwyy zmwxṭwγ]
 1 [rwc ii](i)[šmbδyy pr myδ ?-myk jmny']
 2 [jymtyc m](')xyy βγ[yynwyy 'sm'n rwc]
 3 [iv šm]bδyy xšp(')[?-myk jmny']
 4 [xšwmy](c) m'(x)yy βγγy[nwyy 'sm'n]
 5 [rwc](')δδyng pr m(y)[δ ?-myk jmny']
 6 [sr](δyy) xwrmz(t)['βγγy ymkyy]
 7 [βwγyc m'xyy m']x '(ty)y t(y)[š rwc "δδyng]
 8 ['tyy š](mbδ)y[y oo o] (o m)[rsysn ymkyy]
 9 [βwγy]c m'xyy (zmwx)t(w)[γ 'tyy mnspnd]
 10 (r)w(c) i '(ty)yy [i]i (š)m[bδyy oo oo]
 11 yyšw' (ymk)yy (m)[yšβwγyc m'xyy]

verso

- 00 [m'x 'tyy tyš rwc i 'tyy ii šmbδyy]
 0 [oo oo ? ymkyy jymtyc m'xyy]
 1 [spnd'rmṭ'] (t)[yy 'rt' rwc iii 'tyy iv šmbδyy]
 2 [oo oo] γδwky (y)[mkyy 'xwšmyc]
 3 [m'xyy](x)[w]rmz' 'tyy (x)[wmn'h rwc]
 4 [i 'tyy ii š]mbδyy [o]^a [o]

- 5 [(s)rδyy yzdygyrydyy p(t)[šm'r]
 6 [(s)rδδ oo t[ngry 'wyγwr x'n?]
 7 []ii oo (my)š[yy βγγ]y bwn[mr](g)
 8 [(n)y(m)y oo yyšw' bw(n)m(rg)
 9 [pn]iwg oo 'tyy n'wsrδδ
 10 [i šmbδyy o] o n'wsrδyc (m'xy)[y]
 11 [βγγynwyy w't rw](c) i šmbδyy xšp'

^aTraces of some letters which seem to be written in Sogdian script: 'pw'nk? It is not clear to me whether it is a scribble or a note entered by a different scribe.

Translation¹

<Description of the New Moon>

The "New God"	on			
of Sogd. month	Sogd. day	weekday	daytime	hour
[ix	28	Sunday	night	? hour]
[x	28	Tuesday	day	? hour]
[xi	27	Wednes]day	night	[? hour]
[xii	27]	Friday [	day	? hour]

<Description of five *yimki*s of the preceding year>

[In this] year:

name of	Sogd.		
<i>yimki</i>	month	days	weekdays
[the <i>yimki</i> of] God Khormuzda	[ix	12] and 13	[Friday and Saturday]
[the <i>yimki</i> of Mar Sisin	ix]	28 and [29]	Sunday and Monday
the <i>yimki</i> of Jesus	x[	12 and 13	Sunday and Monday]
[the <i>yimki</i> of ? ²	xi	5 and 6	Tuesday and Wednesday]
[the <i>yimki</i>] of Bema	xii	]1 and [2	Sunday and Mon]day

<Description of the following year>

[This] year's number of the Yazdegird (era) [is ... a Snake] year. [The number of the Lord Uighur *qaghan* is ?+]ii. The basic [number]³ of the Sun [God] [is ... and] half. The basic number of Jesus (= the moon) [. . . and one?] fifth. And New Year's Day [is Sunday.]

<Description of the New Moon>

The "New God"	on			
of Sogd. month	Sogd. day	weekday	daytime	hour
i	[22]	Sunday	night	[? hour]

¹ The translation is given in a similar way to the one used by Henning in his article.

² The name of the fourth *yimki* is not known, cf. Henning 1945, 148. Incidentally, the third *yimki* is now known to commemorate the martyrdom of Jesus.

³ The exact meaning or denotation of this expression remains obscure. The proposal made by L. Bazin in 1974 (cf. Bazin 1974, 404-405) was eventually discarded by him too; he does not discuss the problem any more in his book published in 1991.

When W. Sundermann and I first published the fragment we did not try to specify the two years described in it; the contents seemed too vague to be identified with particular years (cf. Kudara *et al.* 1999, 197-198 with pl. 110). However, if one assumes that the text was written in the 10th or early 11th century, when the other similar calendars were drawn up (cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*), it is not difficult to find out which are the two years described in the fragment. The first year in the text corresponds to the year beginning on the 7th April 932 (Julian), and the second to the year beginning on the 7th April 933. Thus, the five *yimkis* correspond to the days in the contemporary Chinese calendar as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) the <i>yimki</i> of God Khormuzda: | the 14th and the 15th days of the 11th month |
| (2) the <i>yimki</i> of Mar Sisin: | the 1st and the 2nd days of the 12th month |
| (3) the <i>yimki</i> of Jesus: | the 15th and the 16th days of the 12th month |
| (4) the <i>yimki</i> of ?: | the 8th and the 9th days of the 1st month |
| (5) the <i>yimki</i> of the Bema: | the 5th and the 6th days of the 2nd month. |

This situation found in Ōtani 6191 is in perfect agreement with the arrangement of the times of fasts introduced by the Central Asian Manichees so as to conform to the local Turco-Chinese calendar (cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*):

- (1) in the middle of the 11th Chinese month
- (2) in the beginning of the 12th Chinese month
- (3) in the middle of the same month
- (4) 30 days (or 29) beginning on the 8th day of the first Chinese month.

Taqizadeh also remarks that the last two fasts of two days each fell on the 8th and the 9th of the first Chinese month and on the 4th and the 5th of the second Chinese month, the Bema coming on the 8th day of the latter. The slight difference in the date of the 5th *yimki* is likely to be due to the fact that the first Chinese month of the year 933 consisted of 29 days rather than 30.

Three (nos. 1, 2, and 4) of the four calendar fragments published by Henning and dated by Taqizadeh attest the dates of the five *yimkis*.⁴ They correspond to the days of the contemporary Chinese calendar in the following way:

- (a) No. 4 dated to 929-930 A.D.

(1) the *yimki* of God Khormuzda: the 14th and the 15th days of the 11th month

- (b) No. 1 dated to 984-985 A.D.

(1) the *yimki* of God Khormuzda: the 13th and the 14th days of the 11th month

(2) the *yimki* of Mar Sisin: the 29th day of the 11th month and the 1st day of the 12th

(3) the *yimki* of Jesus: the 14th and the 15th days of the 12th month

(4) the *yimki* of ? : the 7th and the 8th days of the 1st month

(5) the *yimki* of the Bema: the 3rd and the 4th days of the 2nd month

⁴ Bazin once proposed a different dating of the fragments in his work that appeared in 1974 but later in 1991 when he revised the book he tacitly withdrew his old proposal. Cf. Bazin 1974, 401-403; Bazin 1991, 273-274.

(c) No. 2 dated to 1000-1001 A.D.

- (1) the *yimki* of God Khormuzda: the 15th and the 16th days of the 10th month
- (2) the *yimki* of Mar Sīsin: the 1st and the 2nd days of the 12th month
- (3) the *yimki* of Jesus: the 14th and the 15th days of the 12th month
- (4) the *yimki* of ?: the 8th and the 9th days of the 1st month
- (5) the *yimki* of the Bema: the 3rd and the 4th days of the 2nd month.

The differences in date found in (a) and (b) from those of Ōtani 6191 and from those suggested by Taqizadeh seem to be due to the slight difference between the Uighur and the Chinese calendars of the 10th century. Thus, Wang Yande, who visited the Uighur court in 982 A.D., reported that the Uighur used their own calendar which he called *Kaiyuan qinianli* 'Calendar of the 7th year of Kaiyuan [i.e. 719 A.D.]' (cf. Bazin 1991, 261).⁵ His statement may be taken to indicate that the calendar of the Uighurs differed slightly from the contemporary Chinese calendar.⁶

Taqizadeh drew attention to the remarkable fact that in the year covering 1000-1001 A.D. the periods of fasts are ahead of those of the others by one month; he then presumed the reform of the periods of fasts around 1000 A.D. introduced by the Central Asian Manichees. Although a single instance is not sufficient to prove his assumption, the reform supposed by Taqizadeh would explain the puzzling name *čaxšapat ay* 'month of fast' for the twelfth month in the Uighur calendar (cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*). Later when I published the three Manichaean Sogdian letters discovered in Bāzāklik, Turfan, I noticed that in one of the letters the period of one month fast largely fell on the 12th month (cf. Yoshida *et al.* 2000, 72-73). On the other hand independent evidence is secured which shows that the three letters were written around 1010 A.D. Thus Taqizadeh's assumption of the reform of the religious calendar now seems to be proved (cf. Yoshida 2002, 234-235).

Then why did the Manichees of the West Uighur Kingdom shift the periods of their fasts backwards by one month? Taqizadeh asks himself the following question: "Was this shifting of the places of the fasting times in the year due to the receding of the Sogdian year and the falling of the Sogdian New Year close to (or in some years, such as A.D. 1005, exactly on) the Bema Day?" (cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*). However, this presumption is hardly acceptable, because one cannot see the reason why the coincidence of the Bema and the Sogdian New Year's Day was felt inconvenient by the Uighurs who used a Chinese type of lunisolar calendar.

Recently T. Moriyasu and W. Sundermann collected several pieces of evidence which show that the Uighur royal family made a gradual shift in their faith from Manichaeism to Buddhism. The shift had already begun in the latter half of the 10th century, and in the early 11th century the one Uighur ruler supported both Manichaeism and Buddhism; later in the latter half of the 11th century Manichaeism was almost totally abandoned (cf. Moriyasu 1990-1991, 127-174, esp. 147-160, Sundermann 1991 and 1992, 72). It is also

⁵ *Kaiyuan qinianli* is not known but it no doubt refers to the calendar reformed in the 17th (rather than 7th) year of Kaiyuan. Differently, Bazin 1991, 260-264.

⁶ This fact is also known from the three Uighur calendars of around 1000 A.D. published by Hamilton 1992. Sometimes the two differ from each other by one day, sometimes they correspond with each other.

known that early Uighur Buddhism was strongly dependent on both Tocharian and Chinese Buddhism; in the 10th century the influence of Chinese Buddhism on the Uighurs is known to have come largely from Dunhuang (cf. Rong Xinjiang 2001). Among the Dunhuang Buddhists the 8th of the 2nd month was a special day which commemorated the Buddha's renouncement of worldly life, and on which a great procession of Buddha images was held.⁷ One may well assume that the same day began to be celebrated by the Uighur Buddhists in the course of the 10th century under the strong influence of Dunhuang Buddhism. Since the 8th of the 2nd month is the very day on which the Bema festival was celebrated, fewer and fewer members of the Uighur royal family may have preferred to attend the most important ceremony in the Manichaean church. It is conceivable that in such a situation Uighur Manichees were forced to shift the period of the Bema backwards by one month. This reform could have a great advantage at the same time: they were able to celebrate the Bema as part of the New Year's festival, in which the royal family inevitably participated.

I am fully aware that it is hard to prove my hypothesis that it was the surge of Buddhism among the Uighurs which caused the Manichees to shift the period of the Bema to avoid its coincidence with a Buddhist festival. However, it is undeniable that there was a Buddhist influence on eastern Manichaeism, which was progressive in time and increased as one moved further eastwards (cf. Sundermann 1997), so I hope my hypothesis remains at least as a possibility.

REFERENCES

- Bazin, L., 1974. *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux* (Lille).
 Bazin, L., 1991. *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien* (Budapest).
 Hamilton, J., 1992. Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989, et 1003, in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont *et al.* (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à L. Bazin par ses disciples, collègues et amis* (Paris), 7-21.
 Henning, W. B., 1945. The Manichaean fasts, *JRAS*, 146-164.
 Kudara, K., Sundermann, W., Yoshida, Y., 1999. *Iranian fragments from the Otani collection* (Kyoto 1997 [1999]).
 Moriyasu, T., 1990-1991. *A study on the history of Uighur Manichaeism* (in Japanese) (Osaka).
 Rong Xinjiang, 2001. The relationship of Dunhuang with the Uighur Kingdom in Turfan in the tenth century, in L. Bazin, P. Zieme (ed.), *De Dunhuang à Istanbul. Hommage à J. R. Hamilton* (Silk Road studies 5, Turnhout), 275-298.
 Sundermann, W., 1991. Completion and correction of archaeological work by philological means: the case of the Turfan texts, in P. Bernard, F. Grenet (ed.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du colloque international du CNRS (Paris 1988)* (Paris), 283-288.
 Sundermann, W., 1992. Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts concerning the Turfan region, in A. Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-huang. The texts* (Firenze), 63-84.
 Sundermann, W., 1997. Manichaeism meets Buddhism: the problem of Buddhist influence on Manichaeism, in P. Kieffer-Pülz, J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in honour of H. Bechert on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Swistal-Odendorf), 647-656.

⁷ On the ceremony see for example Trombert 1996 and Wang-Toutain 1996.

- Trombert, E., 1996. La fête du 8e jour du 2e mois à Dunhuang d'après les comptes de monastères, in J.-P. Drège (ed.), *De Dunhuang au Japon. Etudes chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à M. Soymié* (Genève), 25-72.
- Wang-Toutain, F., 1996. Le sacre du printemps. Les cérémonies bouddhiques du 8e du 2e mois, in J.-P. Drège (ed.), *De Dunhuang au Japon. Etudes chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à M. Soymié* (Genève), 73-92.
- Yoshida, Y. et al., 2000. *Studies in the new Manichaean texts recovered from Turfan* (in Chinese) (Beijing).
- Yoshida, Y., 2002. Manichaean Sogdian letters discovered in Bāzāklīk, in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses. Résumé des conférences et travaux* 109 (2000-2001 [2002]), 257-260.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

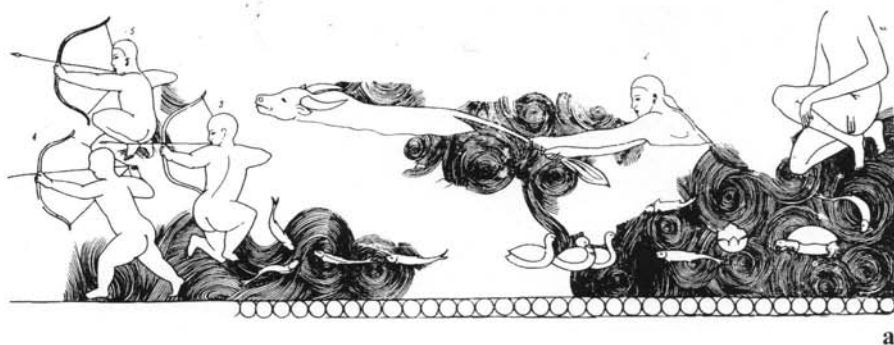
<i>AAASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AAWL</i>	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse
<i>AbstrIr</i>	<i>Abstracta Iranica</i>
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
<i>AION-L</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Sezione linguistica</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i>
<i>AMI(T)</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>APAW</i>	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse
<i>ASAW</i>	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i>
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic journal</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Historische Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica antiqua</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>IzvAN</i>	<i>Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR</i>
<i>IJJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian journal</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>JAAS</i>	<i>Journal of Asian and African studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JIES</i>	<i>Journal of Indo-European studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>KZ</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhns Zeitschrift)</i>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia periodica</i>
<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
<i>SHAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.- hist. Kl.
<i>SII</i>	<i>Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik</i>

<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>SÖAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>SPAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse
<i>SRAA</i>	<i>Silk Road art and archaeology</i>
<i>StIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>WZKSOA</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasien</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Plates

**a****b**

Pl. 1a. Kuh-e Khwāja, Sistan. Arch of entrance gate to the precinct, showing prefabricated ribs. —
Pl. 1b. Kuh-e Khwāja, Sistan. Elevation of lower terrace, showing arch construction. The lower
arcade may have undergone some modern restoration.

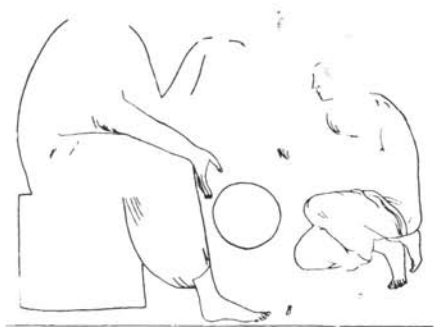


Pl. 2a. Peinture d'Afrasiab, mur est, moitié droite (dessin partiellement restitué, Al'baum, *Živopis'*, fig. 25). — Pl. 2b. Peinture d'Afrasiab, mur est, à gauche du centre (dessin partiellement restitué, Al'baum, *Živopis'*, fig. 26). — Pl. 2c. Peinture d'Afrasiab, fragment provenant probablement du registre supérieur du mur est (copie peinte, Al'baum, *Živopis'*, pl. XLVII).





a

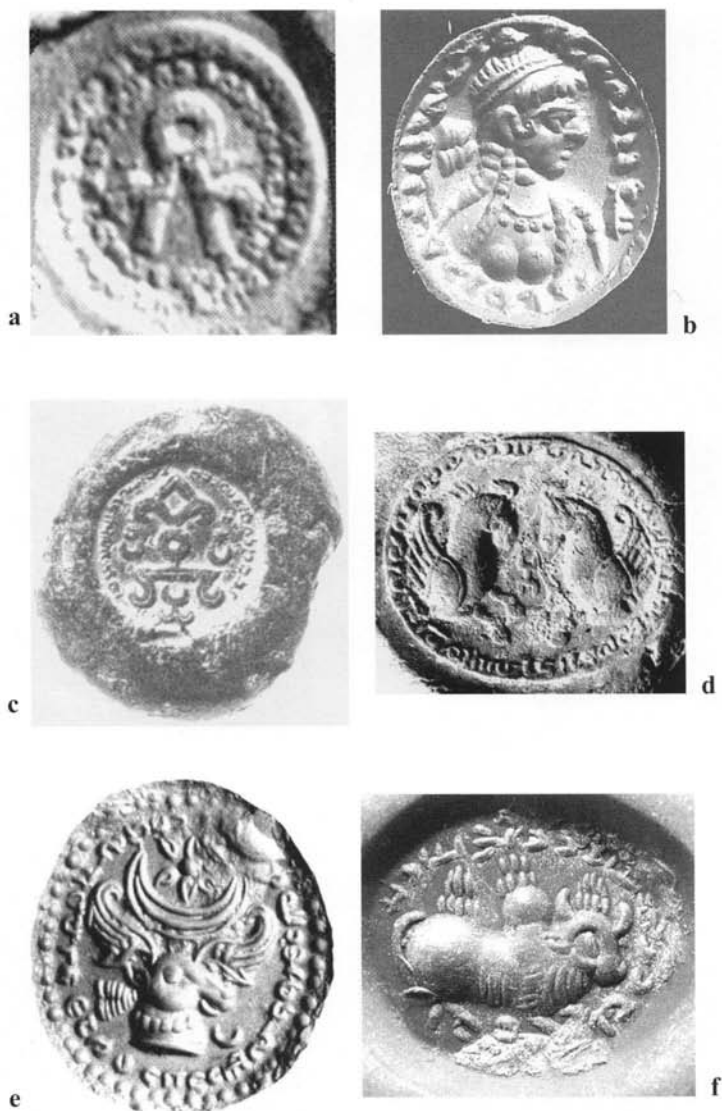


b

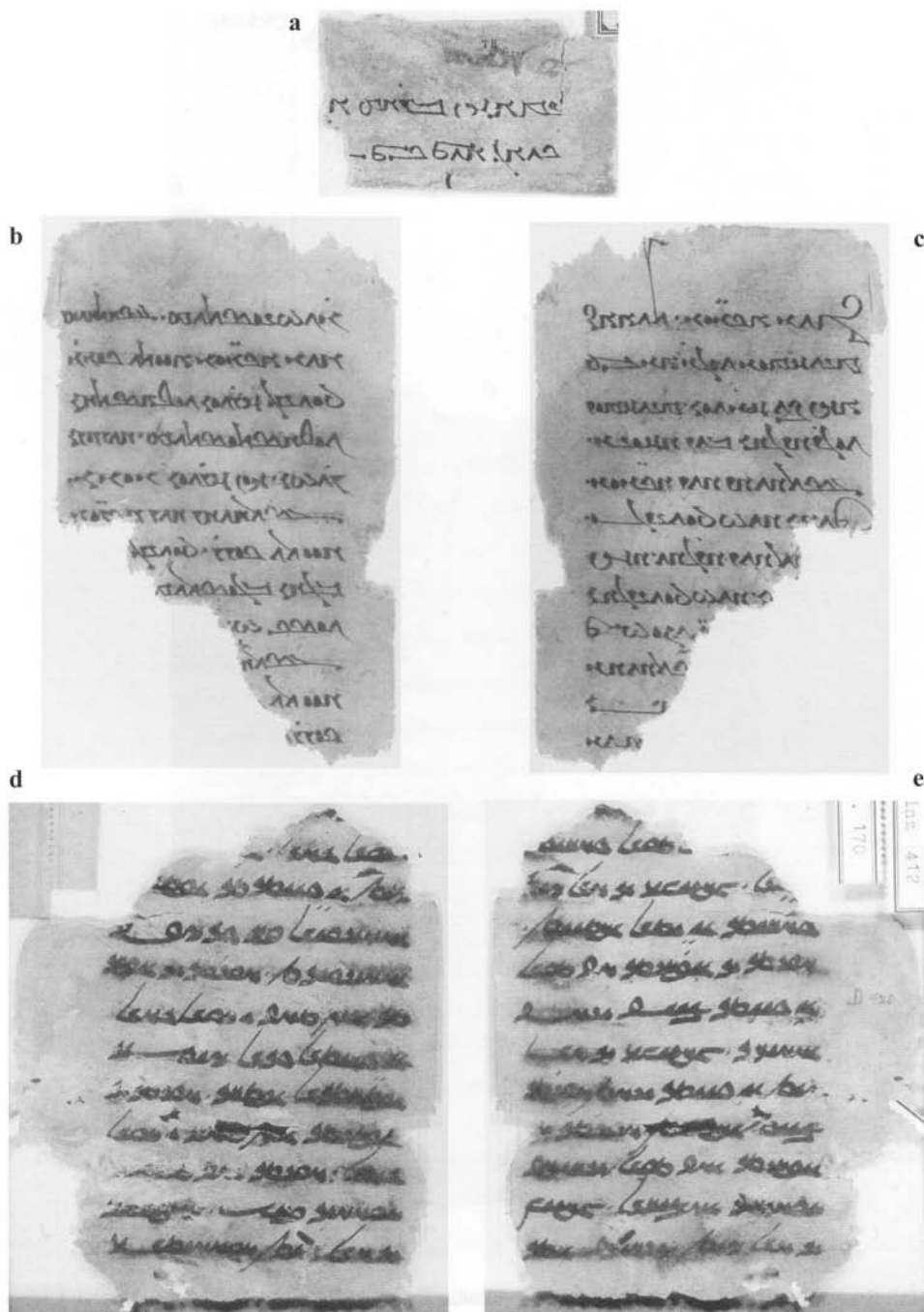


c

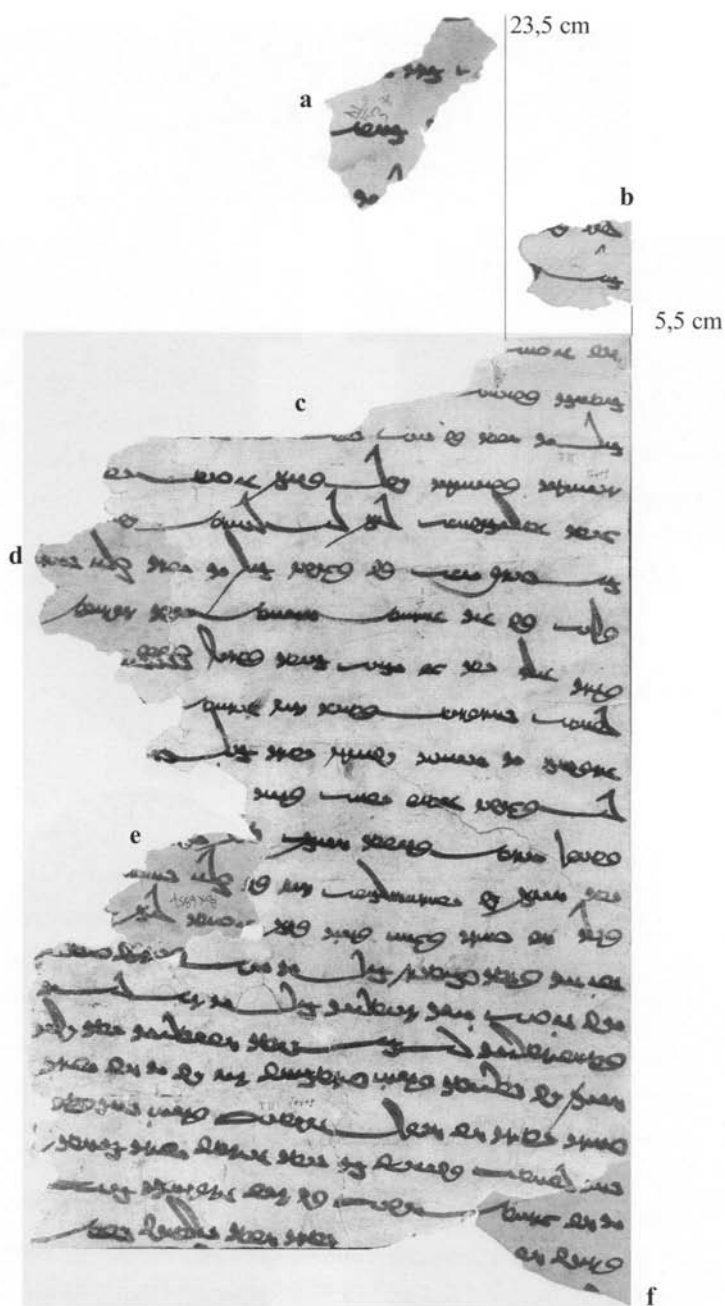
Pl. 3a. Peinture d'Afrasiab, mur est, extrémité gauche, état actuel (photo Alix Barbet). On devine les points sombres dans la partie supérieure gauche de la sphère armillaire. – Pl. 3b. Peinture d'Afrasiab, mur est, extrémité gauche (dessin partiellement restitué, Al'baum, *Živopis'*, fig. 27). – Pl. 3c. Trèves, mosaïque de Monnus, détail: Uranie et Aratos.



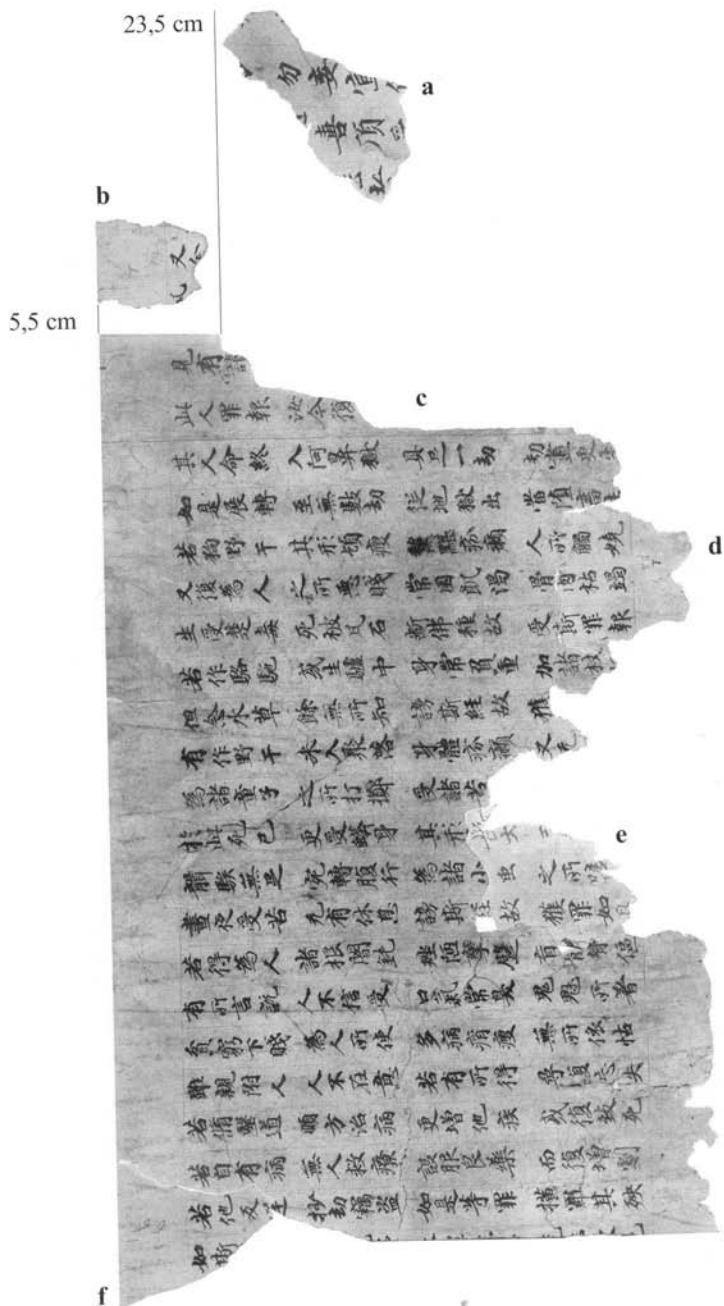
Pl. 4a. Empreinte d'un cabochon (14×13 mm) serti dans une monture avec un "bouton" à 12h. Provenance: Taxt-i Suleiman. Photo d'après R. Göbl 1976, empreinte n° 601. – Pl. 4b. Cabochon en cornaline. Dimensions: 3×13×11 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, n° d'inv. 1968.412. Photo d'après Gyselen 1993, pl. IX, 20.A.2. – Pl. 4c. Empreinte (18×18 mm) sur une bulle. Bibliothèque Nationale, n° d'inventaire 1968.411. Photo d'après Gignoux 1976, pl. LXXVII, 16.32a. – Pl. 4d. Empreinte d'un cabochon (22,2 × 20 mm). Collection A. Saeedi, Londres. Photo de l'auteur. – Pl. 4e. Dactyloïde en jaspe fleuri. Dimensions: 21×25×21,5 mm. Collection M. Foroughi. Photo d'après Gignoux-Gyselen 1982, pl. XXIV, 40.74. – Pl. 4f. Ellipsoïde en agate, partiellement "brûlé". Dimensions: 20,3×24,6×18,1 mm. Collection A. Saeedi, Londres. Photo de l'auteur.



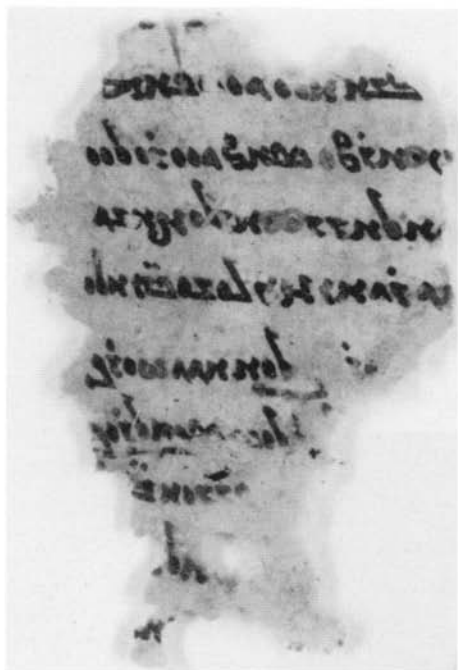
Pl. 5a. M 7352 recto. – Pl. 5b. M 80 recto. – Pl. 5c. M 80 verso. – Pl. 5d. Mainz 412 recto. – Pl. 5e. Mainz 412 verso. Photographs: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.



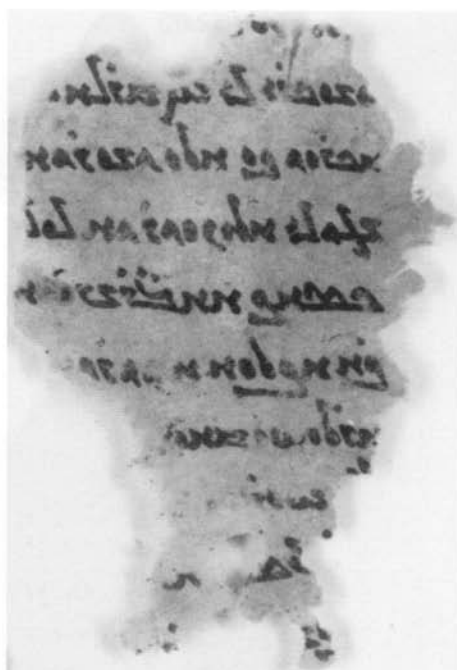
Taf. 6a. Ōtani 7210/v/. Photo: Universität Ryūkoku, Kyoto. – Taf. 6b, c, d. Ch/So 10052/v/, Ch/So 14731/v/, Ch/So 10051/v/. Photos: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. – Taf. 6e. Дх 06957/v/. Photo: Russische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Orientalisches Institut, St. Petersburg. – Taf. 6f. Ōtani 7127/v/. Photo: Universität Ryūkoku, Kyoto.



Taf. 7a. Ōtani 7210/r/. Photo: Universität Ryūkoku, Kyoto. – Taf. 7b, c, d. Ch/So 10052/r/, Ch/So 14731/r/, Ch/So 10051/r/. Photos: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. – Taf. 7e Дх 06957/r/. Photo: Russische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Orientalisches Institut, St. Petersburg. – Taf. 7f. Ōtani 7127/r/. Photo: Universität Ryūkoku, Kyoto.



a

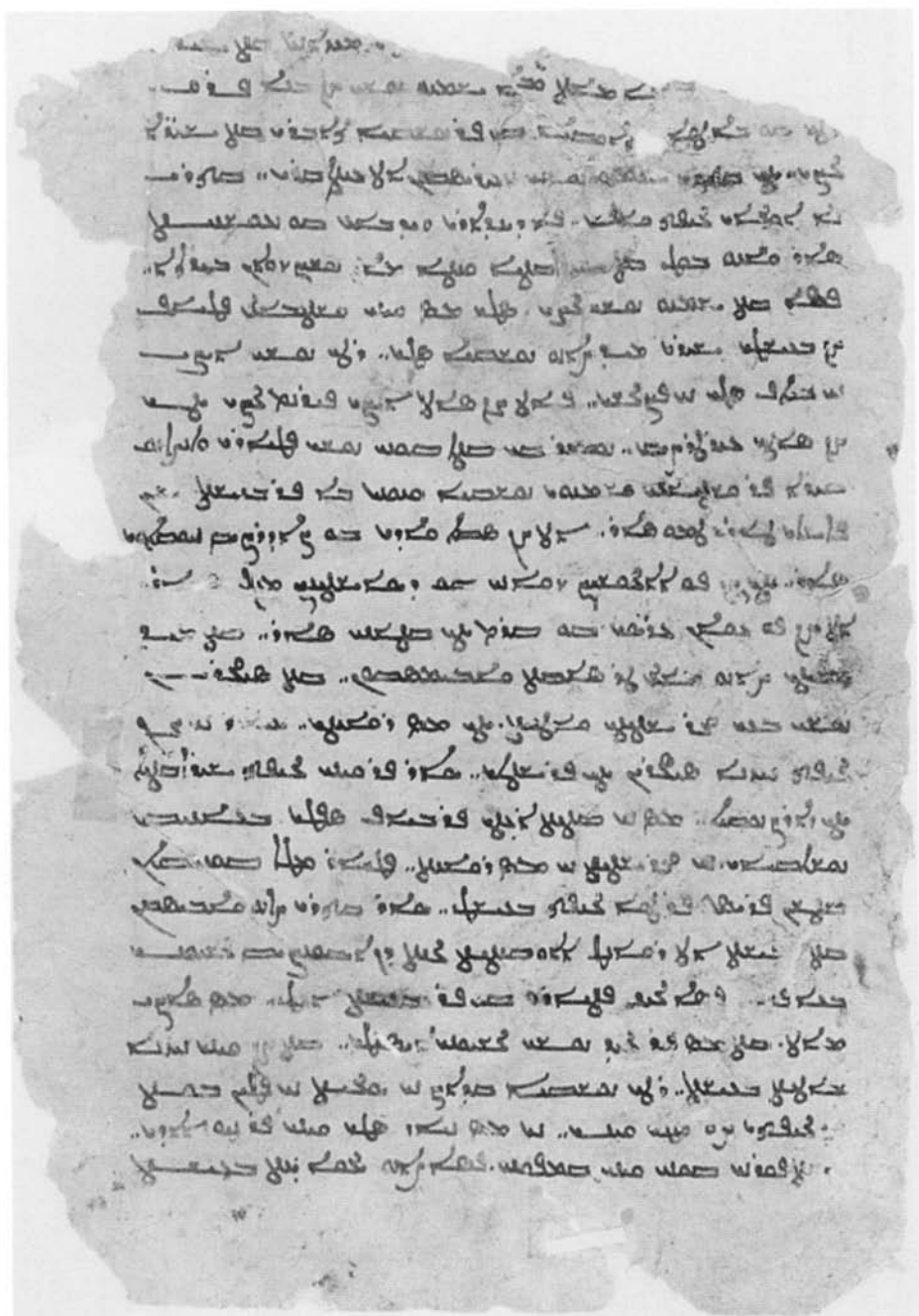


b

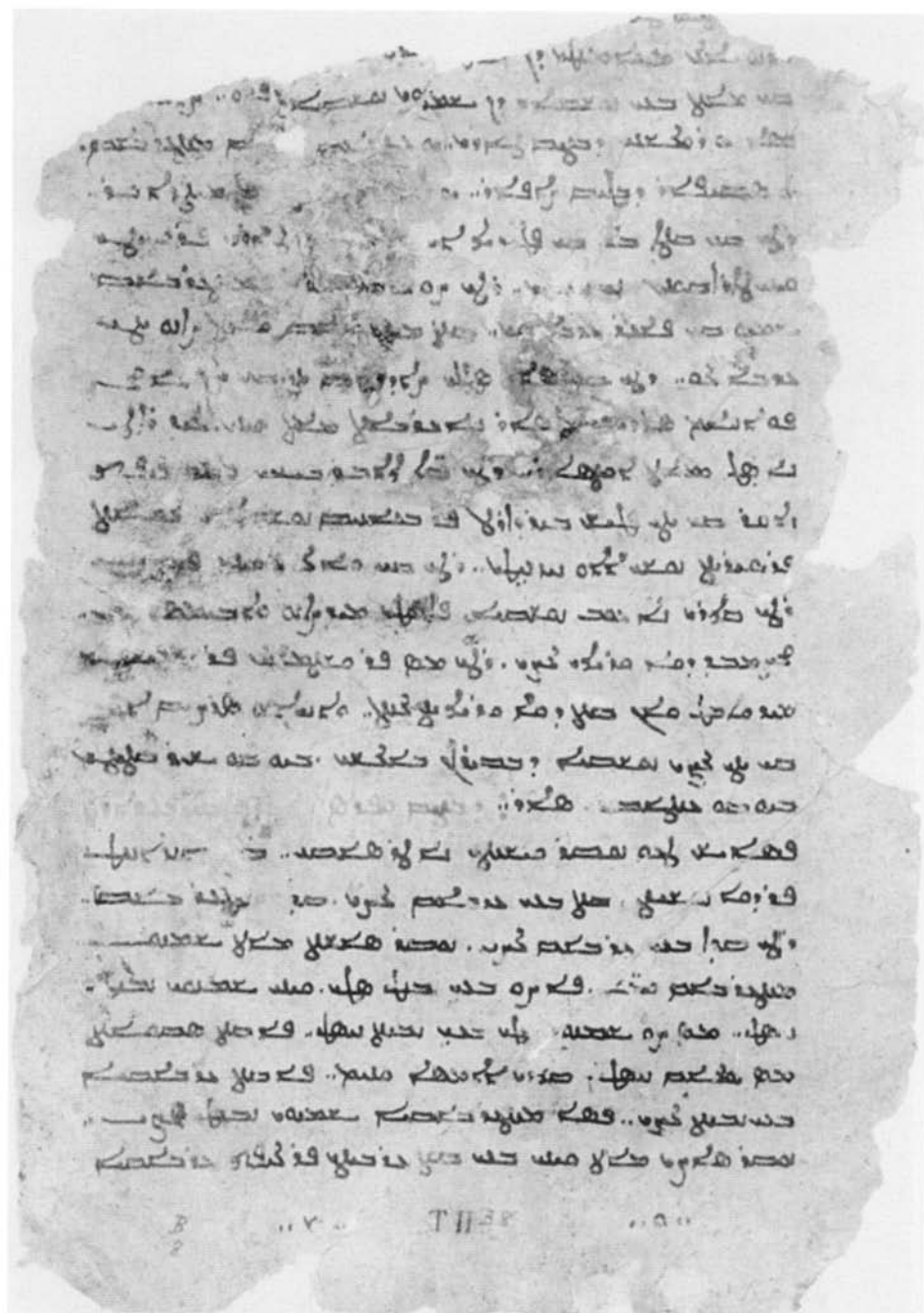


c

Taf. 8a,b. M 6132/1.S./, M 6132/2.S./. Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. – Taf. 8c. Pelliot chinois 4518,24. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Pl. 9. C3 = T II B 8 + B 8, recto. Photograph: M. Hamann. Published by kind permission of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.



Pl. 10 C3 = T II B 8 + B 8, verso. Photograph: M. Hamann. Published by kind permission of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.



c



d



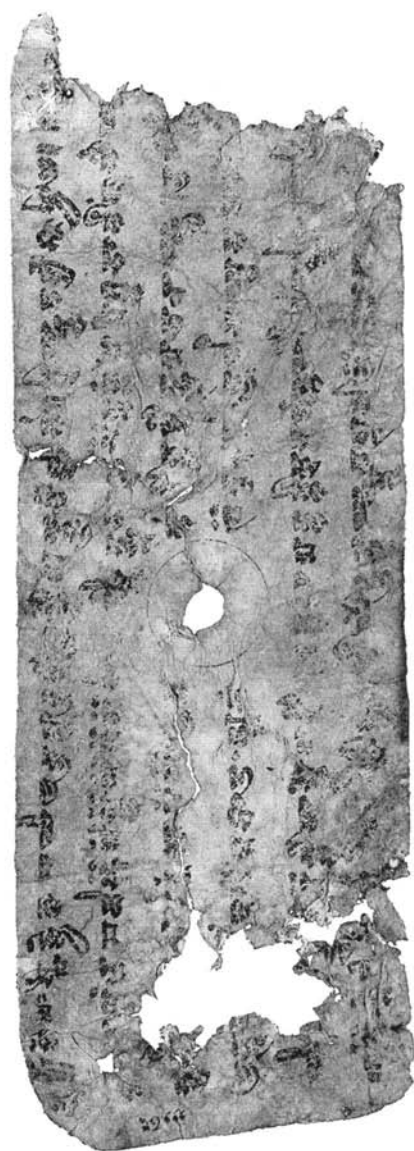
a



b

Pl. 11c. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 131.6–134.6: Hard. 077.2 recto (Or. 12637/72.10). – Pl. 11d. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 131.6–134.6: Hard. 077.2 verso (Or. 12637/72.10).

Pl. 11a. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 94.7–21: H 144 NS 83 recto (IOL Khot 163/1). – Pl. 11b. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 94.7–21: H 144 NS 83 verso (IOL Khot 163/1).

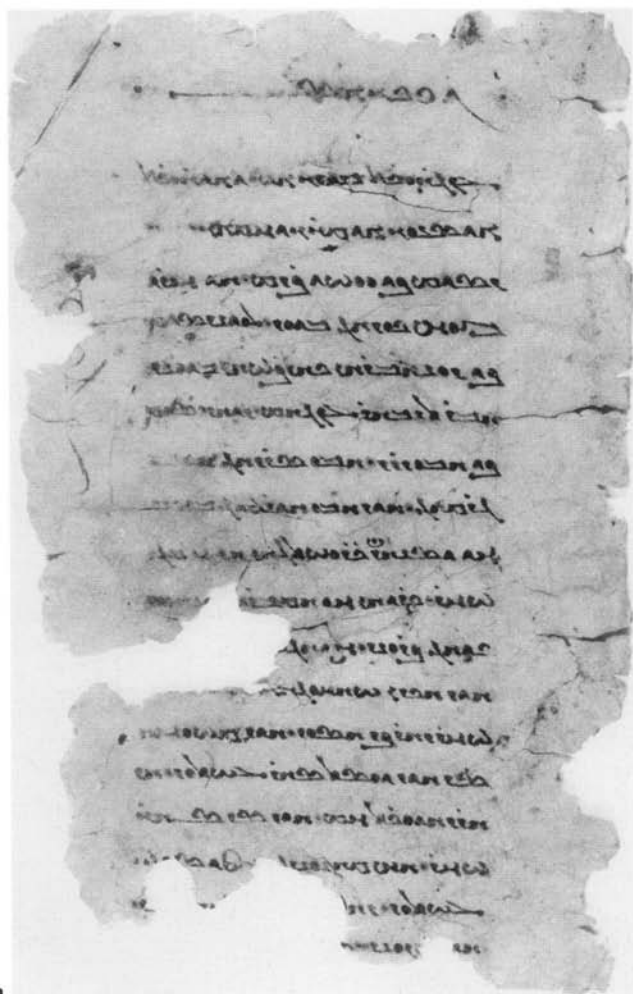


a

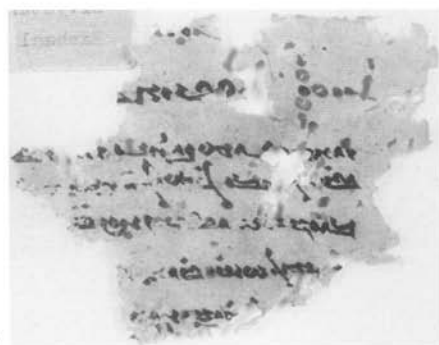


b

Pl. 12a. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 154.9–157.5; Kha. vii. 1, folio 43 recto (IOL Khot 36/2). – Pl. 12b. *Kāśyapaparivarta* 154.9–157.5; Kha. vii. 1, folio 43 verso (IOL Khot 36/2).

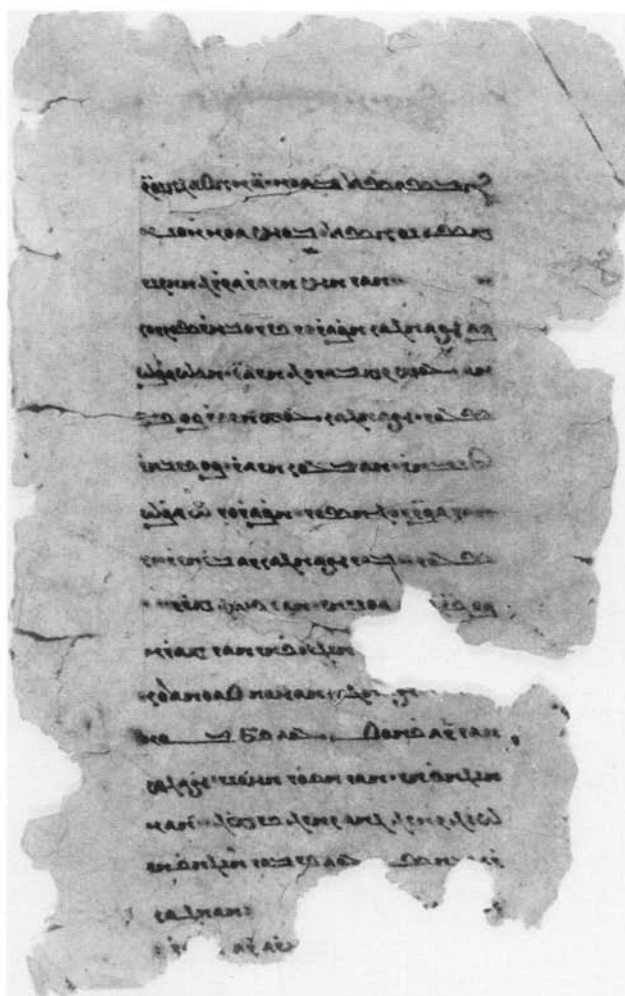


a



b

Pl. 13a. M 35/R/. – Pl. 13b. M 907/R/. Photos: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.



Pl. 14a. M 35/V/. – Pl. 14b. M 907/V/. Photos: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.